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ABSTRACT

This guide provides information and instructional materials on the history and culture of the Wabanakis of Maine and the Maritime Provinces (Canada). The Wabanakis include the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Micmac, and Abenaki peoples. The curriculum was designed for grades 4-8 and is divided into four sections. The first section provides background information on the history and culture of the Wabanakis and the changes that occurred before and after European contact. The second section includes the following lesson plans: How We Look at Others; Mi'kmaq; Time and Place; Legends; Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago; Wabanaki and European Interaction: 1600-1800; An Invisible People: 1800-1950; and Contemporary Life. Each lesson plan includes suggested grade level, objectives, words to know, background materials, background notes, materials to use in class, and procedures. This section also includes additional instructional materials to supplement lesson plans. The third section includes reading materials on Wabanaki legends; stories from or about different periods in history; interviews with 30 contemporary Wabanaki people from New England and the Maritimes reflecting their family life, educational experiences, culture, and traditional values; and children's essays depicting contemporary Wabanaki life. The fourth section includes fact sheets containing information on Wabanaki territories; material culture; political, social, and spiritual life; and colonial life before the Revolutionary War. This section also includes information on Wabanaki games, doll making, art designs, songs, language, projects with natural materials, fingerweaving, constructing a wigwam, and recipes. The guide also includes a list of additional resources: periodicals; Native governments, organizations, and institutions; museums; reservation communities; and Native associations. Contents are described for a videocassette recording of Wabanaki pronunciation and songs that accompanies the guide. Contains 89 references, photographs, illustrations, and an index. (LP)

ED 393 621

The Wabanakis of Maine and the Maritimes

A resource book about Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Micmac and Abenaki Indians

with lesson plans for grades 4 through 8

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WABANAKI WORDS AND SONGS

A soundsheet produced to accompany *The Wabanakis of Maine and the Maritimes: A Resource Book about Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Micmac and Abenaki Indians.*

SIDE ONE	WABANAKI WORD PRONUNCIATIONS	
Corresponding section and page #:		Introduction (:20)
LESSON PLANS:	B-24	Mi'kmaq (:13)
	B-40	Mi'kmaq Family Tree Chart (1:19)
READINGS: LEGENDS	C-2	Koluskap and His People (1:50)
	C-7	Three Kəlóscαpe Legends (:11)
	C-13	Máhtək^{w}ehso: How the Rabbit Lost His Tail (1:09)
	C-21	Adventures of Master Rabbit: How the Rabbit Became Wise by Being Original (:55)
	C-25	The Kcinu: The Story of a Cannibal with an Icy Heart (:16)
STORIES FROM THE PAST	C-27	A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter: 1400 (:20)
	C-33	A Kennebec Mother's Thoughts: 1650 (:20)
	C-35	A Penobscot Boy's Thoughts: 1685 (:31)
	C-51	Maliyan (:15)

Note: For pronunciation of *sàkəmα* in other stories, listen to Máhtek^{w}ehso or A Kennebec Mother's Thoughts. For pronunciation of *sakom*, listen to Adventures of Master Rabbit.

FACT SHEETS:	D-9	Wabanaki Groups and Names (:37)
	D-23	Place Names (2:10)
	D-117	Waltes (:13)

SIDE TWO	SONGS	
Band 1	D-126	Little Pines [Tuhtuwas] (3:00)
Band 2	D-128	Amucalu--The Fly (1:20)
Band 3	-------	Four Passamaquoddy Songs: folk song, naming song, greeting chant, song in parts (5:26)

Wabanaki words on side one are pronounced by Serena Knockwoood, Micmac, with English words by Robert Leavitt; Wayne Newell, Passamaquoddy and Maliseet; and Carol Dana, Penobscot.

Wabanaki singing and drumming on side two is done by Wayne Newell and Blanche Sockabasin.

Others who helped in making the recordings were Mike Goodine of WQDY Radio Station and Daryle Carter. MPBN, WQDY, WCBB-TV, and the University of New Brunswick generously allowed us to use their recording facilities. Mark Ireland, cameraperson at WCBB-TV, produced the final recording.

Those who plan extensive use of this soundsheet for non-profit educational purposes are encouraged to duplicate the recording onto a cassette tape for ease of use.

Produced for the Maine Indian Program, P.O. Box 1096, Bath, Maine, 04530,
a field program of the New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee.

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THE WABANAKIS OF MAINE AND THE MARITIMES

A RESOURCE BOOK ABOUT PENOBSCOT, PASSAMAQUODDY, MALISEET, MICMAC, AND ABENAKI INDIANS

with lesson plans for
grades 4 through 8

Prepared for and published by the Maine Indian Program of

the New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee.

Cover photo of Sara Dana and Stella Dana of Pleasant Point,
taken by Father Larry Smith.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The resource book was written under the direction of a Curriculum Committee, a diverse group with representation from a number of Wabanaki communities. The committee was sponsored by the Maine Indian Program, part of the New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee. During the three years in which they met, this committee planned what was to be included in the resource book, supplied a broad body of facts, decided how the material should be presented, and then reviewed and revised what had been written between meetings. Under the committee's direction the project grew much larger than originally anticipated and took on its present form.

Principal members of the Curriculum Committee were:

Carol Dana	Penobscot	Indian Island
Peter Paul	Maliseet	Woodstock Reserve, NB
Roberto Mendoza	Creek	Orono and Portland
Richard Silliboy	Micmac	Houlton
Cathy Murphy Francis	Micmac	Monticello, ME and Eskasoni, NS
Marline Sanipass Morey	Micmac	Presque Isle and Indian Township
Vivian Massey	Penobscot	Indian Island
Mary Bassett	Passamaquoddy	Orono
Wayne Newell	Passamaquoddy	Indian Township
Laura Dana	Passamaquoddy	Perry
Robert Leavitt	non-Indian	Fredericton, NB
Mary Shaw	Micmac	Presque Isle

Others who participated in early meetings of the committee were:

Annis Jackson	Micmac	Presque Isle
Brenda Brooks	Maliseet	Houlton
Vireck Francis	Micmac	Monticello, ME and Eskasoni, NS
Eve Louttit	Cree	Presque Isle
Jeannette Neptune	Passamaquoddy	Indian Township
Dolly Sockabesin	Passamaquoddy	Indian Township
Paula Altvater	Passamaquoddy	Pleasant Point
George (Skip) Mitchell	Penobscot	Bucksport

Besides members of the Curriculum Committee, Darryl Nicholas, Maliseet of Tobique Reserve, NB, and Mary Ellen (Socobasin) Newell, Passamaquoddy of Indian Township, participated in planning sessions before the meetings began.

Working with the Curriculum Committee were several people who filled in the body of the resource book. The principal writers for the historical overview, fact sheets, and historical fiction in the readings section were Robert Conkling of Canaan and Mary Griffith of Freeport, while the principal writers for the lesson plans were Joan Leach, Waterville and Bailey Island, Sarah Schmidt, Brunswick, and Mary Griffith. The original outline and draft of the book were done by Victoria Akins, Penobscot of Indian Island, and Marsha Hutchinson and Frances Cooke, both of Freeport. Word processing and format of the final draft was done by Elizabeth McClenahan, project assistant, Richmond. The project coordinators were Mary Griffith and Sarah Schmidt, both AFSC staff.

Many of the interviews included in the interview section were conducted by members of Native communities. Interviewers included Cathy Murphy Francis, Mary Bassett, Wayne Newell, Marline Sanipass Morey, who were all members of the Curriculum Committee, Joyce Tompkins and Linda Raymond, both Maliseets from Houlton, and Victoria Akins.

The interviews include the voices of more than thirty Wabanaki people. The interviewers and interviewees agreed that the latter would remain anonymous. We are especially grateful to the Passamaquoddy man whose interview provides the foundation for the contemporary section of the historical overview.

Short essays by several Wabanaki children are included in a special section; all but one of the essays were written specifically for this book. The authors are Sarah Archer, Stephanie Bailey, Sara Lolar, Nakia Newell, Karri-Lynn Paul, Christina Silliboy, Chris Tomah, and Mali Tomah.

Pronunciation of Wabanaki words on "Wabanaki Words and Songs," the phonograph record accompanying the resource book, was done by Carol Dana, Penobscot, Wayne Newell, Passamaquoddy, Serena Knockwood, Micmac, and Robert Leavitt, linguist at the University of New Brunswick; Wayne Newell and Blanche Sockabasin sang. Others who helped in making the recordings were Mike Goodine of WQDY Radio Station and Daryle Carter. MPBN, WQDY, WCBB-TV, and the University of New Brunswick generously allowed us to use their recording facilities. Mark Ireland, cameraperson at WCBB-TV, produced the final recording.

Besides the Curriculum Committee there were many others, chosen for their knowledge of Wabanaki communities or history, educational expertise, or knowledge in other areas covered by the resource book, who reviewed parts of the text and who offered information, advice, and guidance. Andrea Nicholas, Maliseet historian of Tobique Reserve, NB, Eunice Baumann-Nelson, Penobscot author and educator of Indian Island, Ruth Whitehead of the Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, Harald Prins, ethnohistorian at Colby College and for the Aroostook Micmac Council, and Frank Siebert, linguist at Indian Island, were invaluable in shaping the final draft. Other important contributors included: Kenneth Morrison, ethnohistorian and professor of religion at the University of Arizona; Willard Walker, anthropologist of Wesleyan University; Nicholas Smith, anthropologist and librarian of Ogdensburg, NY; Doris Seale, Native American and librarian in Brookline, MA; Bruce Bourque, archaeologist at the Maine State Museum; Arthur Spiess, archaeologist with the Maine Historic Preservation Commission; David Sanger, archaeologist at the University of Maine at Orono; Joan LaFrance, Turtle Mountain Chippewa and education specialist, Seattle, WA; Winifred McPhedran, coordinator of School Union #42 curriculum review and revision project, Readfield; Celia Treworgy, teacher at Lewiston High School; Laura Juraska, librarian at Bates College; Linda Phillips, teacher at Indian Island School; Kay Nickless, teacher at Weatherbee School, Hampden; Cheryl Nolan, teacher

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There were many others involved in this project in a more indirect way who are not mentioned here. They include people who helped raise money for the project, gave us specific information about a variety of subjects, scoured libraries for obscure sources, shared recipes and ideas, asked students to write essays, offered encouragement and support, shared hardware and advice about software, and assisted in many other ways. Among them are the students involved in the pilot-teaching project and the many contributors to AFSC who made this project possible. For the many people who helped in these and other ways, we are very grateful.

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

The Wabanakis of Maine and the Maritimes: A Resource Book about Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Micmac, and Abenaki Indians provides the information and materials for a more accurate picture of the history and culture of Indians in Maine and the Maritimes. It is designed for use in grades four through eight, and divided into four sections -- the **historical overview; lesson plans; readings; and fact sheets**. Although designed for use in schools, it is for anyone who is interested in learning more about Wabanaki people.

When studying a culture, it is important to remember that different does not mean better or worse, superior or inferior. Rather, differences provide an opportunity to learn from others. The larger purpose of this resource book is to help children learn to respect and enjoy all kinds of neighbors.

ORIGINS

This resource book was written and compiled under the direction of a Curriculum Committee, which includes members of Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Micmac, and Maliseet communities in Maine and western New Brunswick. The committee members shared a concern that existing materials about Native peoples in libraries and schools in Maine and the Maritimes frequently depict them in an unfavorable or partially informed way, or discuss them only in the context of the so-called French and Indian Wars of colonial times. Often these materials fail to say that there are still Native communities in Maine and the Maritimes. And it is a rare book or audiovisual resource that discusses Native American perspectives on history or current events.

A notable exception on each of these counts is Maine Dirigo: I Lead, a history text for grades seven and eight. Three chapters written by Wabanakis tell the story of Native Americans in Maine. However, there was little space in Maine Dirigo: I Lead for illustrative material on Indian life and history, and the book is too advanced for children in grades four through six. The Curriculum Committee decided, therefore, to write a resource book to supplement the accounts in Maine Dirigo and to provide a wide variety of materials geared to grades four through eight. This resource book brings together for elementary and junior high school teachers and students a comprehensive set of readings that offer Native perspectives on the past and the present.

NAMES OF PEOPLES

Some people object to the name Indian because it perpetuates an error of Christopher Columbus. This explorer believed that he had reached the eastern coast of India and thus -- or so it is said -- he called the people here Indians.

"Indian" was not what any of the peoples of the Americas called themselves, however. So there are some who now prefer the name Native people, Native, or Native American. The latter is used most commonly in the United States, while the former two are preferred in Canada, since "America" to some means the United States. These names emphasize what is certainly correct, that they were the first, the true indigenous peoples of the Americas. But there seems to be no united view. The American Indian Fund in its title sanctions the older term. The Native American Rights Fund in its title dignifies the newer one. Native publications such as Akwesasne Notes and the Bulletin of the Central Maine Indian Association use interchangeably the names Indian and Native American.

Wabanaki, meaning "people of the land of the dawn," is used when a name is needed for Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, Maliseets, Micmacs, the Abenakis of Quebec and, until they were forced from there, the Abenakis of western Maine. These peoples are culturally similar and have been loosely allied at least since the first half of the 1700s, when they formed an alliance known as the Wabanaki Confederacy. Their view of themselves as a group of like peoples, with similar interests, goes back farther than that, but we cannot be certain how far.

There is no consensus on the use of the term Wabanaki. Some people say that for linguistic and historic reasons Micmacs differ enough from Maliseets, Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, and Abenakis so that they should not be called Wabanaki people. On the other hand, many people say that linguistically and culturally the Native people who were living in most of Vermont, New Hampshire, and coastal Massachusetts as far south as Cape Cod should be considered to be Wabanakis. However, these latter peoples' history since the mid-eighteenth century makes it difficult to consider them together with the Wabanakis of Maine and the Maritimes. The same is true for certain aspects of their culture. For instance, people of the Massachusetts coastline relied more heavily on agriculture and lived in larger and more permanent villages than the people referred to as Wabanakis in this resource book.[1]

EXPLANATION OF THE FOCUS

This resource book is designed primarily for use in Maine schools, but its focus extends beyond the borders of the state. There are two reasons for this.

The first is historical. From the point of view of Native peoples who have lived here for thousands of years, the international boundary between Canada and the United States is entirely arbitrary. It was drawn up by people outside of their political system, and it imposed an artificial division of territory and separation of peoples. Maliseets and Passamaquoddies had been one group -- they became two. Maliseets and Micmacs continue to this day to live on both sides of the border, and their histories are intertwined.

---

[1] Even in coastal Maine south of the Saco this was true to some extent. Early explorers noted their reliance on agriculture, and they burned the underbrush in the forest all around their villages as did people to the south.

The second reason has to do with sources. The best early European accounts of the Wabanakis are French. In the early seventeenth century the French visited and settled among Micmacs in the Maritimes more than among other Wabanaki groups. French descriptions of the Micmacs can be extended, with some caution, to paint a broad picture of life in the other groups as well. It also happens that today there is a richer body of written and audiovisual resources about Micmacs than about other Wabanaki groups. Therefore, the content of this resource book is a compromise between being about "Maine Indians" and about Wabanaki groups within and beyond what is now Maine. Such a compromise respects historical realities as perceived by Native peoples of the area and permits the best use of available resources.

Because this resource book describes the Wabanakis as a whole within a limited space, we have tended to speak more of things the various groups had in common than of their differences. The commonalities were real, and in the long run they proved to be of great importance. But of course the differences were real, too.

When Europeans came, they encountered Wabanaki groups living in a vast area including Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and parts of Quebec. Naturally, ways of life varied somewhat according to geography and climate. People on the southern rim of this area relied more on agriculture than those to the north and east; they ate more beans, corn, and squash. They had access to some southern plants and animals, such as chestnut, hickory, and sassafras trees, wild turkeys, and deer. They sometimes used dugout as well as bark canoes, whereas their northern neighbors relied primarily on birchbark canoes. In Maine and New Brunswick large river systems permitted rapid and easy access to almost the entire interior, but in Nova Scotia the rivers were smaller, and the Micmacs there did not travel as much inland. They relied more on marine resources along the coast. These kinds of shadings, which differentiated one group from another, have not been emphasized in this resource book. But it is important for teachers to be aware that they existed among the Wabanakis in the past and continue to exist today. Therefore, where selections from interviews have been used, it should be remembered that they do not represent all contemporary Wabanaki circumstances and points of view.

WABANAKI WORDS

In the discussion of certain Wabanaki concepts, Wabanaki words have been used. For example, the word sakom [ZAH-g'm] has been used for Wabanaki leader because no English word accurately conveys this person's function. There are two things to remember about the use of Wabanaki words. One is that the words differ from one Wabanaki language to another. In some cases the words are entirely different, and in others they are similar but may be pronounced and spelled somewhat differently. Gluskap, for example -- the name of the culture hero -- is Kəlóskɑpe [Gloos-

KAH-bee] among Penobscots and southern Abenakis, Koluskap [GLOOS kahb] among Maliseets and Passamaquoddies, and Gluskap [GLOOS-kahb] among Micmacs. In the resource book if a story pertains to a specific tribe or nation, the spelling and pronunciation of Wabanaki words conforms to the conventions of that group. The first time each word appears in a particular story or selection, it is followed by a pronunciation guide in brackets to enable an English speaker to closely approximate a Wabanaki pronunciation.

The other thing to remember concerns plurals. In Wabanaki languages words are not pluralized using the suffix -s, but for ease of reading among English speakers the standard English practice has been used here.

STEREOTYPING

One thing that is certainly shared by members of every contemporary Wabanaki community is their experience of stereotypes that non-Indians have of them. Although Native peoples are equal partners in a common human enterprise, labels found in written materials about them are disparaging. There is a standard collection of images of Indians who are lazy, or drunken, or wooden, or wild, or violent, or untrustworthy. It is important to learn how stereotyping of this kind unfairly puts people down, and equally important to understand the sad comment it makes about the person who engages in it.

Unfortunately stereotyping can be much more subtle, and therefore more difficult to recognize, than these examples suggest. And it can be born of ignorance, not just bad intentions. An example is the notion prevalent among non-Indian children (and sometimes Indian children as well), that Indians are "those people" who live in tipis, wear headdresses, and go on the warpath. This notion need not be entirely wrong to be unfair. (It is on a par with the notion in some places that North Americans are those grossly materialistic people who believe in free love, drive big cars, and drop bombs. There is some relation to some scattered facts here, but who among us would accept it as an accurate reflection of who we are?) Some Native peoples did live in tipis and wear headdresses, but most did not. Certainly Wabanakis did not. Nor did the Native people who dined with the Pilgrims for three days at the first Thanksgiving, which is the time of year when this picture of Indians is usually presented in schools. Tipis and headdresses were found among the so-called "war-like" tribes -- depicted thus in movies and on television -- who were forced at gunpoint from their homelands on the Plains.

We hope that this resource book will enable children to begin to recognize when something written or said about Native peoples in Maine is correct, or is unfair and wrong.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

A quick glance at the table of contents will show the basic organization of The Wabanakis of Maine and the Maritimes: A Resource Book. The first section, the **historical overview**, provides background information of the history and culture of the Wabanakis and the changes that have occurred over time. This section should be read first. Teachers may share information from it with students in any manner they choose. The rest of the book is divided into **lesson plans, readings,** and **fact sheets.**

Those of you who are teachers should turn next to the introduction to the lesson plans, which explains how the **lesson plans** are organized and how to use them together with the other parts of the book in teaching.

Readings provides information about Wabanaki people at various times during their history. This section includes:

Legends -- Wabanakis' own stories about a time long ago, long before Europeans came to North America.

Stories -- portions of the historical record or historical fiction written about the period of Wabanaki history between 1400 and 1930.

Interviews -- recollections and reflections on Wabanaki life by contemporary Wabanaki people. The interviews also offer Wabanaki points of view and insights on history presented in the historical overview.

In the **fact sheets**, detailed information on a variety of areas of Wabanaki life is presented.

The Wabanakis

We are the stars which sing
We sing with our light.
We are the birds of fire;
We fly over the heaven;
Our light is a star.

We sing on the road of the spirits;
The road of the great spirit.
Among us are three hunters
Who follow the bear,
There never was a time
When they were not hunting.
We look upon the mountains
This is a song of the mountains.

Recorded and translated from the Passamaquoddy
by J.D. Prince in the nineteenth century

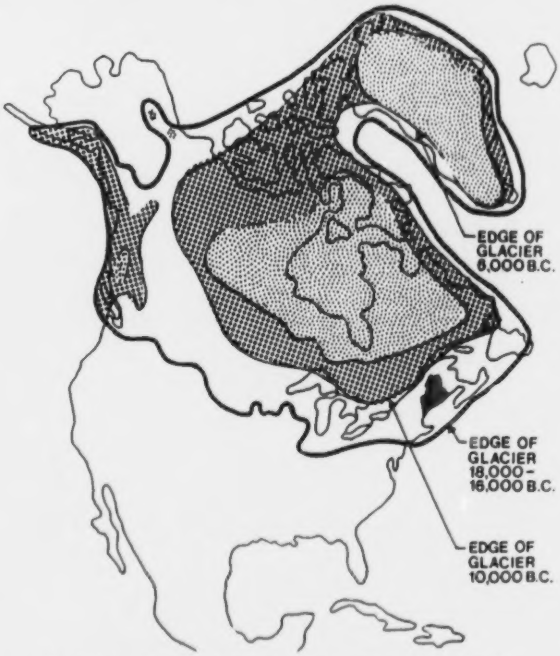
HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

It has been common to think of the Wabanakis in Maine and Maritime Canada as people who lived the same way for thousands of years and who only began to change when Europeans arrived. But the recent work of archaeologists shows clearly that, in the more than eleven thousand years Indians have inhabited Maine and the adjacent regions, there have been enormous changes, and that these changes continued right up to the time when Europeans appeared. It is not true to say that Europeans brought change where there had been none. They brought particular kinds of change that, in many ways, had disastrous consequences for the Wabanakis. But the Wabanakis responded to these changes, as they had to others, with ideas and methods that enabled them to survive.

CHANGES IN CLIMATE AND LIFE

The last glacier to spread over the North American continent was the Wisconsin, which reached its maximum line of advance in the Northeast in the northern part of present-day New Jersey between 18,000 and 16,000 years ago. The Northeast lay under ice that was more than a mile thick. The huge weight of the ice pushed the ground as much as 300 feet below its present-day level. So much ocean water had been trapped in the ice cap that throughout the world sea level dropped 400 feet below what it is now.

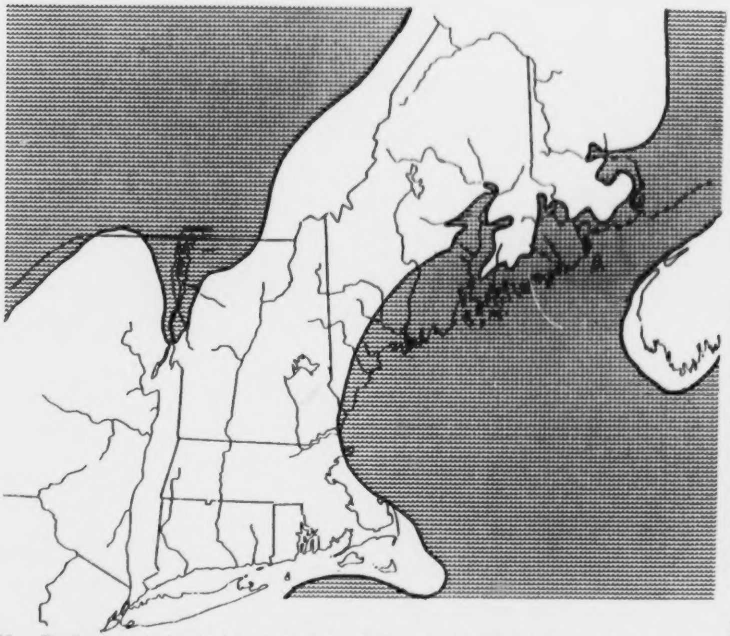

EDGE OF GLACIER 8,000 B.C.
EDGE OF GLACIER 18,000-16,000 B.C.
EDGE OF GLACIER 10,000 B.C.

Glaciation. Reprinted, by permission, from Maine Studies Curriculum Project, Maine Dirigo: "I Lead", 1980a.

As the glacier retreated northward, the ground began to rebound, and the ocean, swollen with water from the melting ice, began to rise. In Maine and New Brunswick the ground did not bounce back as fast as the ocean rose, and consequently much of the region was flooded by seawater. After more than three thousand years of thaw (about 12,500 years ago), there was salt water in the Penobscot valley as far inland as what is now East Millinocket, and in the Kennebec valley the ocean reached to present-day Bingham. However, the earth's crust continued to bounce back, and the land drained.

As the ice cap shrank, plants that had survived beyond the reach of the ice in the south spread slowly northward behind it. First to arrive were the mosses, lichens, herbs, and shrubs that together form tundra. Next came trees. The first people in the area lived in an environment of mixed tundra and trees, but as time went on the tundra was slowly replaced by the new forests. There may have been horses that could be hunted as game, as well as large bears and giant beavers (6.5 feet long), and there were bison, elk, caribou, and muskox. There were probably mammoths or mastodons in this area about 10,000 years ago.

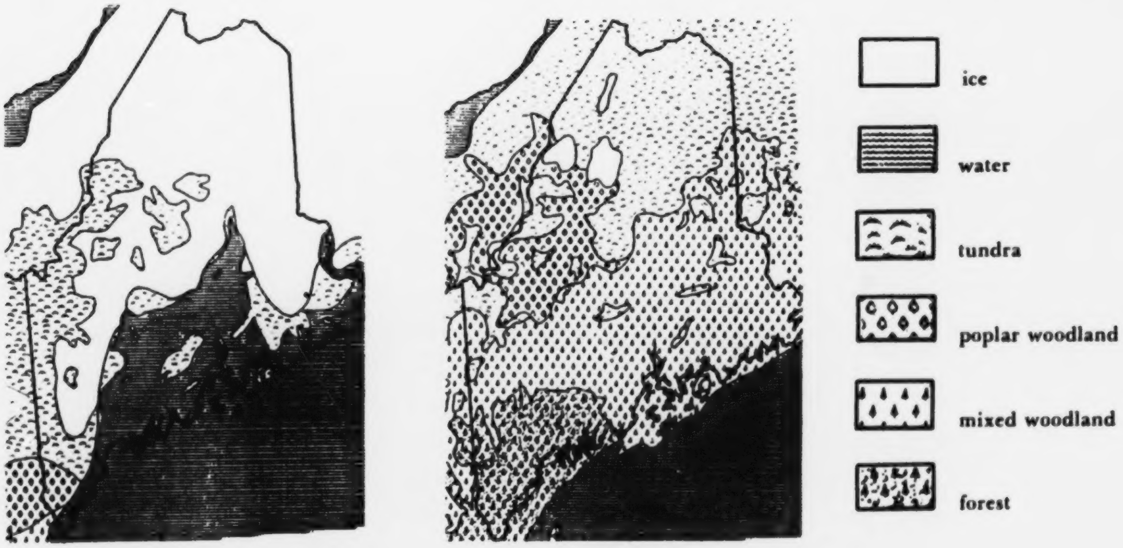
The people were expert hunters and equally expert in the manufacture of their hunting equipment. They manufactured spear points from chert to penetrate deeply into an animal. These points were mounted on the ends of shafts to form lances, for use at close range, and spears, which probably were thrown with spear throwers to gain more velocity, distance, and penetration. (The bow and arrow had not yet been invented.) "The skill and care [the spear points] represent were only rarely equaled in other times and other places in the prehistoric world.... Their high standards are reflected in the large percentage of points that were broken or rejected during manufacture. Fewer than half the points uncovered on the Debert site [in Nova Scotia, dated 10,500 years ago] were completed and used." (Snow: 1980) They also manufactured knives, perforators, drills, awls, scrapers, and spokeshaves for use in the working of bone, antler, wood, and ivory.



New England at the beginning of the Paleo-Indian period (12,500 B.P.). Vast areas of the continental shelf were still exposed while some northern areas now above sea level were submerged. Reprinted, by permission, from Snow, The Archaeology of New England, 1980.

The large bears and beavers, as well as horses and mammoths (if there were any), and a variety of other animals and birds, eventually became extinct. No one knows why. It may have been due to changes in climate and environment or to unknown diseases. The pressure of hunters on the game populations may have been a factor. In any case, people who had hunted these animals had to adapt to their environment in new ways in order to survive.

The trend was toward an increasingly intensive exploitation of more localized resources, particularly along the coast. People harvested shellfish (common clams, mussels, oysters, quahogs) that lay in the tidal flats. They speared seals and walruses and snared shore birds. And it is possible, although we do not know this for certain, that they went to sea in dugout canoes to hunt swordfish, whales, and porpoises. In the spring they caught fish when they swam upriver to spawn. Inland, they hunted caribou, moose, deer, bear, and beaver.



13,000 years ago

11,000 years ago

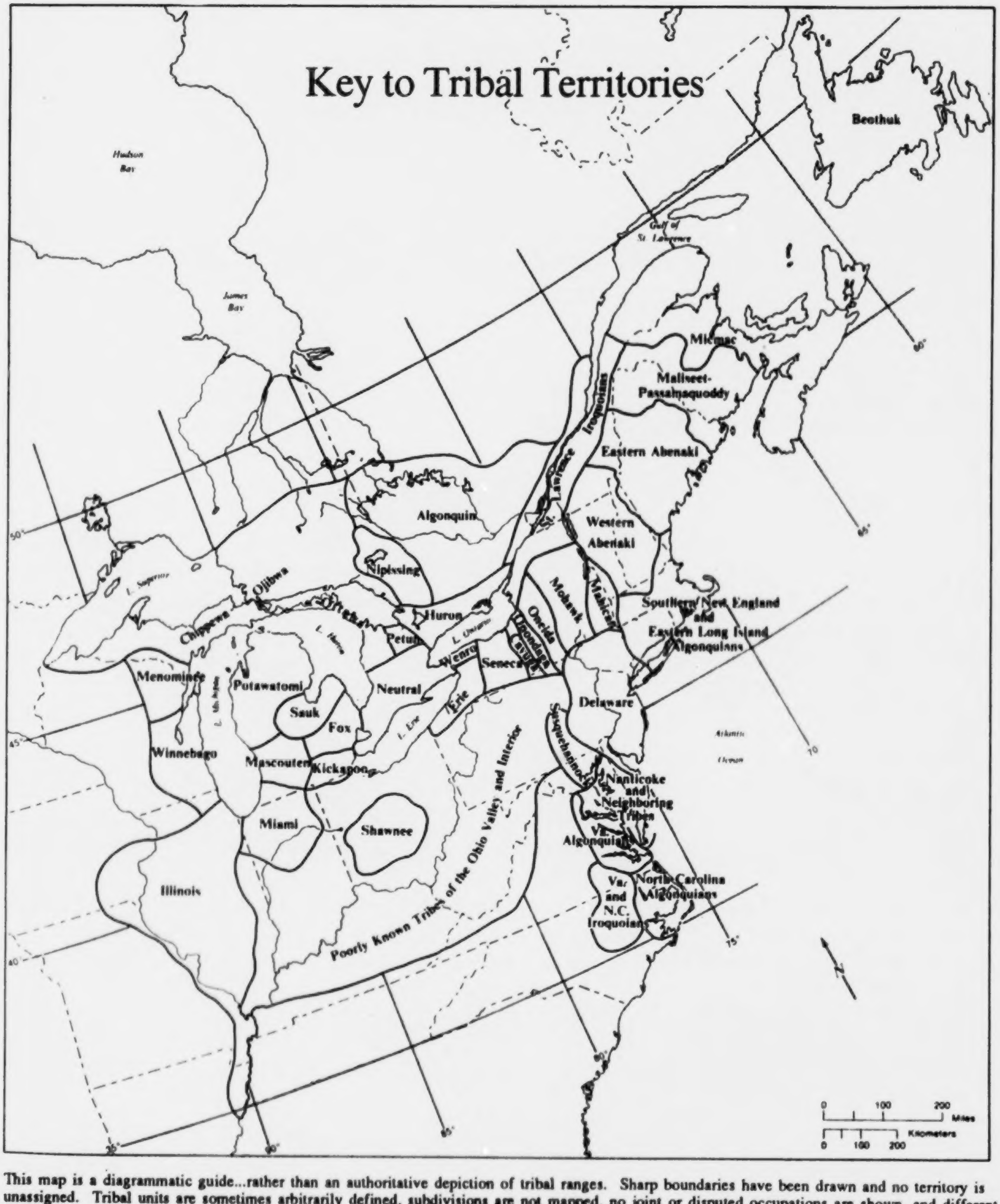
Reprinted, by permission, from Carole J. Bombard, "A Temporal Vegetational Continuum: from Tundra to Forest," in Explorations, v. 1(2), April 1985: 18-21.

Ease and rapidity of movement were important, so that through seasonal migration both the coastal and inland environments could be utilized. Movement was enhanced by the development of the birchbark canoe, which was fast, resilient, and light to carry, and the snowshoe, which enabled hunters to move quickly across deep snow in pursuit of large animals such as moose, which floundered in it.

Beginning about twenty-five hundred years ago, pottery was introduced or invented, and it was during this period that sunken houses were built along the coast for virtual year-round residence. One house style was oval, between 10 and 12 feet across, with a floor that was level or sunk into the ground to depths of between 4 and 24 inches. Often floors were covered with fine beach gravel and then with woven boughs. Hearths were placed inside near the entrances. There were benches along the walls. The dwellings were probably sunk into the ground for protection from wind and cold. It is likely that people spent fall, winter, and spring in these houses and that in the summer, while some stayed at the coast, others went inland to take salmon, shad, alewife, and eel on the rivers and streams. It is also possible that during this period there were people in permanent residence in the interior as well as at the coast and that they exchanged tools and food through trade, so that inland and coastal environments could be exploited without seasonal movement from one to the other.

WABANAKI SOCIETY 400 YEARS AGO

Throughout the sixteenth century there were Basque, Breton, Norman, Spanish, Portuguese, and English fishing vessels in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but it was not until the first years of the seventeenth century that Europeans came to live in Wabanaki territory year-round. It is from this


Key to Tribal Territories
Hudson Bay
James Bay
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Beothuk
Micmac
Maliseet-Passamaquoddy
Eastern Abenaki
Western Abenaki
St. Lawrence Iroquoians
Algonquin
Nipissing
Ojibwa
Chippewa
Ottawa
L. Superior
L. Huron
L. Michigan
L. Ontario
L. Erie
Huron
Petun
Neutral
Wenro
Erie
Seneca
Cayuga
Onondaga
Oneida
Mohawk
Mahican
Southern New England and Eastern Long Island Algonquians
Delaware
Susquehannock
Nanticoke and Neighboring Tribes
Va. Algonquians
North Carolina Algonquians
Va. and N.C. Iroquoians
Menominee
Potawatomi
Sauk
Fox
Winnebago
Mascouten
Kickapoo
Miami
Shawnee
Illinois
Poorly Known Tribes of the Ohio Valley and Interior
Atlantic Ocean
50°
45°
40°
35°
90°
85°
80°
75°
70°
65°
60°
N
0 100 200 Miles
0 100 200 Kilometers

This map is a diagrammatic guide...rather than an authoritative depiction of tribal ranges. Sharp boundaries have been drawn and no territory is unassigned. Tribal units are sometimes arbitrarily defined, subdivisions are not mapped, no joint or disputed occupations are shown, and different kinds of land use are not distinguished. Since the map depicts the situation at the earliest periods for which evidence is available, the ranges mapped for different tribes often refer to quite different periods, and there may have been many intervening movements, extinctions, and changes in range. Boundaries in the western half of the area are especially tentative for these early dates.... Not shown are groups that came into separate political existence later than the map period for their areas. Map and caption reprinted, by permission, from Snow, Handbook of North American Indians, 1978a.

time that we find written accounts of what Wabanaki societies were like as the first dramatic changes began to occur in response to the Europeans.

An estimate of Wabanaki population in 1600 A.D. can only be very rough, but the available evidence suggests about 32,000 people in Maine and New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia. Villages ranged in size from a half-dozen houses to over a hundred, and they were built at the coast, along the estuaries of rivers, and near lakes, rivers, and streams. People moved to the coast or inland according to the season and the foods that were available. Waterways were the people's major roads. Parked on the banks of villages, frequently, were dozens of canoes. Houses were wigwams framed with saplings and covered with bark or woven mats.

A French priest, Father Pierre Biard, who lived among the Wabanakis from 1611-1613, described how Micmacs and Maliseets appeared to him and how they got their living.

> They have no beards, the men no more than the women.... They have often told me that at first we seemed to them very ugly with hair both upon our mouths and heads; but gradually they have become accustomed to it, and now we are beginning to look less deformed. You could not distinguish the young men from the girls, except in their way of wearing their belts. For the women are girdled both above and below the stomach, and are less nude than the men; also they are usually more ornamented.... Their food is whatever they can get from the chase and from fishing; for they do not till the soil at all.... In the month of February and until the middle of March, is the great hunt for beavers, otters, moose, bears (which are very good), and for the caribou, an animal half ass and half deer. If the weather then is favorable, they live in great abundance, and are as haughty as Princes and Kings; but if it is against them, they are greatly to be pitied, and often die of starvation.... In the middle of March, fish begin to spawn, and to come up from the sea into certain streams, often so abundantly that everything swarms with them.... From the month of May up to the middle of September, they are free from all anxiety about their food; for the cod are upon the coast, and all kinds of fish and shellfish.... In the middle of September [they] withdraw from the sea, beyond the reach of the tide, to the little rivers, where the eels spawn, of which they lay in a supply; they are good and fat. In October and November comes the second hunt for elks [moose] and beavers. (Jesuits: 1959)

The priest neglected to mention the birds (and birds' eggs) that could be taken and eaten, such as Canada geese, loons, ducks, brants, and mourning doves; and the raspberries, strawberries, blueberries, and nuts; and the walruses, seals, whales, and porpoises that could be hunted. There was some agriculture practiced in Maine but nowhere did Wabanakis rely upon it, because the growing season was too short. Where they did practice it, they grew corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and tobacco for their pipes.

As the priest observed, the most precarious time of the year was in February and March. By then, food that had been stored in bark-lined cellars might be gone. If deep snow remained on the ground, hunters could track large animals and pursue them on snowshoes, which gave them an advantage, but if there were little snow or none, people might go hungry. They could go for eight or ten days without food and expect to survive, and in fact they survived winter better than the early European colonists, who relied on agriculture and food storage far more than the Wabanakis. So the six weeks of February and early March might be lean times or might be fat ones, but the rest of the year was certainly a time of plenty.

Given the vast land area they lived in, Wabanaki populations were not large (e.g. roughly 41 persons per 100 square miles in Maine), and therefore the pressure they exerted on the environment through manufacturing tools and getting a living was not great. The rich natural environment remained rich. The Wabanaki people were careful to maintain an ecological balance. Throughout most of the year and often throughout the entire year, there was more than enough.

There was virtually nothing the Wabanakis wanted that they could not have, and have in abundance.[1] This means that, in a very real sense, they were rich. Father Biard said that "Never had Solomon his mansion better regulated and provided with food.... In order to thoroughly enjoy this, their lot, our foresters start off to their different places with as much pleasure as if they were going on a stroll or an excursion...for their days are all nothing but pastime. They are never in a hurry. Quite different from us, who can never do anything without hurry and worry." (Jesuits: 1959) Nothing but pastime -- without doubt an exaggeration, for Indian men and women did work to survive. But the point remains: work did not dominate their lives as it did the lives of the French then, and many of ours now, and yet they had all that they wanted.

Their success was expressed in many ways: in their unhurried pace and leisure time; in the elaborate decorative work they had time to do on clothes and utensils; in the lavishness of their burials; in the exchanges of gifts among leaders; in the emphasis they placed on cooperation and the sharing of possessions; and in the cooperation they experienced between people, animals, and the spirits of animals, such that their abundance endured. Here is a description by Biard, for example, of a Micmac burial.

> They swathe the body and tie it up in skins; not length-wise, but with the knees against the stomach and the head on the knees, as we are in our mother's womb. Afterwards they put it in the grave which has been made very deep, not upon the back or lying down as we do, but sitting.... When the body is placed, as it does not come up even with the ground on account of the depth of the grave, they arch the grave over with sticks, so that the earth will not fall back into it, and thus they cover up the tomb.... If it is a man, they place there as a sign and emblem, his bow, arrows, and shield; if a woman, spoons, jewels, ornaments, etc. I have nearly forgotten the most beautiful part of all; it is that they bury with the dead man all that he owns, such as his bag, his arrows, his skins, and all his other articles and baggage, even his dogs if they have not been eaten [at the funeral ceremony]. Moreover, the survivors add to these a number of other offerings, as tokens of friendship. (Jesuits: 1959)

Later, after the Wabanakis had begun to trade with Europeans, other observers noted that the grave of a man might contain his gun, powder, shot, his bowl and kettle, his snowshoes, and valuable furs; and that a woman's grave contained her axe, knife, blanket, bead necklaces, the tools she used to decorate clothes, and her needles for the manufacture of birchbark canoes and snowshoes. It was the spirits of these things that went to the other world.

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[1] In addition to that which the local environment provided, Wabanakis were part of a centuries-old trade network. For example, people who had garden vegetables often traded with people farther north who didn't, and items such as arrowheads sometimes came from as far away as Labrador or Ohio.

The Wabanakis did not hope that the deceased had left these things to them as part of his or her will, but believed that it was the dead person, in fact, who needed them. These customs show their willingness to share possessions, and that their concern for others extended even to their welfare after they were dead.

There was abundance. There was also movement. There was a limit to what they wanted to possess, not only because they could fairly easily find it and replace it, but also because there was a limit to what they could carry. Wealth, as it is often conceived -- the accumulation of things -- was to them, or would have been, a positive hindrance. The value of objects, therefore, was measured by very different standards, and real wealth in their terms -- that is to say, something that could be usefully accumulated -- was not in things but in spiritual wealth, as well as in relationships of trust among people. One could acquire more and more of these relationships, and usefully so; and relationships did not have to be carried from place to place like a weight. They were created and maintained through the routine sharing of food and possessions, through feasts, exchanges of gifts, and through marriages. The larger a person's network of family and friends, the greater number of people that could be counted on to rally around, whether to share food when times were lean, to go to war, to prepare feasts, to lavish presents on allies, or to support decisions.

The Wabanakis' proverbial concern for others, for close families and cooperation in extended families, for sharing and harmony, operated usefully in the real world that was theirs. Europeans noted these things. They marveled sometimes at the Wabanakis' lack of possessiveness, at their willingness to share whatever they had. Father Chrestien Le Clercq wrote down what he saw:

> I should consider these Indians incomparably more fortunate than ourselves... for, after all, their lives are not vexed by a thousand annoyances as are ours. They have not among them those situations or offices, whether in the judiciary or in war, which are sought among us with so much ambition. Possessing nothing of their own, they are consequently free from trickery and legal proceedings in connection with inheritances from their relatives. The names of serjeant, or attorney, of clerk, of judge, of president are unknown to them. All their ambition centres in surprising and killing quantities of beavers, moose, seals, and other wild beasts in order to obtain their flesh for food and their skins for clothing they mutually aid one another in their needs with much charity and without selfseeking. There is a continual joy in their wigwams. The multitude of their children does not embarrass them, for, far from being annoyed by these, they consider themselves just that much the more fortunate and richer as their family is more numerous. (Le Clercq: 1910)

EUROPEAN CONTACT

The way of life that had been developed by the time of European contact began to change in response to the presence of European fishing crews, traders, and settlers. At first it changed slowly through the fur trade.

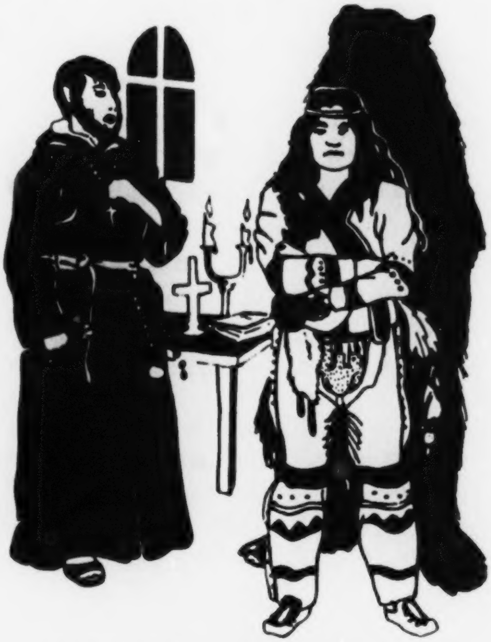
In Europe and Asia, for part of the sixteenth and all of the seventeenth centuries, there was an insatiable demand for furs for clothing and particularly for beaver pelts to make felt hats; in consequence, beavers in Europe had all but disappeared. Wabanakis wanted the iron and copper wares, iron arrowheads and spearheads, guns, and ammunition that the Europeans could provide. No doubt they had decided in favor of these things for the same reasons that they had earlier developed the birchbark technology -- because they were easy to carry, resilient, and efficient to use. Thus an extensive trade grew up, which made Wabanakis part of an international market system and which put a price on utensils, weapons, and animals where before there had been none.

The rule of abundance no longer applied. This was because the woods in Maine and the Maritimes had become part of the large European market. Once there had been more than enough animals; now there were too few, in the face of that market's demand for more pelts than there were beavers (and other animals). The Wabanakis hunted them more intensively to supply the market. Their attention was drawn away from their subsistence activities to some degree, and they came to rely on Europeans for parts of their diet. In a sense, they had no choice. Europeans also hunted these animals, and the record shows that they did so without regard for conservation or the importance of the animals to Wabanaki livelihood. If Wabanakis had not supplied furs for the trade, Europeans would have pursued them more relentlessly, and more destructively, on their own. Wabanakis sold furs for profit, it is true, but it is also possible they did it for their own protection.

Often, in exchange for furs, the Europeans traded liquor. Before contact with the Europeans there had been no alcohol -- and no alcoholism -- in the Wabanaki communities, but with the advent of the fur trade alcoholism became a problem. When European traders saw the effects alcohol had, some of them curtailed its sale, but others promoted it. Later, some English negotiators were known to try to get Wabanaki delegates drunk before they signed treaties with them. From the earliest years, the trade in liquor resulted in waste and impoverishment as well as disrespect and violence in communities where people normally treated one another with the utmost care. A French priest noted that the traders watered down their brandy but charged the same for it, "and they still make the Indians drunk by these mixed liquors, thus rendering themselves, by this miserable kind of trading, the masters not only of the furs of the Indians, but also of their blankets, guns, axes, kettles, etc., which the traders have sold them at a very dear price.... Injuries, quarrels, homicides, murders, parricides are to this day the sad consequences of the trade in brandy." (Le Clercq: 1910) Over the years the infamous trade in rum, brandy, and other alcoholic beverages slowly ate away at Wabanaki communities.

The second change that occurred was sudden and catastrophic. With the first epidemics, beginning in Nova Scotia in the late 1500s and in Maine in 1616, diseases common in Europe began to sweep through Wabanaki villages. Europeans had observed Wabanakis to be healthy and strong, which they were; but by virtue of their isolation from Europe there had never been opportunities for them to acquire immunities to diseases that had ravaged Europeans in previous centuries. This included measles and chicken pox, which today are usually considered minor because of acquired immunities passed from mother to child. Also present were pneumonia, influenza, typhus, yellow fever, hepatitis, dysentery, plague, and smallpox. Farther south, in Massachusetts, the death rate was as high as 90 and 95 percent. Among Wabanakis, lower population densities and sparser settlement patterns slowed the rates at which the diseases spread but also lengthened the time during which they were a serious threat. There was a disaster of enormous proportions: between two-thirds and three-quarters of the Wabanakis died. In the space of a few years a population of 20,000 in Maine and western New Brunswick had been reduced to about 5,500. Entire families and villages were destroyed. Alliances that had been laboriously created over the years among leaders and communities were eroded, or disappeared. Wabanaki curers, or shamans, were discredited because their expertise was of little use against the new sicknesses, which claimed them as victims, too. Because the shamans were often leaders in the Wabanaki bands, this meant that as their authority waned the traditional leadership structure was undermined at the same time. Disease influenced politics: it reached into every corner of Indian life.

The Europeans knew no better than the shamans how to combat the diseases, but due to their acquired immunities, they simply outlived them. Wabanakis died in droves, despite their best efforts, while the missionaries and traders among them usually remained untouched. Neither side had available to them a modern theory of medicine that could explain how the diseases spread and why Wabanakis and other Indians were so vulnerable. Yet, of necessity, Wabanakis wondered why. In their view, if a person were sick it meant that he or she had acted carelessly or disrespectfully and had offended another being. The insult had been avenged by intrusion of an angry spirit into the patient's body. A spirit could have done this on its own, or an offended person might have used it for this purpose. In this view, health hinged upon the care with which a person treated others, human and nonhuman. Disease was a kind of punishment for wrong. But how were they at fault? When the epidemics struck, the missionaries tried to provide the answer: Wabanakis were at fault because they did not believe in the Christian god. The missionaries also considered sickness and cure as divinely caused, and in their view they did not die because their Christian god protected them. On the basis of their own ideas of sickness, Indians had to wonder: did the god of the missionaries have more power to make them sick and to protect them than the spirits the shamans knew? Some of them believed so, based on the terrible evidence before their eyes. Some converted to Catholicism; eventually, most of them would. In some Indian communities shamans were replaced by missionaries, who were eager to expand their influence. We have a report of the situation along the Kennebec River in the middle of the seventeenth century, where the epidemics were still rampant, more than thirty years after they had begun.



A priest and a shaman. Reprinted, by permission, from Leavitt, The Micmacs, 1985.

> It must certainly be [the Indians said] that this God is good and very powerful, since he has taken from this [priest] the fear of the most contagious diseases, and has given him safety against the threats of our shamans and the malice of their charms, at which he mocks. (Jesuits: 1959)
>
> It is true that all the [shamans] now acknowledge their weakness, and the power of Jesus -- some even inviting the Father into their cabins, and treating him with high honor. The most noted and the most feared of their number, named *Aranbinau,* -- who had, in time past, raised his hatchet against the Father to kill him, upon finding him catechizing a nephew of his, -- has shown himself so docile to the Father's words that he now makes profession of having him as an intimate friend. (Jesuits: 1959)

The epidemics had turned a world upside-down. To say that the result was social disorganization does not do justice to the despair and confusion and grief that were experienced.

THE ENVIRONMENT CHANGES

Another major change occurred very gradually over a period of two hundred years, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century. As European colonists settled the coast and later moved up the river valleys to harvest timber and to farm, the uses to which the land was put began to change, and consequently the nature of the land, the very composition of the environment, was altered. This occurred first in southern Maine and eventually throughout Maine and the Maritimes. These environmental changes were as dramatic and as far-reaching in their consequences for the Wabanakis as any that had occurred in the previous 12,000 years.

The ancient forest was cut down. In process of formation for 10,000 years, in the space of just two hundred years it was gone. New trees grew up in its place in some areas, but often they were neither the same species nor as extensive, and they did not provide the same habitats for animals as the old forest had done. White pine trees that towered over the forest more than two hundred feet above the ground were taken for ships' masts. Oaks and cedars were used for firewood, houses, and industry. Many timber products were shipped to England for profit. The lumberers cut as if the supply would never run out. In fact, white pine and cedar were not abundant in New England and were soon used up, and it became necessary to go farther and farther north to find them. The first sawmills in Maine were built as early as the 1630s. By 1682 there were twenty-four of them in the region of Portland, Wells, and Kittery, cutting softwoods for the most part since these, unlike the denser hardwoods, could be floated down streams and rivers to the coast.

Often dams were built on streams and rivers to produce the waterpower necessary to run sawmills and gristmills. The dams prevented the great spawning migrations of fish up the rivers. These fish runs were an important source of food for Wabanakis, a source which became ever more important as Wabanaki use of the coast was increasingly blocked by European settlement. Over and over Wabanakis complained about the dams, but to no avail. By the mid-nineteenth century the industry had moved father north and east in pursuit of the vanishing forest, and at that time along the Penobscot River alone there were some 250 sawmills; similar patterns appeared at the same time in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Yet lumberers cut fewer trees than farmers, who cleared large areas to plant their crops and graze their cattle. Sometimes they left the dead trees to rot. Sometimes the trees were burned and their ashes were used for fertilizer. Trees were cut to build rail fences. Trees were cut to be burned in open fireplaces to heat houses that consumed between thirty and forty cords a year.

Farmers understood that different trees grew in different types of soil. Maple, ash, and beech indicated, for instance, a rich black humus underneath, so they were cut first. While it was true that trees were a product of the soil, what the farmers did not understand was that the soil was also a product of the trees. A forest produces nutrients. It moderates extremes of heat and cold and the effects of wind. It retains snow cover; consequently, frost does not penetrate the ground so deeply, which means that water from snowmelt and rain can be absorbed over longer periods of time. It retains rainwater in its roots and canopy, which reduces erosion and floods and permits streams and ponds to remain at more constant levels throughout the year.

In Maine, and throughout New England and the Maritimes, where the forest was cleared the land became "sunnier, windier, hotter, colder, and drier." (Cronon: 1983) Some streams and ponds dried up for parts of the year. Increased erosion caused others to fill in with sediment as much as five times as rapidly as before, until eventually some of them disappeared. The water table dropped. The soil became drier, poorer. Crops and other vegetation suffered.

On the heels of the vanishing forest came farm animals. Both Wabanakis and Europeans relied heavily on animals, but not on the same ones, and that difference alone was to be of enormous importance.

In the fall and winter Wabanakis depended on moose, bear, caribou, deer, and beaver. These animals were wild, they roamed over large areas, they could not be taken with certainty. When they were taken (in the Wabanaki view) it was because they had offered themselves so that people could live, and this signified that cooperation existed between the hunters and the spirits of the animals. The animals had an independent existence; when they entered into a relationship with the hunters that turned to the advantage of the hunters, it was out of an entirely free choice. The natural world, like the world of Wabanaki families and communities, was based on relationships of trust. One could not, in any sense, own or possess these animals; one could only enter into a relationship with them which, like others of its kind, could be maintained or broken by the ways in which one behaved. Thus there were rules about how these animals could be used, what was to be done with their bones, and so on -- these were ways in which respect was paid.

Hogs and cows, sheep and horses, on the other hand, did not have spirits, they had owners. Even when they grazed together in common herds in open fields or the woods, they belonged to somebody, never to themselves. "The notch in its ear or the brand on its flanks signified to the colonists that no one other than its owner had the right to kill or convey rights to it." (Cronon: 1983) They were herded and slaughtered as it suited the farmers, who depended on them, not just in the fall and winter, but year-round. At first, conflict between English settlers and Wabanakis arose as the cattle trampled unfenced Wabanaki cornfields. The settlers could not control their cattle, and yet would not permit the Wabanakis to shoot them. Eventually, as the English settlements grew, the

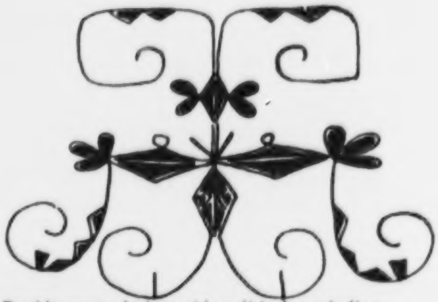
English settlers began to exercise more control over their cattle. Thus, fences -- miles and miles of rail and stone fences -- began to divide and bound the land. They were there to keep the animals in and, of course, others out. Fences signified what farmers assumed -- that animals and land inside the fences were their sole and exclusive possession. No one else had a right to use them. This was an assumption Wabanakis had never made, about the animals or the land, when they had freely shared use of them with the first European settlers.

The farm animals themselves became a reason for European expansion. By virtue of their great numbers, they required huge areas for their survival, and in fact they "required more land than all other agricultural activities put together. In a typical town, the land allocated to them was from two to ten times greater than that used for tillage." (Cronon: 1983) Areas that had once supported more Wabanakis than there were now Europeans came to seem too constricted because there were too many animals. More forest had to be cleared. The animals tramped and compacted the soil, and it became less absorbent and less fertile. They ate the sprouts of trees that tried to grow back. There was more erosion. The nutrients in the soil were soon carried off and used up, and farmers had to clear more land in order to get the yields they needed.

As in the case of lumbering, French, English, and later, American expansionism in the procurement of land for agriculture had far less to do with the pressure of numbers of people than with the dynamics created by their methods of subsistence, methods which, while exploiting the environment, significantly altered it. It had appeared at first that the land which supplied Wabanakis with abundance would also permit European settlers to become rich; and some did. But in the process they made the land poorer and, in effect, just by the way they used it they took it away.

WABANAKI GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

An environment that Wabanakis had used for thousands of years was transformed in a short period of time. Their livelihood was taken from them. In the face of such a catastrophe, they created a politics and diplomacy that they used to survive as a separate people with a separate identity. The basis for this achievement already existed in the Wabanaki societies that the Europeans encountered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.



Double-curve design with political symbolism. Reprinted, by permission, from Penobscot Man: The Life History of a Forest Tribe in Maine, Frank G. Speck, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940.

Wabanaki government then was based on the family. At minimum, a family consisted of mother and father and children. Once a couple had children, the marriage bond was very strong. "It can be said with truth," wrote LeClercq (1910) about the Micmacs, "that the children are then the indissoluble bonds, and the confirmation, of the marriage of their father and mother, who keep faithful company without ever separating, and who live in so great a union with one another, that they seem not to have more than a single heart and a single will. They are very fond of one another, and they agree remarkably well. You never see quarrels, hatred, or reproaches among them." The family might also be joined in its wigwam by grandparents and brothers or sisters of one of the parents, cousins, or others.

Often two brothers or two sisters and their families would share a wigwam or a summer or winter camp. The larger villages, like the camps, were formed on the basis of marriage and extended-family relationships to brothers and sisters, first, second, and third cousins and their families, nephews, nieces, and so on. The size of camps and villages was fluid; they could form into larger units almost as easily as they could separate into smaller ones. They changed from season to season and year to year. The larger communities had a leader, or sakom [ZAH-g'm], who had higher status by virtue of his prowess as a hunter, his expertise as a healer, his age, and the extensive ties he maintained through his extended family. Often such leadership was passed from father to son. It was these sakoms who met and negotiated with the Europeans, and the Europeans found them, not surprisingly, to be competent, prudent, and shrewd.

The sakoms did not so much rule as listen, for politics in the Wabanaki communities was based on a consensus[2] of adult men and women. Sakoms did not use the means of coercion that Europeans took for granted. There were no prisons, courts, or police, and their soldiers, when skirmishes occurred, were some of the very persons -- others like themselves -- whom they had to persuade. These differences in authority and leadership styles among Wabanakis and Europeans were noticed by both sides and remarked upon very early.

> They have reproached me a hundred times because we fear our Captains, while they laugh at and make sport of theirs. All the authority of their chief is in his tongue's end; for he is powerful in so far as he is eloquent; and even if he kills himself talking and haranguing he will not be obeyed unless he please the [Indians]. (Jesuits: 1959)

The first French settlers at Port Royal in Nova Scotia established an alliance with a Micmac sakom, Membertou, who was described by a French observer.

> He has under him a number of families whom he rules, not with so much authority as does our King over his subjects, but with sufficient power to harangue, advise, and lead them to war, to render justice to one who has a grievance, and like matters. He does not impose taxes upon the people, but if there are any profits from the chase he has a share of them, without being obliged to take part in it. (Jesuits: 1959)

If a sakom received more from the chase, perhaps it was because he sometimes had more people to support, for he might be responsible for orphans and widows and various guests.

A sakom's influence was frequently confined to the river drainage system in which he lived. To influence events in adjacent areas it was necessary to form alliances, and for this purpose sakoms arranged to meet with each other.

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[2] A process which leads to a decision with which all of the people involved are in agreement.

> Now in these assemblies, if there is some news of importance, as that their neighbors wish to make war upon them, or that they have killed someone, or that they must renew the alliance, etc., then messengers fly from all parts to make up the more general assembly...they resolve upon peace, truce, war or nothing at all, as often happens in the councils where there are several chiefs without order and subordination.... (Jesuits: 1959)

This description of the assemblies suggests both the strengths and weaknesses of Wabanaki politics at that time. Clearly, it was sometimes difficult for the sakoms and their supporters to decide upon a united course of action, vis-à-vis the Europeans or each other. The result was sometimes clashes. Between 1607 and 1615, for example, there were disputes between Sacos on the one hand and Micmacs allied with Maliseets and Passamaquoddies on the other, and between Penobscots and Maliseets who were allied with Passamaquoddies. But if a loosely-jointed politics of this kind sometimes produced isolation and weakness, it also functioned to protect the egalitarianism and freedom of choice that Wabanakis cherished. Where the French saw strength and order in their own system of authority, the Wabanakis saw fear and oppression, and they criticized the French for their uncritical submission to it. The challenge that faced Wabanaki leaders over the next 150 years was how to join together in larger and stronger units and, at the same time, to preserve their relationships of equality and freedom. European expansionism required that they do the first; their own values required that they do the second.

They achieved these goals through confederation, the same method later used by the American colonies when they united against the British. The basis of confederation already existed when the threat of European expansion became apparent. There was the precedent of the assemblies and temporary alliances. There was extensive face-to-face association and interdependence through trade: of wampum shells and corn that came north from southern New England, and of furs, copper, and Kineo felsite (chert) that passed southward from Maritime Canada and Maine and of Rama chert that came from Labrador. And there were the similarities that existed in beliefs and politics and their adaptations to sea and forest. As the years wore on, alliances became more widespread and more permanent, as did the perception of common danger. The new conditions extended west to an old enemy, the Iroquois, and in 1700, through the mediation of the French, the Wabanakis in Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia and the Five Nations of the Iroquois concluded a treaty.

This agreement established the basis for a second major political achievement in the first half of the 1700s, the formation of a confederacy of Catholic Indians, including Hurons, some of the Algonquian nations, and those Mohawks who were part of the mission community at Caughnawaga, with the Indians in Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. By this time the Wabanakis had come to view themselves as a single, organized entity and thus, in addition to sending representatives to the meetings in Caughnawaga, they began to meet among themselves at Indian Island, Maine, and elsewhere, as members of the Wabanaki Confederacy. Abenakis, Penobscots, Passamaquoddies, Maliseets, and Micmacs maintained their separate identities but acted in unison toward common objectives of defense and survival.

They achieved these objectives principally through the use of diplomacy. They discovered early that they could use the conflict between the French and the British and, later, between the British and the Americans to get fair treatment from one side or the other, or both. Until the French army was defeated at Quebec in 1759, the French were their principal political and military allies. The English were interested in the fur trade and did much to promote it, and the Wabanakis traded extensively with them. But they were also eager to get land for agriculture and the lumber industry. By contrast, much of the French presence in Maine and the Maritimes was maintained by missionaries and traders, who required little Wabanaki land for their purposes. Those traders who did have grants for huge tracts of land never really developed them. The French treated Wabanakis more as partners than did the English, and so the association between the Wabanakis and the French was a more intimate one; there was some intermarriage between them, and French priests assumed leadership in some of the Wabanaki communities. The Wabanakis eventually converted to Catholicism.

LAND AND TREATIES

When the first explorers from France and England came to the Americas, their governments assumed that the parts of North America that they claimed became colonies of France and Britain, and that they had sovereignty over the land. This view persisted, for later, when France and England signed treaties dividing up their claims to North America, Wabanaki legal conceptions and political objectives were not heeded. Wabanakis were never asked to agree to these treaties, which were negotiated and signed in Europe. When English and French settlers arrived in North America, many of them, particularly the English settlers, settled land without gaining the permission of Wabanaki people. In a few years the English colonial government in New England made laws requiring individuals acquiring land to do so by deed or purchase; those who did not were violating the law. Although French law never required deeds or treaties for acquisition of land, French settlers who failed to gain Wabanaki permission violated European principles of international law that acknowledged Native land rights, if not their rights of sovereignty.

The major Wabanaki goals throughout the years of conflict with the English were to retain their land and to continue to govern themselves. They acted as most nations would to preserve their boundaries and protect their sovereignty. Treaties were broken or appeared broken, and sometimes this resulted in skirmishes and war. Wars also broke out because the violent conflict in Europe between Britain and France could not be avoided when it spread across the ocean. In the so-called French and Indian War, for example, the Penobscots sought to remain neutral, but the British ignored their stance and forced the war upon them. The dramatic nature of the wars on the New England frontier should not be permitted to obscure the fact that the Wabanakis relied far more on diplomacy and consistently preferred it. They signed numerous treaties with the English representatives in an effort to create clear and separate areas of interest as the basis for peace. This effort largely failed.

It failed because there were misunderstandings on both sides about what the treaties meant. These misunderstandings revolved around differing ideas of property and land. Ideas of what property is change over time and vary among societies throughout the world, and there is a natural tendency for members of a particular society to assume that "property", in their sense, is what property means for everyone else as well. The Wabanakis and the English were no different in this regard. The English assumed that when Wabanakis gave them rights to land, this meant that they had received sole and exclusive possession of it. In this view, Wabanakis had renounced any claim to occupy or use the land in any way. In the Wabanaki view, by contrast, what the English had received was a right to share use of the land. The English could hunt and fish and farm, but Wabanakis expected to continue to do the same, in the same area. When Wabanakis came back the next year to do these things, the English were outraged. When the English pushed them off the land and deprived them of use of it, the Wabanakis were outraged. The Wabanakis thought they had agreed to share use. The English thought they had received exclusive possession. Each side was convinced that the other had broken the agreement. This basic misunderstanding occurred again and again and was the cause of much trouble.

But there was more to it than that. "Property" or "land" for the Wabanakis had a much larger significance than it did for the English. When Wabanakis conferred on the English a right to share use of land, in their view they had given the English a chance to enter into a particular kind of relationship. Land was that place where animal beings and the spirits of the animals had their separate and independent existences. Trees and stones and rivers could possess personal qualities, and it was possible, therefore, to have a social relationship with them. One could no more own or sell a right to exclusive possession of these beings than one could own or sell one's mother. But a person could enter into a relationship of respect with them. If this were done, through the right kind of behavior, these beings would cooperate so that people could live.

The land, in this view, was not like a sack of flour in an English kitchen or a hog in an English farmyard, whose existence and use depended entirely on the will of the master. The land did not have a human master. It was a sacred, social world; as such, it had a life that one could participate in but not that one could transfer exclusive title to, in exchange for English cloth or English corn. When Wabanakis agreed to share use of land they permitted the English passage into a sacred world; but the English did not realize they had entered it. By their own lights, they had done something else: they had bought a commodity on the market. It is doubtful that the English ever appreciated the sacred significance of the land for the Wabanakis. Instead of responding with gratitude for the importance and value of what had been shared with them, they acted in ways that caused heartbreak and resentment.

Treaties failed to keep the peace because of basic misunderstandings of this kind. They also failed due to insincerity. In the view of the British government the Wabanakis had no legal claim to their land. For the British government, therefore, and for many of the English settlers, the treaties were as much a means to conquest as to peaceful co-existence. They were honored until it was safe to ignore them. British attitude was expressed by Sir William Johnson. He said that the Indians "desire to be considered as allies and Friends and such we may consider them at reasonable expense and thereby occupy our Posts and carry on Trade in safety until in a few years we shall become so formidable throughout the country as to be able to protect ourselves and abate the charge." (Buesing, Conkling, and Walker: 1980)

The Wabanakis, by virtue of their own strength and the support implied by their alliance with the French, were able to impede the English inclination to intimidate, but they could not stop it. Some of those in the Kennebec, Androscoggin, and Saco valleys moved away and joined the Penobscots, or the communities at St. Francis and Bécancour in Quebec, which had been formed by other refugees from New England. Maliseets and Micmacs in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island experienced less pressure from English colonization than Wabanakis in southern Maine, since the majority of settlers tended to spread northward from Boston, and the Maliseets and Micmacs were farther away. But an ominous sign of things to come was visible in Nova Scotia in 1749, when an expedition of 2400 English settlers arrived in the area that is now Halifax. The Micmac response was clear and eloquent. Their sakom wrote to the English:

> The place where you are, where you are building dwellings, where you are now building a fort, where you want, as it were, to enthrone yourself, this land of which you wish to make yourself now absolute master, this land belongs to me, I have come from it as certainly as the grass, it is the very place of my birth and of my dwelling, this land belongs to me the Indian, yes I swear, it is God who has given it to me to be my country for ever...show me where I the Indian will lodge? you drive me out; where do you want me to take refuge? you have taken almost all this land in all its extent. Nothing remains to me except Kchibouktouk. You envy me even this morsel.... Your residence at Port Royal does not cause me great anger because you see that I have left you there at peace for a long time, but now you force me to speak out by the great theft you have perpetrated against me. (Upton: 1979)

After the French defeat at the Battle of Quebec in 1759, which marked the end of French power in Quebec and the Maritimes, the Wabanakis were without their military ally and, consequently, were in a much weakened position. Representatives of the Passamaquoddies, Maliseets, and Richibucto Micmacs went to Halifax, Nova Scotia, to sign treaties with the British that year, and the rest of the Micmacs concluded similar treaties the following year. The British king promised to respect Wabanaki territory in a Proclamation issued in 1763, but the governors of Massachusetts, Quebec, and Nova Scotia did not recognize the Proclamation as valid in their territories. When the Penobscots complained about English encroachment on their land, they received this response from Massachusetts Governor Bernard at Fort Pownall, in 1763: "The English have conquered this whole country; and the Indians must not prescribe to them what shall be the bounds of their settlements." (Buesing, Conkling, and Walker: 1980) As a statement of the facts, this was wrong. The English had not conquered the whole country, and the Wabanakis had not surrendered their claims to be sovereign peoples with rights to determine their own fates. But as a statement of English attitude, Bernard's statement was correct. They wanted the whole country and would dictate terms when they could, not negotiate them.

EFFECTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In 1775 a British warship destroyed Fort Pownall, which the Penobscots had used for trade. The Penobscots received a letter from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in which it was urged that the Penobscots join with the American colonies to defend the liberty of both parties. Joseph Orono urged his fellow Penobscots to side with the Americans. He said:

> Their great sagamore [the British king] is coming to bind them in chains, to kill them. We must fight him.... For should he bind them in bonds, next he will treat us as bears. Indians' liberties and lands his proud spirit will tear away from them. Help his ill-treated sons; they will return good for good, and the law of love run through the hearts of their children and ours, when we are dead. (Buesing, Conkling, and Walker: 1980)

In 1777 the British occupied the St. John Valley; 500 Maliseets went south to Machias. In the middle of August in that same year the British attacked Machias with four ships and marines and were repulsed by Wabanaki and American volunteers. A number of Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Micmac, St. Francis Abenaki, and Bécancour soldiers remained in the Machias area throughout the war. These actions helped secure that boundary area for the Americans at the end of the war. Farther to the north and east, Maliseets and Micmacs in British territory were divided about what to do. Some Maliseets remained neutral, others fought with the Americans. Micmacs from Richibucto and the Miramichi gathered together a force of two hundred canoes and attacked British ships and posts along the coast, and some Micmacs joined the Americans in an attack on the British Fort Cumberland in Nova Scotia. Other Micmac communities, though sympathetic to the American cause, decided to remain officially neutral.

Despite the help they had given to the Americans during the war, the Wabanakis were back in their old position of weakness as soon as the war was over. The dynamics of the lumber industry and agriculture -- which required more and more land even as they made it poorer -- had not changed, and like the British before them, the Americans found that when they were at peace it was more in their interest to ignore or intimidate the Wabanakis than to behave toward them as partners. The Wabanakis asked formally for fair treatment but got none, and the encroachment on their land continued without their consent. In 1794 the Passamaquoddies signed a treaty with the State of Massachusetts in which they ceded their territory, except for approximately 23,370 acres. The Penobscots, after they had signed treaties in 1796 and 1818 and 1833, retained islands in the Penobscot River above Bangor. (Marsh Island, the present-day site of the town of Orono and the University of Maine, was leased for 99 years, but was not given up in treaties.)[3]

The American Revolution proved a disaster for the Micmacs. By the end of that war many colonists who had sided with the defeated British left the United States to live in Nova Scotia. Within a single year the non-Native population of what is now Nova Scotia tripled, to forty-two thousand persons. The Micmacs were simply pushed aside. The new settlers wanted the best land along the coast and took it. This was in spite of a treaty signed by the British in 1726, in which they promised not to interfere with the Micmacs in their territories where they hunted and fished and planted. And it was in spite of a similar promise in the British Proclamation of 1763. As the Canadian historian Upton writes, "There were ways of expelling unwanted Indians. In a contest over river frontage, for example, a basic white tactic was to net all the fish at the mouth of the river so that the fishermen upstream got none. The Indian response to these harassments was almost inevitably to move to a less desirable location." The new settlers in Nova Scotia destroyed the game as well. Fires started by the settlers to clear the forest destroyed slow-growing moss and lichens that were the main food of the caribou. And the new settlers hunted moose in gangs for their hides; in 1789 alone, they killed nine thousand of them. Within just a few years, the Micmacs' way of life was stolen, burned, and shot from under them. Never again could they live as they had.

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[3] These treaties were never ratified by the U.S. Congress. This was the basis for the Maine Indian Land Claims case. (See Overview A-28 - A-29 and Fact Sheet D-98.)

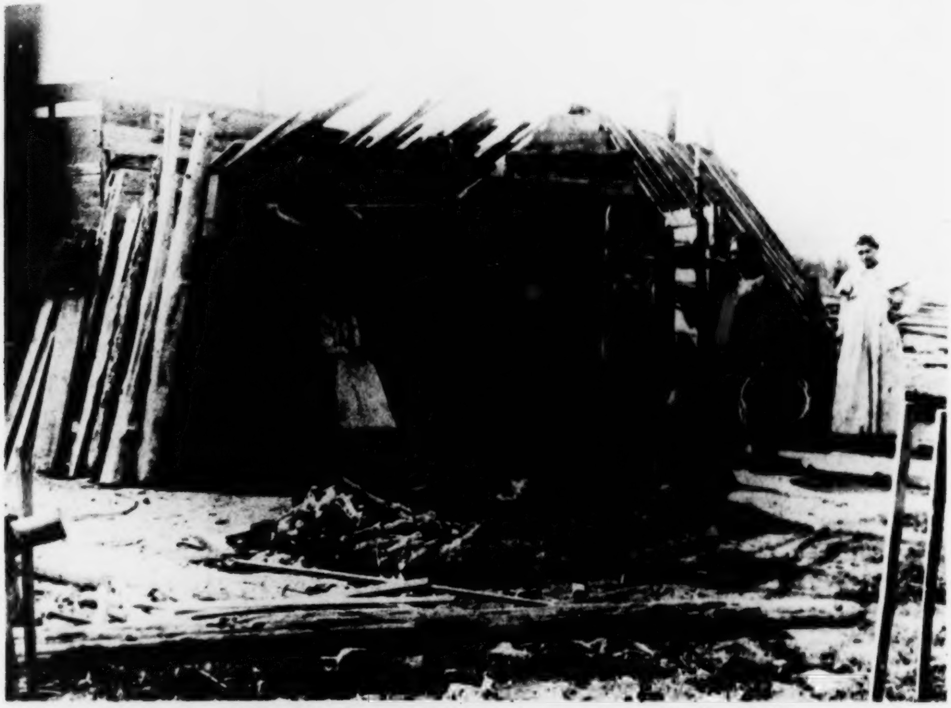
Even more than the Micmacs, the Maliseets in the St. John valley were able to keep comparatively aloof from British settlements. But in the first year after the American Revolution, 11,000 colonists arrived in Fredericton, New Brunswick. They were preceded by a permanent garrison of British soldiers, who moved upriver the next year to clear the way for further settlement. The British did not bother with any legal niceties here. They did not offer to sign any treaties; they simply took what they wanted, which was the best of what there was. Micmacs along the Richibucto and Miramichi Rivers also came under their sway. As with Micmacs in Nova Scotia during this time, if Maliseets wanted to keep any of their land they had to apply for it in a petition to British authorities, since the British assumed that everything belonged to them.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Wabanaki Confederacy was deprived of any diplomatic or military leverage, and seventy years later it came to a quiet end. In Maine, the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots hoped to protect some of their land through treaties that gave most of it away, but which legally bound Massachusetts and later the State of Maine to honor the boundaries of land that the Indians retained. Unfortunately, the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots lacked the power to enforce the agreement, and the terms of the treaty were violated. Nevertheless, the treaties did provide places where Passamaquoddy and Penobscot commmunities could survive, so that later they could rise again as strong political entities. The last treaties proved to be, after all, a legacy of Wabanaki diplomacy that had enduring value.

AN INVISIBLE PEOPLE: 1800 - 1950

The Wabanakis had to survive on a much-reduced land base. By the early nineteenth century Penobscots and Passamaquoddies lived on reservation land that they had not been forced to cede in treaties. In Canada, Maliseets and Micmacs applied successfully in a few cases to keep some areas; later, a few other areas were returned to them. The places that Wabanakis were permitted to occupy were usually remote and isolated. There were few jobs nearby; unemployment was high and poverty was the rule. Housing and roads were poor. Access to education and decent food and medical care was difficult. Some stayed on the reservations or (in Canada) reserves, but others left to find better lives for themselves elsewhere.

The Wabanakis never entirely gave up hunting and trapping and fishing, but they could rely on these things less and less. By the end of the nineteenth century caribou were extinct, or nearly so, in Maine, and moose and beaver were rare throughout Maine and Maritime Canada. The Wabanakis turned more and more to crafts to make a living. They manufactured and sold snowshoes, moccasins, birchbark canoes, baskets, quill boxes; they supplied their neighbors with axe handles, barrel hoops, butter tubs, brooms, and wooden buckets. Seal oil, seal skins, and porpoise oil (for use in watches and lighthouses) were in demand in the nineteenth century, and they provided these. They sold fish. They became fishing and hunting guides for Canadians, Americans, and Europeans. Even some of these activities could not be sustained. As the forest continued to be cut, the number of large birch trees was reduced, and eventually no more bark canoes were made. As game animals dwindled in the face of cutting and overhunting by non-Indians, the hides needed for snowshoes and moccasins became scarce. Some tried farming; but the most fertile land had been taken by English and American farmers. Others joined the non-Indian labor force and worked on docks, in shipyards, construction, railroad yards, mills, and the woods. They earned a reputation as good workers. For example, in New Brunswick Wabanaki dock workers were known for their strength and energy, and Wabanaki loggers were everywhere considered among the best and were paid accordingly.



Maliseet lean-to, St. John River, 1905. Reprinted, by permission, from Our Land: The Maritimes, edited by G.P. Gould and A.J. Semple, Fredericton, N.B.: Saint Anne's Point Press, 1980. Courtesy of Public Archives of New Brunswick.

As good as the Wabanakis were at these things, these were not lucrative occupations and they could not prosper on the basis of them. In 1887 Louis Mitchell, Passamaquoddy representative to the Maine Legislature, described in a speech to the Legislature the enormity of what had happened:

> Just consider today how many rich men there are in Calais, in St. Stephen, Milltown, Machias, East Machias, Columbia, Cherryfield, and other lumbering towns. We see a good many of them worth thousands and even millions of dollars. We ask ourselves how they make most of their money? Answer is, they make it on lumber or timber once owned by the Passamaquoddy Indians.... How many of their privileges have been broken: how many of their lands have been taken from them by authority of the State.

Between 1821 and 1839 the Maine Legislature authorized the harvesting of timber from Passamaquoddy land in violation of the 1794 treaty. Over the years, also in violation of the treaty, the Legislature authorized sale or lease of various pieces of Passamaquoddy land without compensation and without consent of the Passamaquoddies. Several of the Penobscots' islands were sold without compensation, as well. In addition, in 1833, in violation of its own deed procedure as well as a former treaty, four townships, or 95% of Penobscot land at the time, were transferred to the State of Maine.

In 1833 the Penobscot trust fund was established with the $50,000 that the State paid for the four townships. In subsequent years monies from the sale of timber, hay, and shore rights also went into this fund. The Passamaquoddy fund was established in 1856 by a deposit of $22,500 (for a lease of timber, grass, and power rights), the next year $5,225 was added, and in following years additional proceeds from the timber harvest on Passamaquoddy land were added. Interest on the deposits was supposed to be paid at six percent per annum. For a period of one hundred and ten years, from 1859 for Passamaquoddies (1860 for Penobscots) until 1969, no interest was ever paid, but rather went for the annual use of the Indian agents.

The state's treatment of Indians was paternalistic, and the Legislature assumed the authority to make whatever decisions it thought necessary at any given time. Even the state courts fostered this attitiude. In 1842, for instance, the highest court in Maine stated that "...imbecility on their [the Indians'] part, and the dictates of humanity on ours, have necessarily prescribed to them their subjection to our paternal control; in disregard of some, at least, of abstract principles of the rights of man."

People who had once lived in abundance were now impoverished, and wherever they went in the larger society they faced prejudice, discrimination, and injustice. Indians were lazy, it was said. Yet their livelihood had been taken from them. They lived on welfare, it was said. Yet the so-called assistance given to them was in fact income from products taken from their land (hay and timber) or income from the rent or lease of their land. After 1930 the State of Maine arranged that this money be paid to the state; then it was passed on (not all of it, at times) to the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies. Thus, what was income was made to appear as welfare. During the nineteenth century Maliseets and Micmacs, who had always lived on both sides of the United States-Canadian border, lost their hunting territories in Aroostook County when Americans opened this area to settlement.

They were not asked permission, they were paid no compensation, and in the end they were left with nothing.

The ferry that used to bring passengers from Indian Island across the Penobscot River to Old Town, Maine, and back again. Reprinted, by permision, from Matthew W. Sterling, "America's First Settlers, the Indians," in National Geographic v. 72(5), November 1937; 535-96. Photograph by Harrison Howell Walker.

In the face of a tragedy of these proportions, the Wabanakis continued to nourish their sense of themselves as separate, cohesive communities. They invented new ways to do this. Among the Penobscots it became a tradition in the summer for members of the community to canoe upriver after Mass on Sunday to picnic on an island. Wabanaki communities fielded their own championship baseball teams. During the last week of July each year members of the various Wabanaki groups congregated to celebrate St. Ann's Day[4] through socializing and Catholic ritual. It became customary for their funeral wakes to last several days, which provided opportunity for friends and family to come from far away to grieve and to reaffirm ties among the living. And as before, there was the old penchant for moving across the land; the Wabanakis loved to travel. Micmacs migrated to Boston and formed a community of three thousand there, but routinely returned home. Many Penobscots and Passamaquoddies moved away from the reservations and settled throughout Maine. Fewer than half of the Wabanakis in Maine live on the reservations today. Wabanakis frequently crossed state and national

Baseball game between Passamaquoddy and Maliseet teams. Reprinted, by permission, from Matthew W. Sterling, "America's First Settlers, the Indians" in National Geographic v. 72(5), November 1937: 535-96. Photograph by Harrison Howell Walker.

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[4] Saint Ann became the patron saint of all Wabanaki communities.

boundaries in search of work -- construction, or picking potatoes and blueberries -- or to visit. Thus they kept alive, in an informal way, the old alliances between groups that had existed for hundreds, if not thousands, of years. In the meantime, they continued their own governments on the reservations (but with a state-imposed system of governors and elected councils).

As the English poet, Hopkins, has said, sometimes the "war within" is of far more importance than the war without, and it was such a war within that impoverished Wabanakis fought to maintain their identities as separate peoples and to survive as viable and cohesive communities. The success of this struggle was the basis for their emergence in the 1960s and 1970s as proud peoples who mounted an effective campaign in U.S. courts and the U.S. Congress and the Maine legislature -- as well as in Canadian courts -- for reparations for the theft and unlawful use of their land. We can get a better idea of how that quiet struggle was carried on if we listen to a Penobscot woman describe her memories.

> My mother brought us up in a very, very traditional way -- you were always there to help people, you gave and never thought of what you gave. You did it because you wanted to do it and the need was there. You never, ever spoke or wished anything ill about anybody. Because if you do, it's going to come back on you or somebody you love. Always remember that. Basically, I think of that as being traditional Indian religion. That you have to respect people, things, and everything around you. An Indian is the way you feel inside. What you were taught. And we were taught that regardless of what they were, who they were, if they were older than you, you respected them. Anyone who was older than you was your elder.
>
> My father was a worker. He worked from age twelve to about sixty-five or sixty-eight. He never, ever missed a day, he never got any handouts from anybody, so this is the way we were brought up. My family has influenced me in the way I am. If you want something, you get out and earn it. He was a gifted man and learned the job well, and usually ended up as foreman of the job he took. He always worked close to the area and didn't take a job if it meant being away from the family. Ten children, and we had food on the table, clothes.
>
> For supplementary income, my mother always made baskets. She always would contract with other people to buy, or she'd make them herself and fill orders for a store. There, again, was the sense of community. If she had a big order to fill and was having trouble, all these women would come to the house and help her; she wouldn't pay them anything. They'd finish that order and what you'd do is feed them. Make sure they had a great big meal. Same thing in the wintertime, they all burned wood. Men would come and cut that wood and pile it and the next week do somebody else's wood, so they all had wood for the winter. Those that trapped would save the furs for themselves, but the meat was distributed among anyone in the neighborhood that wanted it and needed it. We never, ever bought anything like that. Same thing with fiddleheads. Everybody seemed to be in the same boat, all equal, no one "under" anybody else.
>
> I never had to raise a hand against my children. I could just convey to them when I was displeased. Even now, I can just look at them, and they know. And this is the way they're bringing up their kids. They don't say too much. And I've always said to them, "Even if I don't like what you're doing, I'll always be here." And it goes back to the traditional Indian values that I have taught to my children, and they are teaching theirs.

Just as had been the case hundreds of years ago, children were not physically punished. People came together to help with each other's work, and they shared food. Both men and women contributed directly to subsistence to support large, close families. Emphasis was placed on respect for others, on harmony. No one was treated as if he or she were under someone else; the egalitarianism the French had observed in the 1600s was still present. There was a daily effort to act in ways that preserved and nurtured those values that made one a Wabanaki. As much as things had changed, these things had not.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE: 1950 - PRESENT DAY

In most Wabanaki communities, the second half of this century has been a time of dramatic changes. The quotations in this section are from one Passamaquoddy man who shares with us some memories and perspectives on events, beginning with what life was like on the Passamaquoddy Reservations in the 1950s:

> ...the resources the people used to live off by hunting and gathering were next to nothing, so that there was poverty everywhere. You couldn't get jobs anywhere. No one hired Indians except to unload cargo, for example. But there were no permanent jobs that led to anything. You'd go try for a job, but people would say, "We're just not hiring Indians."
>
> There were just all kinds of things that we had to live with on a daily basis. I'm not talking about hidden attitudes, which may be the case now. All the time you'd hear things like, "I don't want you Indian boys hanging around here," or "You Indian boys are all lazy." People in stores followed you around to make sure you didn't steal anything. People around us, although they would take our money, had an attitude that we were something other than like themselves. It was really hard.
>
> Everybody adopted the attitude -- the Church, which was the most powerful political entity on the reservation, the citizens of the county, and most of all the law enforcement agencies. The reservation was fair game. Indians were often sent to prison for small crimes, something we wouldn't consider crimes today. Or if an offense were committed against Indians, there was very little punishment. These are all in the records of the county. Our civil rights were not considered very fully.
>
> The result of all of this, which had been going on for a long time, was a sort of hopeless attitude -- people thinking "that's the way it is." I think if I remember anything significant in the late '50s, early '60s on the reservation, it was that attitude of acceptance of a lot of these things. You could see it in the things people said and the way they acted. They didn't question it. This was probably the worst time because everything was happening at this point. The hopelessness was at its height.
>
> The only bright spot was for people to go into the service. Consequently, everybody volunteered for the service; nobody ever got drafted. Undoubtedly there was patriotism, but I think the reason was more economic than anything.
>
> The other thing that happened was that people moved off the reservation to the Connecticut shipyards or to Massachusetts, where there were a lot of industrial factories that would hire permanent, cheap labor, and people saw a chance to make it. Probably it was happening prior to that, too. World War II certainly had an impact. People my mother and father's age talk about the shipyards. And they did learn a trade

in fact. A lot of people became very good welders -- men and women. But what did they have to come back to? And even more people moved away in the '50s, so at this point an attitude began to develop that the only way to make it was to get out of here.

Many of the people who stayed on the reservation had to depend on assistance from the state.

> Sometimes I think that the dependence was systematically created by the state over the years. By the state I mean the Department of Human Services (among others) who were responsible for administering Indian affairs at the time, the executive department, and the legislature. I think they created it because they were afraid of our special status. We never stopped reminding the state of our special relationship with our land. Nobody at the state really knew what it was, but they were scared of it. And they never quite knew what to do. I think creating the dependence was their way to re-absorb us so that we would not be a problem in a few years. The whole attitude was to keep doing these things to eradicate the land base, which they were doing, and to erode away any other kind of thing, such as our cultural identity, so we'd be just like everyone else.

At this time interest from the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot trust funds, plus earnings from such things as timber and hay sales on reservation land, went directly into the state treasury. Then each year the state legislature would vote on how much money to appropriate to the reservations.

> The money was all administered through the Indian agent.[5] And when you were Indian agent, you made some families your favorites. To make someone your favorite you'd give them more than someone else. This was a control mechanism as far as I'm concerned. This is totally alien, you know, to the way tribes operate. This tribe had perfected as well as anybody could a fair distribution of its resources. The welfare system was next to nothing when you weren't one of the favorites. Our family was a family of five, and we were given $8 a week for groceries. That was it, other than the fish my father could catch out in the bay.
>
> I think any group of people that has been put down at the bottom reach a stage where they just say, "No, I'm not going to do it any more." And there itself is the beginning of the dawn. In the late '50s and '60s, a lot began to happen in these Indian communities which basically, for about 150 years, sat dormant with a sense of hopelessness. There began to emerge a sense of hope that maybe we could make our own decisions.
>
> By then a lot of the community was beginning to have television sets; they were beginning to communicate with the rest of the United States, and they saw a lot of things happening. You saw the economy pick up a little, but you saw where we weren't participating too much in that. By the mid-'60s you'd had the Kennedy assassination, the Johnson war on poverty, and civil rights legislation going on in the South. And you had Martin Luther King -- we were aware of all of it.
>
> The significant thing is that there was some political activity taking place at the grassroots level. People said, "What about our rights? What about that land that was sold?" They started questioning the state about these things, about the trust fund we had, to see if we could borrow or use the money to research the land that we were losing, and we were still losing land at that point. At the time this happened everybody regarded the 1794 treaty as valid.

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[5] All of the Indian agents were non-Indian except two, both of whom were Penobscots at Indian Island, Maine.

The 1794 treaty between the state and the Passamaquoddies had reserved some land for the Passamaquoddies. The largest piece was about 23,000 acres, which eventually became the Indian Township reservation.

> There were pieces of land which were what we called "alienated" -- somehow they got into non-Indian hands. It's just that somebody sold them -- it wasn't Indians. And all of a sudden non-Indians started owning these different pockets of land. One of the non-Indians who had a piece of alienated land had hunting and fishing cabins. There was a piece of property between his lot and the plot of an Indian family that was sort of common space where he wanted to expand the cabin complex. He said, "This is my property line," and the Indian family said,"No, it isn't," and that's where the dispute started.

The non-Indian man decided to begin building new cabins anyway. A group of Passamaquoddy women sat in to protest and block construction on the disputed land.

They were arrested and taken to jail. Charges of trespass were ultimately dropped, but the event was successful in calling attention to the more than 6,000 acres of land that had been sold, leased, or given away in violation of the 1794 treaty.

> People had been saying no all the time. But this was the first time that they were willing to go with the consequences. It isn't that simple to say no. A lot of things went with it -- automatic arrest, jail, and possibly physical abuse. Those are pretty scary things. Withdrawal of assistance by the Indian agent formerly was always a threat. He would say, "Look, you boys raise too much hell, and there are going to be consequences to pay." And I'm sure he said it to more than just a few people. So these were the kinds of things that saying no brought.
>
> People I think saw that, and everything started zeroing in on the fact that this was our land. We had not yet been given a fair shake in this whole question of land. That was the thing -- I think if the state had said, "Okay, you've got 23,000 acres," and they had enforced that, I think the issue would have died.
>
> We'd already gotten used to the fact that as a people we couldn't roam freely up and down the river. But because of the path the state chose in its relationship to not just the Passamaquoddies, but the Penobscots also, it did more to keep the fire burning. And the state just kept it going by selling our land, leasing our land, by bartering away or legislating away rights which we figured were pretty basic. The right to care for your family was a very reasonable right that we expected. All of these things culminated in, "No, you've taken enough away -- we're going to fight."
>
> The police were always on the side of the non-Indian, we knew that. So, like in the land issue, these ladies protested and guess who was arrested -- the ladies. And if the men came to help, they were, of course, arrested, too. Thank God, some people had some spirit to go beyond this particular intimidation.
>
> There were certain discriminatory acts that were done, and they were common practice. We tend to think that this happened only in places like Mississippi. All that happened in Maine. Maine as a state denied all this, and they still do. For example, I don't know how many people know it, but the Passamaquoddy were the last Native American group, if not the last group in the country, to receive their full franchise to

> vote in 1967.[6] I think that this kind of treatment led to a chain of events, and, of course, the encouragement of Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement certainly had a lot to do with giving us a sense of what was going on in other parts of the country.
>
> There was a political desperation from the extreme poverty, although some of that was disappearing a little -- there were some opportunities for employment. Of course, there was a new attitude being created from all those people I mentioned earlier who had left the reservation. They began seeing that they could fit into something, keep a job, earn money, and raise their family. There was a whole new birth taking place.
>
> Then along came the War on Poverty in the Johnson era. There was a CAP (Community Action Program) grant that was given to Washington County. We found out we were somehow eligible. The county didn't really want us to participate. But as we found out more information they could not exclude us. They finally assigned a person to work in our community. It was in this way that the non-Indian resources were helpful, because they gave us information as to what our rights were.
>
> Through our demands we ended up with our own CAP agency, which was really neat for us, but it was not very popular in Washington County. The minute we started doing something for ourselves, the people who had been excluding us became very resentful because we went separately. The contradictions threw us. We thought, "I thought you didn't want us. So we went our own way. Now we're succeeding, what are you hollering about?"

Through the CAP agency the Passamaquoddies were able to acquire grants for sewage and water systems. Until this time people on the reservations got their water from outside faucets. They applied for and received the first in a series of HUD grants to build housing to replace the substandard housing built by the state with money from the Passamaquoddy trust fund. A Passamaquoddy housing board had control over the houses being built and collected payments from the occupants.

There were many other changes, too. Some showed that the relationship with the state was changing. For example, in the mid-'60s a Passamaquoddy education committee was formed to take action because the schools were terribly overcrowded, heating and lighting were poor, and the rain came in through the roof. The committee submitted a referendum for new schools on the two Passamaquoddy reservations, which was passed by the people of Maine. It was also successful in getting the state to accept the reservation schools as part of the state education system. School boards were organized, and the curriculum was revised so it would be more relevant to Passamaquoddy students.

By 1970 the two reservation communities were making many of the decisions that the state had once insisted on making for them. At the same time there were other changes that came about because of continued concern in Passamaquoddy communities over their land.

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[6] Although Passamaquoddies voted in national elections for the first time in 1954, they did not receive full franchise in state elections until 1967.

Over the last 150 years the state had sold, leased for 999 years[7], or claimed by eminent domain portions of Passamaquoddy and Penobscot land guaranteed by their treaties. In the course of seeking redress for this, Passamaquoddies and Penobscots discovered that the treaties made with them after 1790 had never been approved by Congress and were, therefore, not legal. So they actually had a claim to most of their aboriginal territories.

Because by law citizens of Maine cannot sue the state, Passamaquoddies petitioned the federal government to sue Maine for them. The federal government decided that the claim had merit. It filed the suit against Maine and re-established the relationship between Passamaquoddies and Penobscots and the federal government that had been ignored since the American Revolution.

Such a relationship, or "federal recognition" by the United States, implies responsibilities to Native Americans in exchange for land and ways of life that were given up when treaties were signed. The United States also acknowledges certain rights of self-government that were not given up by Native Americans simply because a "foreign" government, the United States, was established on North American soil.

Federal recognition of Passamaquoddies and Penobscots meant that the reservations fell under federal law and not state law, and that both groups could begin to exercise some of the rights that the State of Maine had never recognized -- for example, the right to have their own court systems. There were other rights, too, such as control and regulation of hunting and fishing on the reservation, jurisdiction over foster care for Passamaquoddy and Penobscot children, and the right to establish air quality standards on the reservations that would be upheld by surrounding towns. It also meant that Passamaquoddies and Penobscots were entitled to health services and other federal programs for Native Americans.

> Our dependence on federal programs grew, and the tribe became the biggest employer on the reservation mostly from federal programs, and, you know, those come and go. I don't think this is a good way for any poor community to survive. I think these were good aids for our community because they gave us some people power, gave us some resources to begin developing realistic long-term goals for addressing community problems ourselves.

After lengthy negotiations, the land claims case was settled out of court. Maine had insisted as a prerequisite to a settlement that Passamaquoddies and Penobscots agree to return to state jurisdiction and give up some of the rights that the federal government had recognized. (Whether this was worth the settlement was, and is, the most controversial aspect of the land claims settlement among Passamaquoddy and Penobscot people.)

For giving up their claim to millions of acres of land, Passamaquoddies and Penobscots together received $54.41 million to buy 300,000 acres of land plus a trust fund of $27 million from which they could draw interest Both of these were split equally between Passamaquoddies and

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[7] There had been other leases for 99 years.

Penobscots. They also retained federal benefits for Native Americans, such as health care. The Houlton Band of Maliseets, who had never signed treaties giving up their aboriginal territory in Maine, received federal recognition and federal benefits, plus $900,000 to purchase 5,000 acres of land. (But those Maliseets in Maine who are not a part of the Houlton Band, and also Micmacs, continue not to be recognized by the federal government, and enjoy only an extremely limited recognition by the State of Maine.)

> Of the $13.5 million in the Passamaquoddy trust fund (from the land claims settlement), $12.5 million is in a general trust fund. We distribute the interest from it to members. It's about $500 a person a year. People over 60 receive additional payments from a $1 million trust fund specifically for them. The other balance of that money, $27.2 million, is for acquisition of land, because part of the settlement is for 150,000 acres per tribe.
>
> What happened in Passamaquoddy was that just after the land claims settlement the interest rates were sky high, the highest in the history of the country. Because we spent so much time making decisions over which land to buy -- and I think that's just something we do traditionally, take time to make decisions -- we made some money without ever thinking we were going to make it. It's that interest on the money that we're using to finance additional acquisitions, not the money itself, because the law states that the $27.2 million is specifically to purchase land. We also have language in the land claims which gives us certain tax advantages. So, we ended up acquiring certain things, for example, a blueberry farm.
>
> We've acquired a cement company and some subsidiaries, and two radio stations. Pleasant Point has a garage, grocery store, dairy processing, and I guess they're going to go into beef processing to supply meat to the tribe at a fairly reasonable price. The biomass project is almost ready to go now; we hope it will supply energy to both Passamaquoddy reservations. We'll have some extra energy to sell to the electric companies around us. We have an assets corporation that manages those sorts of things, and I think it's the only way. You can't manage that by town meeting. That's just reality. And I think everybody sort of agrees on that, even if reluctantly. We're still careful not to bring polluting industries into the area. One of the real resources we have is some decent, clean land. Those things we can control. There are some things we can't control -- acid rain is a good example. The proposed nuclear waste site and its by-products is another thing at this point. If it's built, we won't be able to control it.
>
> So that's what happened to us, and we continue to acquire more. But in terms of personal wealth, personal income, it is not yet evident. People aren't getting money and salting it away in a bank. That's a false image. I think that in terms of economic power we certainly are wealthier. We don't get ignored any more; we are part of it. And this is something we've worked for.
>
> The way things are done in the state of Maine is that if you have any kind of economic clout, you're part of the "club." And so we're becoming a part of the club. I think that's good because I think that gives us more control of our destiny. We don't always have to react to government programs. There was a time for the last twenty years that we depended solely on the state or federal government, and I don't think that's any way to foster one's goals for self-determination. I am very much aware that if you're not careful you might lose that direction. You'll behave like a corporation in some sense, and those are totally different behaviors from a tribal behavior. It's a real balancing act.

All these changes since the '50s affected Passamaquoddy culture, sometimes in ways that had not been anticipated.

> Up until the '50s some of the successes that we had which are sometimes overlooked were the language and the passing on of the value system, even up to my generation. Surviving with the spirit that we were somebody -- I think this is the most important success. We carried on in a very lively way all aspects of our culture. There were so many years of political, spiritual, and economic bombardment -- and yet, we survived. It doesn't just happen; I think you survive because the purposes for it are still clear.
>
> We were under pressure to acculturate for a long time. Acculturation has always meant, at least for me, that I give up something -- that it's not a sharing. You hear you should take the best of both worlds. Well, sometimes those things conflict so much that it's not really possible. You have to make a choice to go one way or the other.
>
> When things began to change in the '50s as we sought to control opportunities within the economy, our sense of identity began to be affected. I believe in all of this struggle we associated our strong culture, our language, what we ate, the things we did, all of that with poverty. We didn't realize it until after the decline [in our culture] had started. One of the saddest things is to watch our language die. A lot of the strong traditions melt away in the name of progress. That's a price so steep that it's not worth paying.
>
> It was kept together at the same time by the fact that we had an issue of justice to fight. It sounds almost like a contradiction, but it isn't. We focused in on land and the land claims or going to court and getting back the land -- there were so many things that we began believing. That was the beautiful part.
>
> We see today some good customs dying. It wasn't just a matter of doing a particular activity, it's the reason for doing it and how we did it. I think the community's beginning to talk about this as a basis of concern, which is really good. When I was young, there was no need to talk about it because there was so much there that we didn't even know it was there. Some things we should get a hold of, or we won't have whatever it is that makes us feel special about ourselves. In the school we've tried to put in the language system. We've tried to put in some things where we could start teaching kids early who they are, from a positive sense and not from a cosmetic sense. My generation grew up to be fairly defensive. If it's the only way to survive, I say go for it. But there are much better ways, and I think that's what we're trying to strive for.
>
> The community now is looking at how the Passamaquoddy way of life is going to survive. People are concerned about the language, about how we can continue to work together. I think that awareness will take shape into action. In some ways it already has. It's a turnaround. It's now a hopeful community, as opposed to the hopelessness several years ago.
>
> A lot of people who moved away in the '50s to the cities are coming home to retire, and they're also bringing back a generation of children they have raised in the city. Those kids are very, very proud that they're Passamaquoddy . But they've also known and lived in a lifestyle somewhere else, and that's going to germinate certain values from that kind of living in the next generation. It's real confusing, and I think that one of the things that we have got to do is to try to talk about that and structure our

> own curriculum to straighten some of that out. If not, we will give up some additional things regarding our value system or our way of life.
>
> The second half of this is that the public is going to have to be more receptive and open to really listening, to understand real feelings that we have. I'm not talking about any great revelation. I'm talking about taking my feelings seriously, too. They're real. And in order for you to identify with them, why do they have to be exactly like yours? You know, that's the message.

Although the Passamaquoddy person telling the story in the previous pages brings up issues that have been concerns for Wabanaki communities everywhere, the situation was different in each Wabanaki community during this period. Perspectives on what happened vary within each community, too.

The Penobscot Nation's proximity to Old Town and Bangor has meant that there have been more jobs and educational opportunities for Penobscots than Passamaquoddies throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Because of a boom in nearby mills, the '40s, '50s, and '60s were a time of relative prosperity for Penobscots.

Particularly after a bridge was built between Old Town and Indian Island in 1950, the reservation was accessible to surrounding non-Indian communities, which had an impact on people on the reservation. For example, Penobscots began to lose their struggle to maintain their language. Today, only a few people speak Penobscot .

Maliseets, Micmacs, and Abenakis live on a total of nearly forty organized (and many unorganized) reserves in Quebec, the Maritime Provinces, and Newfoundland, as well as in many off-reserve locations in Canada and the United States. Each of these reserves and each off-reserve community is unique; some of the reasons are differences in culture, history, resources, leadership, and proximity to or isolation from non-Indian communities. Unlike reservations in Maine, reserves in Canada have related directly to the federal government since Canadian confederation in 1867.

Just as Wabanakis in Canada had joined the Canadian armed services and had left the reserves to work in cities and production centers during World War II, many again left the reserves because of the scarcity of jobs in rural areas in the post-war era. Many enlisted in the service during the Korean War or moved where there were jobs, usually to cities in both Canada and the U.S. Many Micmacs went to Boston. Many Micmacs and Maliseets went to Aroostook County for seasonal work in the potato industry. Some of these people stayed and joined the Micmac and Maliseet people already living there.

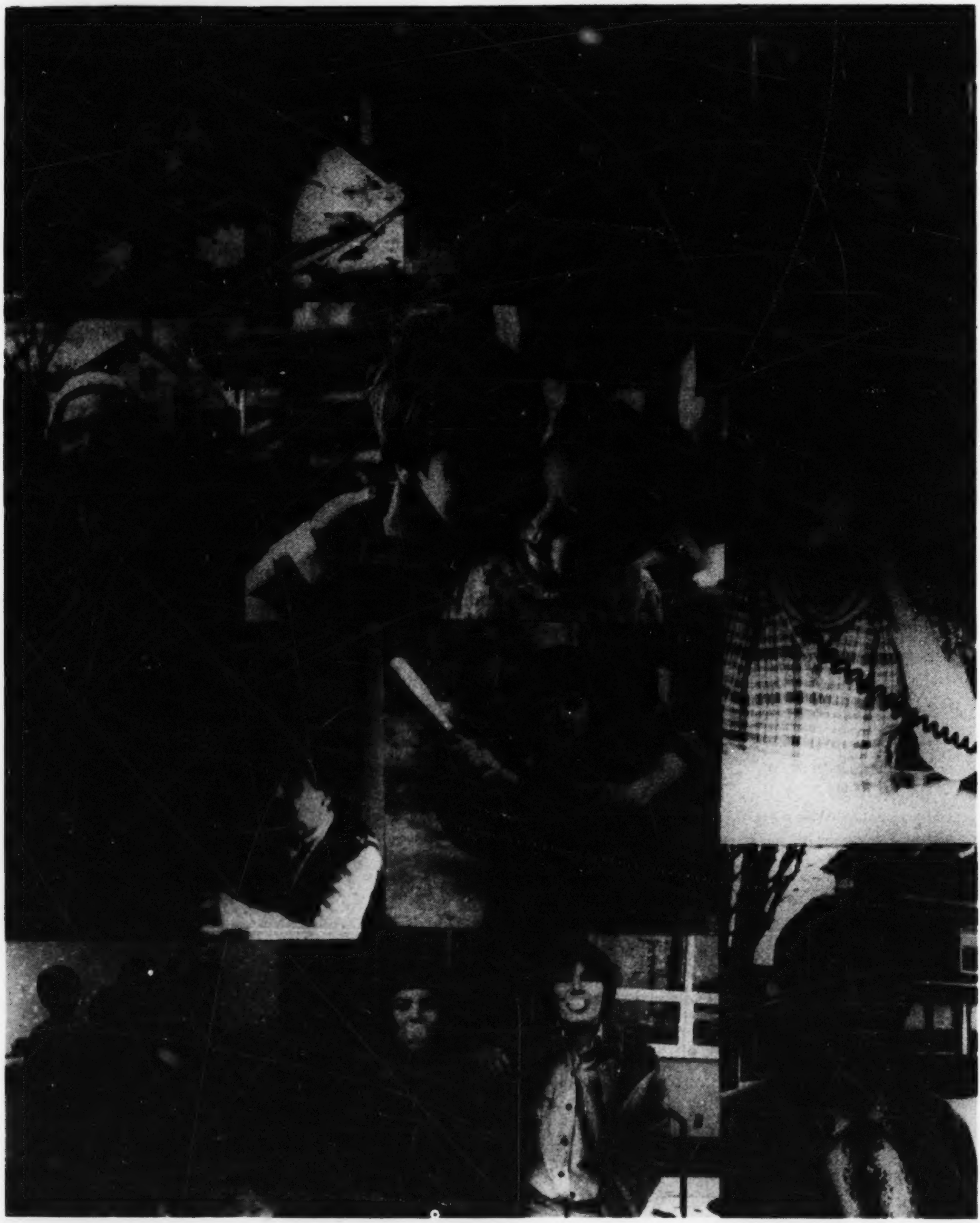
In 1969 the Canadian government proposed ending special status for Native people. The Native outcry was great; several Native organizations were formed to protest and to work toward recognition of Native rights. The government withdrew its proposal and instead, for the first time, began committing a substantial amount of money for programs on the reserves. More and more since then Wabanaki people and organizations are asserting rights, such as the right to determine reserve membership and the right to control programs on the reserves in education and housing. Native groups have begun pursuing claims for return of land taken in violation of law, treaty, or proclamation. Several minor suits have met with success, and others are moving through the court system.

Employment opportunities and schools have improved on the reserves, and many people are moving back. Some of these are women (and their children) who had lost Native status in the eyes of the Canadian government because they had married non-Native or non-status men. Prior to 1985, when the law was changed, they lost Native status permanently, even if they were subsequently widowed or divorced. This marriage law applied only to women.

One thing that all these Wabanaki people do share, whether they live on a reserve, on a reservation, or off-reservation, is the aboriginal rights they inherited because their families were living here before Europeans laid claim to the land. Wabanakis did not lose their rights to the land or to hunt and fish just because European colonists established governments here. Many of the rights that they did not give up in treaties or agreements still exist and are acknowledged, if grudgingly, by the United States and Canada. Some treaties upheld by court decisions affirm rights such as hunting and fishing rights and the right to cross the United States-Canadian border freely. Aboriginal rights are the basis for the special relationships between Wabanaki people and the federal governments of Canada and the United States.

But it is still a struggle, and many issues in Wabanaki communities today involve aboriginal rights, whether they be land claims cases in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, fishing rights controversies in Quebec, Micmacs in Aroostook County seeking status as Native Americans with the United States government, or even Passamaquoddies and Penobscots seeking to block construction of a high-level nuclear waste dump on their newly acquired land.

Opposite page: starting from upper left corner of collage, photographs #1, 4, and 11 from Maine Indians and the Land Claims Case; #2, 3, 6, 8, 9, and 10 from Wabanaki Alliance; #5 by Marline Sanipass Morey; and #7 by Mary Griffith.



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SOURCES

This historical overview is based on the work of many people, but only a few sources will be mentioned. It should be recognized that some of these sources stand on the shoulders of many others too numerous to include here, but which can be found by using the books and articles listed below.

The first section, on the Wabanakis' long and successful adaptation prior to the Europeans, relies on Dean R. **Snow's** The Archaeology of New England, which covers the entire Northeast. Information gathered by archaeologists has burgeoned in the past twenty years, and Snow's book provides a synthesis. It is detailed, but accessible to the interested reader. However, many scholars disagree with Snow on a number of issues, and we are greatly indebted to reviewers David **Sanger**, Harald **Prins**, Ruth **Whitehead**, Arthur **Spiess**, and Bruce **Bourque** for their assistance in editing this section. The first section also relies on articles contained in the Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 15, edited by Bruce G. **Trigger**. These articles are: "Post-Pleistocene Adaptations" by Robert E. **Funk**; "Regional Cultural Development, 3000 to 300 B.C." by James A. **Tuck**; and "Late Prehistory of the East Coast" by Dean R. Snow.

The picture of Indian life presented in the second section uses Snow's book for population figures. It relies on the firsthand accounts written by Jesuit priests and contained in The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents 1610-1791, edited by R. G. **Thwaites**; the firsthand account of Nicholas **Denys** in The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia); the firsthand account of Father Chréstien **LeClercq** in New Relation of Gaspésia; the firsthand account of Marc **Lescarbot** in The History of New France, 3 volumes, edited by W. L. Grant; and others. The firsthand accounts contain obvious biases and language that we now consider unacceptable (and which has been deleted from the quotations used here), but they are colorful and very useful. The argument about abundance and wealth is based on an essay by Marshall **Sahlins** called "The Original Affluent Society" and can be found in his book, Stone Age Economics. The evidence for that argument comes from numerous early firsthand descriptions of New England and is most forcefully compiled by William **Cronon** in Changes in the Land.

The best single place to go for a more complete account of the changes that occurred after the Europeans arrived, discussed in the third and fourth sections ("European Contact" and "The Environment Changes"), is the book by Cronon. In fact, Changes in the Land could be used as the basis for an entire course on the early colonial history of New England. It is clearly written and easily accessible to the interested reader. The fourth section, "The Environment Changes," relies almost entirely on Cronon's book. Henry David **Thoreau**, in The Maine Woods, described the lumber industry along the Penobscot in the 1840s and 1850s.

The sections on Wabanaki politics and diplomacy ("Wabanaki Government and Politics," "Land and Treaties," and "Effects of the American Revolution") rely heavily on secondary works: The Embattled Northeast by Kenneth M. **Morrison**; "A Chronological Account of the Wabanaki Confederacy" by Willard **Walker**, Gregory **Buesing** and Robert **Conkling**, which can be found in Political Organizations of Native Americans, edited by Ernest L. Shusky; and Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867 by L. F. S. **Upton**. Also used were Dean R. Snow's article, "Late Prehistory of the East Coast," already mentioned; **Cronon's** Changes in the

Land; an unpublished manuscript by Bunny **McBride** and Harald **Prins**, Micmac Genesis, for the Micmac role in the American Revolution; and, for Wabanaki government in the 1600s, the firsthand accounts already mentioned. For their help with these sections we are very grateful to reviewers Kenneth **Morrison**, Andrea Bear **Nicholas**, Harald **Prins**, Ruth **Whitehead** and Bruce **Bourque**.

The section entitled "An Invisible People: 1800-1950" draws on interviews with contemporary Wabanakis; the book by Upton; an article by Marie **Battiste**, "Cultural Transmission and Survival in Contemporary Micmac Society" in The Indian Historian; Chapter 6 of Maine Dirigo: I Lead; "Nicatow: A Lost Island" by Glenn **Starbird** in The Wabanaki Alliance, Dec., 1978; "Fraud Found in Sale of Townships" by Glenn **Starbird** in The Wabanaki Alliance, Oct. 1977; Report on Maine Indians, Prepared at the Request of the Legislative Research Committee, by Ralph **Proctor**, 1942; and "State Power and the Passamaquoddy Tribe: 'A Gross National Hypocrisy?'" by Francis J. **O'Toole** and Thomas N. **Tureen**, Maine Law Review.

The last section, "Contemporary Life: 1950 to Present Day", draws on interviews of Wabanaki people and an unpublished slide show, Maine Indians and the Land Claims Case, by the Maine Indian Program of the American Friends Service Committee. For more information on the issues discussed in this section, readers can turn to Chapter 6 of Maine Dirigo, I Lead; the article by O'Toole and Tureen; the Proctor Report; and also Federal and State Services and the Maine Indian, a report prepared by the **Maine Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights**, 1981; Passamaquoddy Economic Development in Cultural and Historical Perspective, by Susan MacCullough **Stevens**, 1973; and the report of the **Governor's Task Force on Human Rights** of December, 1968.

Penobscot Home Nation

Penobscot home nation is in the minds and hearts of the people.
When he talks them old time tales of hunting, mysteries,
wendigo, and little people,
I know I am home.
When wind blows lullabies thru the piney tree tops
I know I am home.
When she's making medicine, for someone in need,
When every act is done in that spirit,
you forget there was ever such a thing as greed.
When sun warms your body thru in the heart of the land
And smiles play on our children's faces
You can see the work of Gluskape's hand.

Red Hawk
Penobscot

LESSON PLANS

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LESSON PLANS

Introduction

Using the Lesson Plans with the Rest of the Resource Book

This resource book, although it is not meant to be comprehensive, contains information on a wide range of topics about Wabanaki life, today as well as in the past. For teachers of grades four through eight, we have included lesson plans to help organize the materials in the book when presenting and interpreting them to students. The resource book is organized so that there is, at the very least, a part of a lesson plan that corresponds with each part of the historical overview, each of the readings, and each of the fact sheets.

Before you look at the lesson plans, we suggest that you take the time to read both the introduction to the resource book and the historical overview. Both are short and are designed to give background about Wabanaki people and to put the rest of the materials into perspective.

Themes

In the introduction to the resource book and the historical overview, you may notice several themes that are carried through the entire resource book. They are:

- Wabanaki culture is interesting in and of itself. There are many things to learn from studying Wabanaki ways of life.
- Wabanaki people have lived in Maine and the Maritimes for a long time, and developed a culture well-adapted to the area. The period of time since Europeans have settled in Maine is just a short chapter in Wabanaki history.
- Wabanaki culture has never been static. The culture was continually changing long before Europeans settled in Maine and the Maritimes.
- There is more than one way of looking at events. Wabanakis and Europeans in colonial times had different ways of looking at things based on their different cultures, including values and ways of making a living. There are differences in points of view today, both within Wabanaki communities and outside them.
- It is important to hear Wabanakis' own voices when studying Wabanaki history and culture.
- For a long time after Europeans began settling here, Wabanakis were subjected to a period of devastating changes and events, and survival was the foremost issue among Wabanaki people.
- Even in this century Wabanaki people were considered by non-Indian people to be backward and incapable and were prevented from taking part in vital decisions affecting their communities. This history has influenced Wabanaki culture and communities today.

- There are Wabanaki communities and Wabanaki culture(s) today, and Wabanaki people are determined that there will be for a long time. Wabanaki people are making important decisions affecting their own communities.
- Learning about another culture in a positive way can lead students to open their minds to try to understand people with different backgrounds from their own. The diversity of the United States and Canadian societies makes us all richer.

Lesson Plan Sections

We have divided the lesson plans into eight sections:

1. How We Look At Others
2. Mi'kmaq
3. Time and Place
4. Legends
5. Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago
6. Wabanaki and European Interaction: 1600-1800
7. An Invisible People: 1800-1950
8. Contemporary Life

Some of you may have little time for your study of Wabanaki people. If this is true, we suggest that you choose something from each of the sections, especially sections 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8, so that you can include all of the themes in your teaching. This seems to us more important than focusing on one or two sections.

One of the sections, Mi'kmaq, is a little different from the others. Its use is dependent on your obtaining (free) a videotape series on Micmac life. This series is excellent for introducing students to the Wabanaki way of life, particularly for sixth and eighth grades. We suggest first showing the videotape to the students in Micmac only so students who do not speak Micmac can develop their powers of observation and also experience how difficult it is to know what is happening in another culture if you don't speak the language. **When using the videotapes in this way, it is most effective if introduced before students have begun studying about Wabanaki life. This is why the unit is placed second, just after "How We Look At Others."**

Similarly, if you plan to issue a pretest, it should be done before you begin teaching about Wabanaki people, even before you begin the "How We Look At Others" section. One sort of pretest is presented in "How We Look At Others," where students list everything they know about Wabanakis. This list is used in the concluding lesson plan (the last lesson in Section 8, "Contemporary Life"). When students go over the list they may change items that are inaccurate or based on stereotypes and add to the list. If you intend to use the Mi'kmaq videotapes, you should limit the information specifically about Wabanakis that you present in "How We Look At Others."

In order for you to get an idea of what each lesson plan section has to offer, we suggest that you read the introductions to the lesson plan sections before you begin to plan what you will teach.

Lesson Plan Organization

All of the lesson plans are organized similarly. In the head of each page is the name of the lesson plan section, the suggested grade level, and the number of the lesson plan within that grade level. The suggested grade level is meant to be comparative only, placing the lesson plans in each section in order of difficulty. If you have time, you may wish to look at the lesson plans at all the grade levels within each section and choose the lessons or parts of lessons that would be best suited to your class. The title of each lesson plan appears in bold print near the top of the page.

Under the title of the lesson are the "Objectives" followed by the "Words to Know," if there are any with which students may have trouble. "Background Materials" include resources in other parts of the resource book, while "Materials to Use in Class" includes resources from within and occasionally from outside the resource book. Informational materials that are also recommended for classroom use are listed under "Materials to Use in Class." Some of the lessons include background notes that provide information or background not found elsewhere in the resource book. In some cases special supplemental materials to go with the lessons are included in the lesson plan sections.

There is no time estimate on the lesson plans because the time for teaching a given lesson varies from class to class. In order to help you plan better, however, we have marked lessons that likely will take more than one class period. And we have used bold print to indicate whatever in the lesson needs prior preparation or procurement, including recommended materials that do not appear in this resource book.

The "Procedure" includes the main body of the lesson plan. Optional activities are included in case you want the class or individual students to study certain subjects in depth.

Enrichment

Only the basics are included in the lesson plans. There are numerous ways to enrich many of the lessons. Some of them are:

- Adding language arts activities, such as writing poetry, writing letters, writing scripts for TV shows and plays, writing stories or themes, and doing research using sources outside the resource book.
- Adding art activities, including making posters, models, dioramas, films, and displays, as well as painting, drawing, weaving, and quillwork.
- Adding audiovisual or theatrical activities, such as taping interviews, role-playing, or doing a "media watch."
- Bringing in resource people.

- Adding science and math activities, such as preserving foods as Wabanaki people did, mapping, measuring, identifying plants, and learning when plants are gathered for different uses and why.
- Music and dance -- learning Wabanaki songs and learning a dance such as the one in the Mi'kmaq videotape series.
- Encouraging students when they are comparing Wabanaki and European cultures to also compare them to other cultures they may have studied.

If you have only a short time for a study of Wabanaki people, you may be able to incorporate some of the lesson plans, activities, and ideas listed above throughout the year into art, music, science, math, or English classes. The lessons in the Mi'kmaq section could be used when studying sociology or the history of exploration in North America. Lesson plans using interviews of Wabanaki people could be used when talking about oral history. Some of the games could be tried in gym classes. The possibilities are limitless.

HOW WE LOOK AT OTHERS

The goal of the introductory section to this curriculum guide is to make students aware that there are Indian people living in Maine and the Maritimes today and to motivate them to learn more about these people. Before beginning to learn about Wabanaki people, we suggest that students first examine the notions that they, and society in general, have about Indian people. The story of Wabanaki people has been strongly influenced by their interaction with other peoples and how those peoples have viewed them. This is still important today.

Perhaps the best way for students to begin to examine how people from one culture or group may view people of another is to learn about stereotyping, which is prevalent in our world today. Stereotypes are mistaken ideas about how a whole group of people behave, think, or live. They are wrong and dehumanizing. Often people make these generalizations without being aware of what they are doing.

Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., in his book, The Indian Heritage of America, (Josephy: 1968) talks about stereotyping of Indian people:

> More common among most [non-Indians] are the false understandings and images which they retain about Indians. For many, the moving pictures, television, and comic strips have firmly established a stereotype as the true portrait of all Indians: the dour, stoic, warbonneted Plains Indian, he is a warrior, he has no humor unless it is that of an incongruous and farcical type, and his language is full of "hows," "ughs," and words that end in "um." Only rarely in the popular media of communications is it hinted that Indians, too, were, and are, all kinds of real, living persons like any others and that they included peace-loving wise men, mothers who cried for the safety of their children, young men who sang songs and courted maidens, dullards, statesmen, cowards, and patriots. Today there are college-trained Indians, researchers, business and professional men and women, tourists, ranchers, teachers, and political office holders. Yet so enduring is the stereotype that many a non-Indian, especially if he lives in an area where Indians are not commonly seen, expects any American Indian he meets to wear a feathered headdress. When he sees the Indian in a conventional business suit instead, he is disappointed!

One incident of stereotyping by itself may not appear to be damaging to a person or group. But many examples may form a pattern that is damaging or offensive. Learning this can help students to understand why a person may seem overly sensitive to one incident, when in fact he or she may be reacting to a pattern of stereotyping.

There are lessons in this section for grade four and grade six designed to make students aware of these stereotypes. There is another lesson plan for grade six on discrimination. Wabanaki people, as well as many other people in the United States and Canada, have been the victims of discrimination, or unfair treatment, as some are today. It is important for students to realize what can happen when a group of people is judged inferior or incapable of making its own decisions.

Finally, at the root of stereotyping and discrimination, but perhaps more difficult for people to understand, is ethnocentrism, or the attitude that "...one's own race, nation, or culture is superior to that of other ethnic groups." (New Webster's Dictionary of the English Language, 1985) It was, of course, this attitude that accounts for the behavior of those European colonists who assumed that their way of life would prevail in the New World. Each of us has a world view that is influenced by our life experiences. Most, if not all, of us are ethnocentric in some ways. But it is important to help students realize that they do have world views and values that color their perceptions of what they see and hear, and that other people may have different values and world views because of their different experiences and cultures.

Learning about other points of view and beliefs can be fun for students if they are encouraged to respect people with points of view that differ from their own. History and social studies take on new meaning if students are able to identify authors' points of view (even in so-called "objective" accounts) and can begin to separate fact from opinion. There is a lesson plan in this section for grade eight on ethnocentrism. (The themes of point of view, respect for differences, and separating fact from opinion appear in other lesson plan sections as well.)

One of the few resources that we recommend the teacher purchase for use with this resource book is **Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes,** a packet containing a book, a filmstrip, and some handouts for students. This can be ordered from:

The Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators
Council on Interracial Books for Children
1841 Broadway
New York, NY 10023

book only	**$4.95**
with filmstrip	**$39.95**

UNDERSTANDING STEREOTYPING

OBJECTIVES:
- Students will understand what stereotypes are and where they originate.
- Students will identify examples of stereotyping of Native Americans in books, magazines, etc.

WORDS TO KNOW: stereotyping, Native American, Native, reservation, reserve

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Introduction to Resource Book, "Stereotyping," p.xii; How We Look At Others, B-7; Can You Recognize Stereotyping?, B-16

BACKGROUND NOTES: "Stereotyping occurs when an entire group is characterized in specific ways, and these characteristics are attributed to all individuals who belong to that group." (Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes, B-8)

Although "Native American" to some people implies someone whose ancestors were indigenous to the Americas, it is most often used to refer to an Indian person in the United States. Indian people of Canada most often use the term "Native" or "Native people."

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Picture Books That Portray "Indian" Stereotypes, B-18; picture books and magazines from the library; **Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes** filmstrip (See B-8 for address.)

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Have students draw pictures of an Indian person and his or her home. After the drawings are completed, ask each student to point out one thing in his or her picture that shows that it is a picture of an Indian person. List these on the blackboard.

2. Explain the meaning of stereotyping. Point out that stereotypes are generalizations about the way a whole group of people behave, think, or dress. Think of a stereotype that pertains to a group of which you are a part, and that you find offensive or untrue. (Strong men don't show emotion; a woman's place is in the home; French people are not intelligent; people from rural areas are unsophisticated; women are too emotional; men can't cook well; etc.) Then ask students if they are members of a group with which stereotypes are associated. Ask them to share these with the class if they feel comfortable doing so, and ask them to share how they feel about the stereotypes.

3. Define and discuss stereotyping. (If it is available, watch the filmstrip "Unlearning 'Indian' Stereotypes" with your class.) Point out two kinds of inaccuracies commonly found in stereotypes about Native people:

   (a) All Indian people have the same history, heritage, and culture. / Point out that totem poles, for instance, originated with Native people in the Northwest United States and Southwestern Canada, and that Native people of the Plains of both countries were the originators of long feather headdresses. Even among the Plains peoples, different groups wore different types of headdresses. Tipis were also dwellings of Plains people, while some people in the Southwestern United States lived in adobe dwellings. (Some still do.)

(b) Nothing has changed for Native peoples over the last 500 years. / Explain to your students that just as other North Americans do not eat all of the same foods, wear the same clothes, or live in the same types of houses as their ancestors of 500 years ago, so too have these things changed for Native Americans and Native people in Canada. And just because many Native people wear clothes similar to other North Americans and drive automobiles, it does not mean they are no longer Maliseet or Hopi or Pawnee. (If students have trouble understanding this, you might use an example of Japanese or Nigerian or Greek people.)

4. Examine the list on the board. Identify the stereotypes, discuss them, and cross them off the list.
5. Have students look for examples of stereotypes of Native people in magazines and picture books.
6. Ask students to share with the class the next time they notice a stereotype in a movie, joke, ad, greeting card, or sign that makes fun of or insults Native people or people from other cultures.

UNDERSTANDING DISCRIMINATION:

Discrimination based on eye color

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will experience discrimination and injustice based solely on the color of their eyes.
- Students will explain the feelings they had when part of a group experiencing discrimination.
- Students will share some of their perceptions gained from participating in this simulation.

WORDS TO KNOW: stereotype, prejudice, discrimination

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: A Sample Letter to Parents, B-19

BACKGROUND NOTE: It is recommended that this lesson plan be used as the introduction to the sixth grade section. **Therefore, you should plan in advance so that you can do this activity while you are teaching regular class material, and not using materials from this resource book.**

NOTES TO TEACHER:

- Expect the children to be upset. Reactions may include anger, tears, frustration ("this is boring!"), sense of unfairness/injustice.
- You might want to **send a letter home to parents** at the end of the day explaining the activity and that students may want to continue expressing their feelings (see Sample Letter, B-19).
- You might want to refer back to this activity some days later -- now how do you feel about it?

The idea for this simulation comes from a TV program entitled **"A Class Divided,"** conducted by a teacher named Jane Elliot. **(The 3/4 or 1/2" videocassette that is 60 min. long may be ordered from PBS Video, 475 L'Enfant Plaza, SW, Washington, DC, 20024.)**

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Divide the class into two groups; one with those students having blue eyes, the other with those having brown eyes. (Hair color or other distinctions could also be used if the teacher prefers.) So that the groups may be somewhat even in size, the teacher may decide where to place persons whose eyes are another color besides blue or brown. (For the sake of simplicity in the following instructions, the brown-eyed persons will be called "the Browns" and the blue-eyed persons will be called "the Blues.")

2. Tell the students that they will be part of an activity, or experiment, and that the two groups will change places later in the day. Because some students may take the attitude, "I'm not going to let anyone push me around, or tell me what to do," the teacher should ask students to go along with what happens to them even if it seems very unfair. Also, explain to the students that they may have strong feelings about what is happening, but that they should wait until a specified time at the end of the day to talk about them. Students are given armbands so the teacher can tell easily which group each student is in.

3. Continue with the usual activities of the day, but allow the Browns far more privileges. For example, they may get drinks any time they wish. If another teacher can help, arrange for them to go out to recess early.
    - Post a list of rules or restrictions which apply only to the Blues.
    - Whenever possible, the teacher should give out newer materials to the Browns, older to the Blues.
    - The teacher may ignore the Blues as much as possible, concentrating attention on the Browns.
    - The Blues are to be escorted to a different, less convenient, drinking fountain.
    - At lunch time have the Blues eat at a separate table.
    - At lunch, the Browns will be excused whenever they desire, the Blues will stay behind to clean up.
    - The class may hold an election during which only the Browns may run for office and vote.
    - The teacher may talk about the Blues in front of them, making disparaging remarks such as, "Be sure to lock up your belongings. Those Blues are probably thieves," or "Don't you wish the Blues would just go away or disappear so we could have the whole room to ourselves?"
    - The teacher should not address the Blues by first name, but rather by last or group name.
    - The Blues must have a pass to go to the bathroom.
    - The Blues must line up after class to leave the room. The Browns may enter and leave first.
    - Blues must use cursive writing when writing in class; Browns may use anything.
    - Browns will always be called on first to speak and share. Blues will be called on only if no Browns have their hands up.
4. At the specified time, after each group has had a turn at being privileged as well as restricted, have a whole group meeting. (Use meetings of smaller groups if there are other adults to facilitate discussion; the more time for each student to be listened to, the better.) Ask: 1)"What did you feel?" and 2) "What did you observe?" Be sure every student has a chance to respond without being interrupted. The teacher should share her or his feelings as well. (It's important for students to know that the teacher didn't enjoy discriminating.) Then ask the group "Why do you think we did this?"

ACTIVITY:

Tape record or videotape the students as they discuss how they felt being discriminated against. This tape or video would be instructive to play at the end of the Wabanaki study where more insightful dialogue could take place.

HOW WE LOOK AT NATIVE PEOPLE

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will define stereotyping.
- Students will give examples of Indian stereotypes.

WORDS TO KNOW: stereotype, ethnic, prejudice, discrimination

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Introduction to Resource Book, "Stereotyping," p. xii, How We Look At Others, B-7; Can You Recognize Stereotyping?, B-16; **Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes** (See B-8 for address.)

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Historical Overview, A-24 to A-25, Prejudice Section of Interviews C-92 to C-96, as well as Interview 5, C-62 and Interview 16, C-82

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Put the word "Indian" on the blackboard. Ask the students to list all the words they associate with that word. When they have written their lists, ask them to put a plus next to the positive words and a minus next to the negative ones. Have the class discuss their results in terms of impressions gained through bias and misinformation.

2. Ask students whether they've ever heard the following stereotypes:
    - Real men don't cry.
    - Clever people, those Chinese.
    - That's women's work.
    - Blacks have rhythm.

    What do these statements tell you about stereotypes? Can you think of other examples?

3. Ask students whether they ever tell jokes about ethnic groups. Ask what they think of these jokes. Ask how students would feel if their ethnic group were the brunt of these jokes.

4. Ask the class to develop a definition of stereotyping. Ask students how they feel about stereotyping.

5. Ask students what stereotypes they have seen or heard about Native people. (You can use the word association list if it contained stereotypes.) See "Can You Recognize Stereotyping?", B-16 to B-17. Ask students where they got their ideas about Indians.

6. Read aloud several of the interviews of Wabanaki people who talk about discrimination, including Interviews 5, 16 (beginning), 28, 32, and A-24 to A-25 in the Historical Overview, as well as any other interviews in the Prejudice Section of interest to the students. After reading these interviews, discuss with the class what they remember especially. Ask how the students feel about what they remember. What meaning might it have for others? What is it like to hear what a Native person has to say about his or her feelings?

UNDERSTANDING ETHNOCENTRISM

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will understand what ethnocentrism is.
- Students will explain different points of view about a historical incident.

WORDS TO KNOW: stereotype, point of view, bias, ethnocentrism, word association. discrimination

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Introduction to Resource Book, "Stereotyping," p. xii; How We Look At Others, B-7; Can You Recognize Stereotyping?, B-16; **Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes** book (See B-8 for address.)

BACKGROUND NOTE: Ethnocentrism is the attitude that "...one's own race, nation, or culture is superior to that of other ethnic groups." (New Webster's Dictionary of the English Language: 1985.)

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Media Watch Sample Form, B-20; Excerpts from History Books, B-21

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Do a rapid exercise of word associations, with the teacher saying a word and students rapidly saying (or writing down) the first related word that comes to mind. (Some examples of words to use are: tree, collar, football, babysitter, smart, blond, arrow, secretary, doctor, lake, brick, etc.) The last word in the word association should be "Indian." The teacher can write the associations for "Indian" on the blackboard, but only after all the word associations have been given so as not to slow down the flow of ideas. Discuss word association in general with the class, and then examine the associations for the word "Indian" for stereotypical or racist words. What groups do people make fun of in our school (e.g. punks, jocks, teenagers)?

2. Discuss stereotyping with your students, and then ask what groups besides Native people have been the objects of stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, and forced relocation in the United States and Canada.

3. Read to your class a few examples from old history books that exhibit stereotyping or racism toward Native Americans or Native people in Canada. How might/do you feel about this if you were/are an Indian person? (See "Excerpts From History Books," left column.)

4. Have students think of times when they and someone else (a sibling, parent, friend) disagreed about something and saw something differently. Discuss point of view, bias. Is history really fact? How might a story be different depending on who has written it?

5. Present to the class two articles about the same incident written by people with very different points of view about the incident. Have the students discuss the different points of view. (See "Excerpts From History Books," or find two articles with differing points of view about a current issue in newspapers or magazines.) Use questions on pages B-16 and B-17 to guide the discussion.

6. Define and discuss ethnocentrism. Explain that thinking about our own and others' points of view will be one of the themes of this study.
7. Ask the students to conduct a media watch and come up with at least three examples of bias in the media. (See Media Watch Sample Form.) Discuss the results in class and explore with students what means they might use to respond to the media.

ACTIVITY:

1. Have each student write two letters about an incident in which she or he disagreed with someone else: one that is written from the student's point of view, and one written from the point of view of the person on the other side of the issue.
2. Have students find and read articles about Native Americans that contain obvious stereotypes. Have students underline sentences or phrases that represent opinion, and not fact. Discuss why the author may have had the opinion that she or he had.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

CAN YOU RECOGNIZE STEREOTYPING?[1]

> No one illustration is enough to create stereotypes in children's minds. But enough books contain these images -- and the general culture reinforces them -- so that there is a cumulative effect, encouraging false and negative perceptions about Native Americans.
>
> from Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes: 1981

Following are some questions designed to help you recognize some of the more obvious stereotyping often found in books about Native people. If the "right" answers aren't apparent to you or for information on more subtle stereotyping, consult Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes, or, for textbooks, Stereotypes, Distortions and Omissions in U.S. History Textbooks; both available from the Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, NY 10023.

1) Look at the illustrations
   a) Do they show all the Native people looking alike?
   b) Are animals used to represent Indian people?
   c) Do the illustrations show Native people threatening non-Native people, particularly people portrayed as "helpless"?
   d) Do they show Native people in a variety of occupations (not just in conflict with Europeans, for example)?
   e) How are the non-Native people near the Native Americans reacting toward them? Afraid? Scornful? Putting up with them?
   f) Are the costumes, homes, etc. accurate for the specific culture portrayed? If a ceremony or dancing is shown, is it explained?
   g) Do the illustrations make sense if the roles of the Native and non-Native people are reversed? Why or why not?
2) Look at the vocabulary
   a) Does the vocabulary suggest that Native people have ceased to exist? Is the time the story takes place clear?
   b) Does the book talk about "our arrival," "our early history," etc., in a way that excludes Indian people?
   c) Does the vocabulary include words such as "papoose," "brave," and "squaw"? Are stereotypes reinforced by using words like "sneaking" and "lurking"?
   d) When describing hostile encounters, is the word "massacre" used for a Native victory, while the word "battle" is used for a non-Native victory?

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[1] Suggested as background for "Understanding Stereotyping," B-9, Grade 4, Lesson 1; "How We Look at Native People," B-13, Grade 6, Lesson 2; and "Understanding Ethnocentrism," B-14, Grade 8, Lesson 1.

   e) Are the words "savage" and "uncivilized" used when talking about Indian cultures at the time of European arrival or before? Is respect shown for the Native culture(s) through the vocabulary?

3) Look at the story

   a) Are Native people portrayed as people with dignity?

   b) Are Native people portrayed as communicating well verbally, not in grunts or pidgin English?

   c) Are Native people associated mostly with violence? If the text describes conflict, are the reasons given?

   d) If written about colonial times, does the book mention that Indian people were the first people in North America, or do they appear out of nowhere?

   e) Is the character development of non-Indian people deeper than that of Indian people?

   f) Does the book portray contemporary Native people realistically? Are the past and present confused? (For example, are Native people in traditional costumes and homes such as wigwams celebrating Christmas?)

   g) Does the story reinforce the "noble savage" stereotype?

   h) Does the text suggest that Indians are less "Indian" without feathers, costumes, wigwams, etc.?

   i) Does the book advocate "playing Indian" to learn more about Native people?

   j) Are Native women portrayed as passive? As having no important role in the culture?

   k) Is Native culture described in more than material terms (food, transportation, clothing)?

   l) Does the book accord equal respect to the complex cultures, religions, values, and governmental forms that were developed before the Europeans' arrival? Is the culture today also portrayed sensitively, or would a reader feel "How could people live that way"?

   m) If the book discussed Thanksgiving, does it explain why some Native people do not consider the feast a cause for celebration? Does it attribute generosity to Native people in general, not just the "unusual" Native person like Squanto?

   n) Does the book assume Europeans had a right to North America when they arrived, no matter whom they found already occupying it?

   o) Are famous "Indian fighters" (like Buffalo Bill or Andrew Jackson) presented as heroes?

Remember when you evaluate a book to look for stereotyping of other groups of people as well.

PICTURE BOOKS THAT PORTRAY "INDIAN" STEREOTYPES[1]

Alexander, Martha, Blackboard Bear, illus. Dial Press, 1969.

Bridwell, Norman, Clifford's Halloween, illus. Scholastic Book Services, 1967.

Buckley, Helen E., The Little Boy and the Birthdays, Galdone, Paul, illus. Lothrop, Lee and Shepard, 1965.

Cerf, Bennett A., Bennett Cerf's Book of Riddles, Random House, 1960.

________, More Riddles, Random House, 1961.

Cohen, Miriam, Will I Have a Friend?, Hoban, Lillian, illus. Macmillan Co., 1967.

Emberly, Ed, Drawing Book of Faces, illus. Little Brown and Co., 1967.

Hefter, Richard, The Great Big Alphabet Picture Book for Lots of Words, illus. Grosset and Dunlap, 1972.

Joslin, Sesyle, What Do You Do Dear?, Sendak, Maurice, illus. Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1961.

Kraus, Robert, How Spider Saved Halloween, illus. Parents Magazine Press, 1973.

Marshall, James, George and Martha Encore, illus. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1973.

Montresor, Beni, A For Angel, illus. Alfred Knopf, 1969.

O'Neill, Mary, Hailstones and Halibut Bones -- Adventures in Color, Weisgard, Leonard, illus. Doubleday and Co., 1961.

Petersham, Maud and Petersham, Miska, The Rooster Crows: A Book of American Rhymes and Jingles, illus. Macmillan Co., 1971.

Rey, H.A., Curious George Learns the Alphabet, illus. Houghton Mifflin, 1963.

Scarry, Richard, Richard Scarry's ABC Word Book, illus. Random House, 1971.

________, Richard Scarry's Best Word Book Ever, illus. Golden Press, 1974.

________. Richard Scarry's Storybook Dictionary, illus. Golden Press, 1974.

Sendak, Maurice, Alligators All Around: An Alphabet, illus. Harper and Row, 1962.

Stevenson, Robert L., A Child's Garden of Verse, Fujikawa, Gyo, illus. Grosset and Dunlap, 1977.

Viorst, Judith, I'll Fix Anthony, Lobel, Arnold, illus. Harper and Row, 1969.

Wagner, Peggy, Hurrah for Hats, Eckart, Frances, illus. Children's Press, 1962.

Wiseman, Bernard, Halloween with Morris and Boris, illus. Dodd, Mead and Co., 1975.

This list is part of a larger list that appears in Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes (1981).

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[1] Suggested for use with "Understanding Stereotyping," B-9, Grade 4, Lesson 1.

A SAMPLE LETTER TO PARENTS[1]

Date

Dear Parents,

Today in [name of school], we participated in a simulation exercise that lasted the entire school day. This exercise involved experiencing discrimination and injustice based solely on the color of one's eyes. The purpose of this exercise was to lead the students toward a better understanding of the feelings of people who suffer discrimination.

To be specific, each eye-color group experienced discrimination for half of the day; for the other half of the day, they had the experience of being privileged. When part of the group being discriminated against, they experienced such injustices as sitting at a specific table in class, drinking from the downstairs fountain instead of the more convenient upstairs fountain, and often being told to wait for the privileged group. Generally, the idea was to simulate many discriminatory practices prevalent in areas of our country in the not-too-distant past. We were careful with our practices, in actuality not coming even close to the injustices experienced by many individuals of minority groups.

At the end of the day, the students spent some time discussing their feelings about and their reactions to this simulation. Because one day is a short time in which to air all the questions and feelings, we encourage you to continue this dialogue at home.

Thank you for your support.

Sincerely yours,

This letter was based on a letter to parents sent by Waynflete School.

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[1] Suggested as background for "Understanding Discrimination," B-11, Grade 6, Lesson 1.

MEDIA WATCH SAMPLE FORM[1]

MEDIA WATCH

Your Name:

What did you look at? TV, radio, other?:

Date of Observation:

What examples of bias did you observe? Please give details.

How do you feel about what you saw or read?

Do you plan to do anything about what you saw or read? write a letter, phone someone? what?

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[1] Suggested for use with "Understanding Ethnocentrism," B-14, Grade 8, Lesson 1.

EXCERPTS FROM HISTORY BOOKS[1]

The following excerpts were selected from a variety of sources, all of which were intended to be read as "history" by the authors. The horizontal lines separate topics. Excerpts in the lefthand column interpret events or facts differently from those in the righthand column, or at least use a different tone in describing them. In general, excerpts in the lefthand column contain more stereotypes and misinformation, while excerpts in the righthand column are more objective or more sympathetic to Native cultures and peoples. The excerpts are included here to illustrate different points of view in historical accounts.

They had no tools for cutting down the large trees and clearing the woodlands.... The Indians had no tools with which to make lumber....

Freeman and Perry, Story of Maine for Young Readers, Bond Wheelwright Co., 1962.

The lining inside for strengthening [the canoe] was of slats, of the length of the canoe and some four inches broad lessening towards the ends in order that they might match together.... These slats were made of cedar, which is light, and which they split in as great lengths as they wished, and also as thin as they pleased.

Denys, 1908 (written in the seventeenth century)

It is unfortunate that the use of stone tools is often equated with the lack of any technology whatever. In fact, the working of stone is a complex, precise process that yields a high-quality product.... Certain kinds of stone ...might have to be heated to a precise temperature range to render its crystalline structure more fracturable. The resulting edged artifact was razor-sharp, and it kept its edge comparably with a steel edge similarly used....

School Television Teachers Guides 1983/84, 1983.

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[1] Suggested for use with "Understanding Ethnocentrism," B-13, Grade 8, Lesson 1.

From time to time two or more tribes became enemies and went to war. This might happen when one tribe claimed the hunting grounds of another. The victor in any fight usually took his enemy's scalp as proof of his courage and skill. It was like a modern soldier's decoration for bravery. It might be the scalp of a man, woman, or child, as long as it came from an enemy, or anyone whom the Indians disliked. The victors also demanded tribute in skins, food, and wampum.

There was little trouble between the white settlers and Indians in Maine until after 1675, when King Philip, chief of an Indian tribe in Rhode Island and Connecticut, undertook to drive the settlers from Connecticut and Massachusetts. He tried to unite all Indians in New England against the white invaders of Indian country.

There were times before this when English settlers were saved from starvation by Indian gifts of food, or their help in raising a crop of corn, when their supply was low, to protect them from future hunger, as was the case in Plymouth. The Pilgrims were saved through the help of the two Maine Indians, Samoset and Squanto.[2]

By the time the Indians of Maine became hostile, there were white settlements at Kittery, York, Wells, Cape Porpoise, Saco, Scarborough, Falmouth, Sagadahoc, Pemaquid, Sheepscot, and Monhegan, making a count altogether of about six thousand people.

The Maine Indians were warlike and fierce. But they had suffered greatly in an earlier period from war between tribes, followed by a dreadful sickness from which many of them died. These hardships were so great that they were not in any mood to fight until they saw

King Philip's War broke out in southern New England in 1675. War spread to northern New England largely because of the murder of an infant child of Squando, sagamore on the Saco. The Eastern Abenaki held out for peace, but the English were suspicious and made the outrageous demand that the Indians turn in their guns. Guns were by now essential to the economic survival of the Indians, and the English attitude made war virtually inevitable.

Snow, 1978

Before [European arrival], warfare between Native nations was limited.... And killing, when it did occur, was generally limited only to warriors -- noncombatants were either assimilated into the victorious nation, forced to move elsewhere or expected to recognize the victor's preeminence with the payment of symbolic tribute. There was little attempt to systematically destroy food or property.

Scalping had been known in Europe as far back as ancient Greece. The practice in the American colonies of paying bounties for Native scalps -- similar to the English practice in Ireland of paying bounties for heads -- is credited to Governor Kieft of New Netherlands. By attaching a profit motive to the practice of scalping, Europeans were encouraged to step up the slaughter of Native people to ease the takeover of more territory.... Thus, the European practice of paying for the scalps of men *and* women reflected the intent of their warfare -- the annihilation of the Native population. As this became clear, Native nations responded to the threat and changed their own methods of warfare, including the practice of taking scalps.

Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes, 1981

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[2] See B-87 for more accurate information on Samoset and Tisquantum.

how many foreigners were invading their lands, cutting down their forests, and thus forcing them to change their way of life.

Freeman and Perry, 1962

...there shall be paid out of the Province Treasury...the Premiums of Bounty following, viz.

For every Male Penobscot Indian above the Age of Twelve Years, that shall be taken within the Time aforesaid and brought to Boston, Fifty Pounds.

For every Scalp of a Male Penobscot Indian above the age aforesaid, Forty Pounds.

For every Female Penobscot Indian taken and brought in as aforesaid, and for every male Indian Prisoner under the age of Twelve Years, taken and brought in as aforesaid, Twenty-five Pounds.

For every Scalp of such Female Indian or Male Indian under the Age of Twelve Years, that shall be killed and brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, Twenty Pounds.

Proclamation of the Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts
Bay Colony, 1755

The Indians had no written language, no books, no grammar, no history. Speech was quite limited. Even though many tribes lived quite near to each other they did not all speak alike. It is not surprising that the Indians did little talking. They used picture writing. Pictures carved in the rocks along lakes and rivers are there today for us to see.

Freeman and Perry, 1962

...they have thus developed into a custom the recital of their genealogies, both in the speeches they make at marriages, and also at funerals. This is in order to keep alive the memory, and to preserve by tradition from father to son, the history of their ancestors, and the example of their fine actions and of their greatest qualities....

Denys, 1908, (written in
in the seventeenth century)

All the authority of their chief is in his tongue's end; for he is powerful insofar as he is eloquent.

Jesuits, 1959 (written in the
early seventeenth century)

[The Micmac language is] very beautiful and rich in its expressions, each word has its particular and specific significance; this shows remarkably well in their speeches which are always very elegant.

LeClerq, 1910 (written in
the seventeenth century)

A sanup has unlimited control over his wife, having been known to take her life with impunity. A case of the kind occurred in 1775, when one in a paroxysm of rage, slew his squaw and hid her body in the ice of the Penobscot, without being, according to report, so much as questioned for his conduct.

Williamson, History of Maine,
Glazier, Masters and Co.,
1832.

...of the marriage [partners], who keep faithful company without ever separating, and who live in so great a union with one another, that they seem not to have more than a single heart and a single will. They are very fond of one another, and they agree remarkably well. You never see quarrels, hatred, or reproaches among them.

LeClerq, 1910 (written in the
seventeenth century)

For most of them, no great effort is required to make a living, since each family has an inherited income from funds held in trust for them. In 1786, a treaty confirmed to the [Penobscots] certain lands as well as liberal gifts. These lands were sold at various times to Massachusetts and to Maine for considerable sums, to be held for the Indians and their descendants.... Since for many years certain families did not draw upon the sums due them, among the Indians today there must be persons of considerable wealth. The average Indian takes up his income in trade at the agency store.

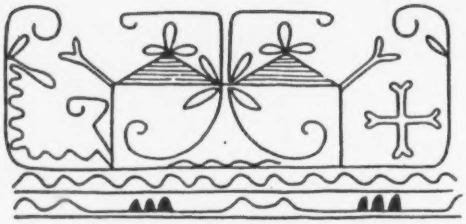
Maine: A Guide 'Down East',
written by Workers of the
Federal Writers' Project of the
Work Progress Administration
for the State of Maine,
Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937.

...The state finally began to put the proceeds from [Passamaquoddy] timber sales into a Trust Fund ($22,500 was deposited in 1856), but the stumpage was sold dirt cheap and the trust was mismanaged by white officials, with the Indians having no say whatsoever as to how the money was invested. To this date, interested is siphoned over to the state General Fund. Once the Indian monies were even raided to finance a bridge in Eastport.

Saltonstall, Maine Pilgrimage,
Little, Brown and Co., 1974.

In 1936 the State...decided to put all the interest from the trust fund into the state General Fund. From then on the state set aside an amount every year to be used for Indians, and this money is still handled by the Indian agent.

Maine Dirigo; I Lead, 1980.



MI'KMAQ[1]

This section is built around the videotape series "Mi'kmaq," which was produced by the Department of Education for the Province of Nova Scotia and the Canadian Broadcasting Company in cooperation with the Micmac Association of Cultural Studies. The actors are Micmac people from Nova Scotia. This series is the only one available that describes Wabanaki life in 1400. **Advance planning is necessary to allow time for ordering the videotapes.**

For teachers, the cost of procuring the video series from state or provincial instructional media services is the blank videotapes on which to copy it. See "Resources," E-1, for information on ordering the videotapes. (Remember to order both the Micmac and the English language versions.)

The Micmac aboriginal life portrayed in this series is similar to what is known about the aboriginal lifestyles of Maliseets, Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, and Abenakis, and so can be used, with caution, in discussing these groups as well as Micmacs. Teachers should be careful to point out that differences existed at this time among the Wabanaki groups and to describe what these differences were when possible.

Two of the most important differences among Wabanaki groups were a result of geography and climate. First, Micmacs had a much more maritime orientation than most other Wabanaki groups. And secondly, Micmacs grew little, if any, of their food. The farther west and south one goes in Wabanaki territory, the more Wabanaki groups cultivated food to supplement food obtained from hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants. These differences were reflected in differences from group to group in such things as the seasonal cycle, residence patterns, tools, foods eaten, and trade items. Another important difference among the groups not so directly related to geography was language.

Some differences were not so important. Log cooking kettles so far have been mentioned only among the Micmacs. Styles of canoes were different for each group, and only Micmacs had canoes with gunwales raised in the center. Clothing differed somewhat, as did some of the animals, plants, and minerals available from region to region. But although there must have been many differences and variations among groups, the environment was fairly similar throughout Maine and the Maritimes, and the lifestyles of the various Wabanaki groups were more notable for their similarities than for their differences.

We suggest that you use the Mi'kmaq video series before students have begun their study of Wabanaki life and history. We think that by introducing students to their study of Wabanaki people through the Micmac language version of one of the programs, with no narrative explanation in English, that students will observe the activities in the program more closely and be more eager not only to see the same program with the English narration, but also to continue their study of Wabanaki people. Also, using the program in this way will give them an opportunity to experience some of the problems that plagued early European observers when trying to understand Wabanaki culture.

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[1] Because this section is dependent upon materials outside this book, it is considered optional. It is nonetheless highly recommended.

Some teachers, as they go deeper into study of Wabanaki culture, may wish to use excerpts from the video series to illustrate some of the things they are teaching. In this way, passages such as the one in which the family constructs its wigwam, or goes on a fishing excursion, or celebrates a marriage, might be useful. Both "Things to Look For," B-32, and the "Program Synopses," B-33, should be useful to teachers in locating appropriate parts of the series for use with other sections.

Finally, for those teachers whose students are doing a truly in-depth study of one or more Wabanaki groups and who intend to use the entire Mi'kmaq series, we have included the questions following each program synopsis.

BACKGROUND FOR TEACHERS[2]

FOREWORD

Helping children understand cultures other than their own and people living in times and places different from their own is one of the most difficult and challenging tasks confronting teachers. The common prejudice that unfamiliar people and their customs are automatically inferior must be overcome, but care must also be taken to avoid creating the impression that all people are the same. Students often acquire this view from films and television programs in which people from other times and places are portrayed as if they were, at their core, really only twentieth-century, urban North Americans playing dress-up.

One of the most important ideas behind the Mi'kmaq series is that the life, customs, and culture of precontact Micmacs were not only different from our own, but worked and worked well. At first, it may be difficult for students to understand just how different life was for the precontact Micmacs, or how well adapted their ways were to their world. Simply arranging for students to watch this series and leaving them solely with their initial interpretations would probably not achieve the revolution in perspective that might otherwise be possible.

To obtain maximum benefit from Mi'kmaq, it is necessary to have lessons and activities built around the series. Students could gather some of the materials that the Micmacs used in their close interaction with their environment, and try, for example, to understand the patient genius behind the creation of stone tools and the difference that an absence of steel would make in our own lives, or discover how many things can be made with spruce root, birchbark, porcupine quills, and one's own hands.

The students should also be guided in identifying, reflecting upon, and discussing the various aspects of Micmac social institutions and values dramatized by the films: division of labor and cooperation between men and women, children and adults; the reasons for respecting elders and how that respect is shown; the interrelationship between the technology of the culture and its social structure.

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[2] Most of "Background for Teachers" comes from the written materials that accompany the Mi'kmaq video series: School Television Teachers Guides 1983/84 for grade levels: P-6, Nova Scotia Department of Education, Education Media Services.

Students' attention should be directed to recognizing evidence of the Micmac world view and how it is expressed in their spiritual practices.

INTRODUCTION

The Mi'kmaq ETV series has special value as a teaching resource in that it portrays information that is either inaccessible to students or unavailable from any other source. Although the programs are dramatizations, they depict the lifestyle of a fifteenth-century Micmac family as accurately as careful research would allow.

That research was carried out by Dr. Harold McGee of St. Mary's University; Ms. Ruth Whitehead and Ms. Joan Waldron of the Nova Scotia Museum; and Messrs. Bernie Francis and Peter Christmas of the Micmac Association of Cultural Studies. Their findings formed the basis of Dr. Ray Whitley's script development. Great care was taken by the production staff in preparing each item used in the programs and in presenting each technique or skill. Since the programs were produced, they have been viewed by a number of anthropologists and archaeologists who have attested to the authenticity of the series in the light of present knowledge.

Just before each program -- and especially before the first -- point out to your students that this is not the kind of television program to which they have become accustomed. The people they will see are not actors in the conventional sense, but present-day Nova Scotian Micmacs who are using dramatization to portray the lifestyle of their ancestors as it was over five hundred years ago. The costumes, tools, structures, and techniques they will see are based on the careful research of archaeologists and historians; in short, the programs are a form of history text that attempts to present as complete a portrayal as possible.

There are ways in which the videotape portrayal differs from a real picture of typical Micmac life in 1400, not only because knowledge of Micmac life in 1400 is incomplete, but for technical reasons. For instance largely because it takes so much time to manufacture replicas such as clothing and canoes, it was not possible to depict large gatherings of people. Actually, some Micmac families were larger than those portrayed in the film: Micmac family bands usually ranged in size from 25 to perhaps 100 related people, and in certain seasons the gathering of families would form a much larger encampment than any portrayed.

Why View Each Program Twice?

The series was videotaped in the Micmac language both because the Micmac Association of Cultural Studies asked the Department of Education to do so and because the Department felt that the programs would have lost authenticity if the Micmac performers had spoken English. Educationally, too, there is an advantage in having students first view the programs in Micmac, inasmuch as they must rely almost solely on visual cues as a source of information. Preliminary testing indicates that this leads to more careful observation and more active discussion following the first viewing. The

Micmac language broadcast also gives students some sense of the implications of the communication barrier that faced both Micmac and European in their first contact.

The second viewing with the English language narration assists in explaining those parts of the programs that cannot be readily understood from visual cues alone and of course corroborates the decoding that students have already attempted. The opportunity for students to confirm their interpretations of the Micmac version is a strong incentive for the second viewing.

Preparing for the Series

Although a brief synopsis of each program is included in your guide, we do not recommend that you reveal any aspect of the program to your class before they view it. In fact, we suggest that you encourage your students to pretend that they are, perhaps, fifteenth-century European fishing crews who have come upon their first Micmac encampment. What would they make of these people, whose language they cannot speak and whose customs are so unfamiliar?

MI'KMAQ VIDEO SERIES

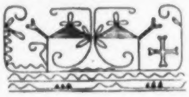
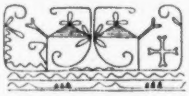
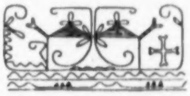
OBJECTIVES:
- Students will experience the difficulties early Europeans faced in recording and interpreting the culture of Wabanaki people, and understand the ways in which the information from these European records is limited.
- Students will interpret Wabanaki culture based on assumptions from their culture.
- Students will become familiar with certain aspects of Wabanaki social structure, material culture, and world view.

WORDS TO KNOW: hypothesis, ethnologist

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Mi'kmaq, B-25; Background for Teachers, B-26; Program Synopses, B-33; Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago, B-67

BACKGROUND NOTE: The lesson plan centers around viewing Program 1, "The Arrival" (or one of the other programs, if you prefer), in Micmac only, without an English language narrative, and later viewing the same program with the English narrative. The purpose of viewing the program first without the English narrative is to encourage close observation and to demonstrate both the usefulness and the limitations of information so derived in framing an understanding of a culture. **Before students view the series in Micmac or English teachers should check "How Do We Learn About the Past," B-79, along with the Introduction to "Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago," B-67, for possible incorporation into this lesson.**

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Suggested Student Log-Book, B-39; Family Tree Chart, B-40; Supplementary Phonograph Record; **Mi'kmaq Video Series** (Free. See Resources, E-1, for information on how to order.)

PROCEDURE:

1. Prior to viewing the Micmac version of Part One, the students should be told that they will be watching a scene from Micmac life as it was lived prior to contact with the Europeans. They will hear the people speaking the Micmac language and, unless they speak Micmac, they will have to rely entirely on their own powers of observation to try to understand who these people are in relation to one another, what they are doing, and why.

2. After viewing the video, ask the students to record in a log book as much information as they can remember from the film. Facts recorded should include those concerning the natural environment, the people and what they were seen to be doing, and the materials and material objects that they used. Students should also be encouraged to sketch things that they see in the video, such as clothing, a wigwam, and canoes.

   Point out to students that it was records such as these that early European explorers and settlers made, and which provide ethnologists with much of their information.

3. After students have recorded for themselves as much as they can remember, they should be prompted to ask questions raised by their observations. For example (for Program One):
   - What were the canoes made of, what kept them from leaking, and why were they shaped the way they were?
   - Were the people in the film all one family?
   - What was the frame of poles for?
   - Why did one man stand alone quietly for a moment; what was he doing?
   - What was their clothing made of?
   - Why did the young woman put the birchbark in the water?
   - Why were the young children going off to the woods with baskets?

4. Have the students answer as many of the questions as they can. Then pose the most important question of all, "How do you know that?" Can the answer be supported by the observed facts alone? Does the answer require some guesswork? What assumptions are being made in finding answers? Where do those assumptions come from? Students should be led to discover the difficulty of answering questions about Micmac culture without having a complete picture of that culture. Students should be asked to consider ways in which errors can be made by historians, ethnologists, or any outsiders trying to understand a culture other than their own.

   Without discouraging the students from making informed guesses based on the film, the teacher can introduce the idea of treating such guesses as hypotheses that students will test as they gather further information.

5. Before viewing the English language version of the same program, students should use the "Family Tree Chart" along with the segment of the Supplementary Phonograph Record with the pronunciation of the Micmac names. Point out to students that giving attention to pronouncing names is a way of showing respect for people of other cultures.

6. After viewing the English version of the program, have students make additional entries into their journals. Discuss the questions that students asked after viewing the Micmac version. Some of these questions they will now be able to answer, and some not. Some new questions will have arisen. Encourage your class to discuss as many aspects of the family life of the people in the film as possible. Following are some examples of questions to ask students:
   - Compare the family in the film to your own family, both at home and when it is traveling. How is it the same? How is it different?
   - How did each family member contribute to settling in at the new site? Do you think the family members cooperated more or less than in most families you know? Why do you think this is so?
   - What are some of the things that each person has learned to do? How do you think he or she has learned these skills?
   - Today in the United States and Canada many people set aside special times for different things, such as school, religious activities, housework, shopping, etc. From what you have seen of the Micmac family, do you think special times were set aside for each of these activities? Why? Do you think Micmacs 500 years ago would have separated activities in the same way you do? Why?
   - How did Micmac people decide who they would marry? How does this compare with people you know?

ACTIVITIES:

1. Students can discuss the relationships of each member of the family with each of the other people in the family, taking into consideration what they have seen in the film or heard the narrator describe about what the person (e.g., Musqun) did for or with, or said to, or felt about each other person (e.g., Amskwesewa'j). Point out to students that Program One, and indeed, the entire series, gives only a partial picture of the relationships portrayed.

2. The ways in which families make a living in Micmac culture and the technology employed have an important impact on the following aspects of Micmac life:
   - Time family members spend together
   - Participation of family members in work
   - Usefulness of children's skills
   - Education of the young

   Students can make a chart to explain how Micmac technology and ways of making a living are related to each one of these aspects of Micmac life.

3. On the one hand it is important to underscore the significance of social values and spiritual beliefs in Wabanaki culture. On the other hand, because beliefs and values are not always directly expressed, but must be inferred from actions, they are easily misinterpreted and misunderstood. In the exercise below, great care should be taken to have students recognize that the facts presented in the film provide only a small window onto Micmac world view, social values, and spiritual life. Students should be encouraged to be aware of how their own social and religious beliefs or stereotypical views of Native cultures may affect the way they interpret what they see.

   Here are two examples of assumptions a student might make and possible responses:
   - Privacy was not important to Micmacs. / The fact that many people live together in a small space may mean that for a Micmac privacy did not mean having a room of one's own, but privacy may have been found and respected in different ways.
   - Children were expected to spend most of their time working. / Many of the activities of Micmac life combine work with socializing and opportunity for fun, unlike cultures in which working and entertainment are considered to be separate activities.

   Students may choose one of the following topics and write a short essay on what hypothesis they have formed about one aspect of Micmac life from viewing the film. Students should include what things they would observe or questions they would ask to see if their hypothesis is correct.
   - Respect of younger family members for older members
   - Respect of older family members for younger members
   - Caring of family members for one another
   - Resourcefulness

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

Things To Look For in the Mi'kmaq Series

Following is a list with highlights of aspects of technology, for use by teachers who want to illustrate subjects studied in other sections with selected portions of the Mi'kmaq series.

Canoes: (for description of various types of canoes, see Birchbark Canoe fact sheet, D-58)
•Ocean-going canoes -- Programs 1, 2, and 3
•River canoe -- Program 4

Wooden items: (included bows, arrows, spears, clubs, haftings for tools and weapons, harpoons, toboggans, sleds, snowshoe frames, baby carriers, tobacco pipes, small ornaments and toys of wood)
•Polishing a bow with clamshell -- Program 2
•Carving bowl of a wooden spoon (with a beaver-tooth tool) -- Program 5

Bone items: (included lance and arrow points, bone harpoons and leister prongs, tool hafts of antler and bone, antler pipes, walrus-ivory dice)
•Painting a design on the wigwam using a bone tool -- Program 2
•Sharpening bone point on a spear before hunting -- Program 5

Stone tools: (included arrowheads, knives, axes, adzes, gouges, bayonets, weights for fish nets)
•Cutting fish with a stone knife -- Program 2
•Cutting hair with a stone blade -- Program 3
•Making a spear point using pressure and percussion flaking -- Program 4
•Butchering a moose with stone tools -- Program 5

Native copper items: (included beads, bracelets, tinkler cones, fish hooks, needles, some weaponry)
•Beating copper in the wigwam -- Program 5

Weaving: (included mats, bags, baskets from rushes and withes)
•Gathering rushes -- Program 3
•Finished rush mat lashed to inner wall of wigwam to insulate it -- Program 5

Clothing: (See Clothing Worn at the Time of European Arrival fact sheet, D-38)
•Unsmoked white moose skins and rabbit-fur robe -- Program 3
•Quillwork embroidery on bride's dress and wrapped quill hair ties -- Program 3
•Skinning moose -- Program 5
•Sewing moccasins with moose tendon -- Program 5

PROGRAM SYNOPSES[1]

PROGRAM ONE: THE ARRIVAL

From their winter quarters inland, the Micmac family -- consisting of a grandfather, father, mother, two daughters, two sons and a young man who hopes to marry the elder daughter -- arrives by canoe at the coastal encampment, which serves annually as their base from early spring to late autumn. While the women and children unload the canoes, the men inspect the camp, give thanks for a safe journey, and make repairs to the wigwam frame, which has been damaged during the winter. This done, they take fish spears and leave on a salmon fishing expedition. Meanwhile, the women and children gather wood, start a fire, soak the birchbark for their wigwam, line it with fir boughs, and generally make their semi-permanent home habitable. The program ends as the elder daughter fetches coiled spruce root with which to lash the birchbark on the wigwam, while her little sister and brother go collecting clams and eggs on the beach.

Suggested Discussion Questions:

a) Why do you think the family made the annual trip from the inland area to the coast, then went back inland for the winter?
b) As you can tell from the program, the site of the summer encampment has been used for some years; why do you think this site was selected?
c) What can you tell about the organization of the Micmac family unit? How would you describe the roles of the grandfather, the father, and the mother?
d) How was the work load divided among the family members? How does this compare with the division of labor today?
e) How functional do you consider the clothing of the Micmac women and men? Can you identify the materials from which it is made? Can you tell how it was fabricated?
f) Apart from their functional clothing, the women and men wear a number of decorative items; what are they made of?
g) What steps are followed in completing the wigwam?
h) You have probably associated fire lighting with the striking of flint or the rapid rotation of wood on wood. Neither was used by Musqun. Can you describe her method of lighting a fire?
i) Just before the men left with their fish spears, or leisters, Netukulit went off by himself. He seemed to be talking quietly to himself as he stood erect and alone. What do you suppose was the significance of his action?
j) What did you think of the reactions of Amskwesewa'j and Ketkwi'tew to each other?
k) How would you describe the relationship between Ketkwi'tew and Pipukwes, the older brother of Amskwesewa'j?

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[1] These Program Synopses are excerpts from the written materials accompanying the Mi'kmaq video series: School Television Teachers Guides 1983/84 for grade levels: P-6, Nova Scotia Department of Education, Education Media Services. The questions that follow each synopsis are designed to be used after the Micmac version of the video has been shown (and after the students are familiar with the characters' names), but before students see the English version.

Suggested Projects and Activities

a) Students should write their observations of Program One in their logbooks.

b) With scraps of leather, "leather-look" cloth, or even paper, try making a miniature set of Micmac clothing for a man or woman.

c) What did Amskwesewa'j use to line the floor of the wigwam? Bring in some samples of this material and explain what features make it suitable for floor lining.

d) Try modeling one of the following: a wigwam frame, a cooking kettle, a stone knife with a wooden handle, an ocean-going canoe, a paddle.

e) Prepare a collection of small samples of natural materials used during the program by members of the family. Try to find as many as possible.

PROGRAM TWO: THE SUMMER ENCAMPMENT

The little boy and his younger sister collect clams and eggs. Meanwhile, the men stand in the estuary of a small river, spearing salmon for the family. When they have enough, they head for home. While they are on the way, the women and children are seen in camp, finishing their chores. The mother paints an image of her husband's spirit helper, the bear, on their wigwam, as well as painting her young boy for fun. They then right their wooden kettle and heat water in it with hot rocks before boiling the clams and eggs. When the men return, the mother sets some of the fish to roast at the fire. Later, the family gathers around the fire in the wigwam to eat, work various crafts, and listen to the grandfather tell a story. At the conclusion, the father leaves the wigwam to commune with his spirit helper and to check the camp before going to sleep.

Suggested Discussion Questions

a) How were the men working cooperatively in spearing the fish?

b) In what way is the design of the men's clothing well suited to such activities as fish spearing?

c) How is the fish spear, a leister, constructed? How does its form reflect its function?

d) What tools do both men and women carry with them almost constantly? How do they carry them?

e) How did Musqun prepare her paint?

f) What was she painting on the side of the wigwam, and why?

g) How many kinds of food were prepared for the meal? Again consider the division of labor in the gathering and preparation of these foods.

h) What role does the grandfather, A'tukwete'w, play during the meal?

i) At the end of the meal and the story, Netukulit again goes out on his own. Why?

i) Why do you think there are squabbles between Skusji'j and Wasuekji'j, the two youngest children?

Suggested Projects and Activities

a) Students should write in their log books their observations of Program Two.

b) Make a model leister.

c) Prepare a list of local sea-birds whose eggs might have provided part of the family meal.

PROGRAM THREE: THE WEDDING

PART I

Later in the summer, the grandfather and the elder son are erecting a smokehouse for fish which the father and the suitor have been catching. Since all the family approve of the suitor -- except the elder son, who is jealous -- everyone has been awaiting the arrival of his parents to arrange the marriage of the elder daughter of the family. When the suitor's parents arrive, they are welcomed with traditional courtesy. Meanwhile, the two youngest children are picking berries to be dried and preserved. As they do so, they are surprised by their older sister, who has been cutting reeds for weaving, and all three set off for camp. While they are returning, the circumlocutory marriage negotiations continue and are settled. The suitor then arises to prepare to hunt the food he must provide for the wedding, but the elder son's jealousy proves too great for control, and there is a brief confrontation between the two young men which ends when the suitor offers to help the son kill his first moose and so become an adult hunter. The suitor then tells the news of the wedding to his prospective bride, and his parents leave. During his hunting for the wedding, the suitor catches a bear in a trap and performs a ritual of respect for its spirit. Nearer the wedding day, the bride confides to her mother that she is worried by the prospect of having to leave her own family to go with her husband, but her distress is not so strong as to prevent the marriage. The segment closes with the two young men hunting moose for the wedding.

PART II

This segment opens in the middle of the less formal celebrations of the wedding. The children play, the women cook, the older men play waltes, and the younger men play a Native ball game, during which the elder son flirts with his own prospective bride. When at last everything is ready, the father calls his male guests, the two mothers, and the bride to the feast and ceremony itself, inside the wigwam, while the others remain outside. Inside, there is a great feast. The groom's father begins by complimenting the elder son on his first kill, and his father bids him sit as a man for the first time; then the grandfather begins a long wedding oration which compliments the groom's family from the most distant generations to the present. When he has finished, the groom thanks him, promises his good intentions, and dances a wedding dance ending with a ritual hair-cutting, which symbolizes his marriage. After this, the mother leads her daughter before the company, cuts her hair also, then seats her in her place beside her husband, whereupon everyone congratulates the young couple. The groom explains that he will visit his uncles' eel weir with his bride before deciding whether to reside with her people or his own, and the show concludes with general rejoicing at the wedding feast.

Suggested Discussion Questions

PART I

a) What are the benefits of smoking the fish rather than simply cooking them?

b) Who are the visitors and why do you think they have come? How do they greet one another?

c) Why is Ketkwi'tew so happy as he leaves the wigwam?

d) How do you interpret the conversation between Ketkwi'tew and Pipukwes?

e) What is your interpretation of the incident which occurs when Amskwesewa'j comes upon her younger brother and sister picking berries?

f) Can you explain how the bear trap worked? How do you interpret Ketkwi'tew's use of the pipe smoke?

g) What noise were Ketkwi'tew and Pipukwes making during the moose hunt? Why?

PART II

h) What activities were taking place prior to the wedding feast itself? Who was involved in each?

i) How did the clothing and decorations differ on this occasion from everyday wear?

j) At what point in the ceremony did you think the actual marriage took place?

k) How were the marriage celebrations similar to or different from present-day customs?

l) Consider the different roles of women and men during the ceremony.

m) Did you detect any significance in the seating arrangement during the wedding? Why do you think Pipukwes moved his position, and why did the grandfather speak about him?

n) What is the grandfather's special role during the ceremony?

Suggested Projects and Activities

a) Make a model smoke rack for fish.
b) Make a model deadfall trap for bears.
c) Try your hand at face painting.
d) Try reproducing one of the tools or weapons you have seen to date. It should be particularly interesting to try to fashion something from bone or stone. What difficulties do you encounter?

PROGRAM FOUR: THE EEL WEIR

In the fall, the newlyweds arrive at the temporary eel fishing camp of the groom's uncles, who leave their eel weir to welcome them. The bride is tired from their journey and miserable because she is separated from her own family for the first time, so she does not respond well to this greeting. Her husband makes excuses, the men go back to building the weir, and she goes on to their wigwam to unpack. Later, when the men return from the weir, and the bride is preparing the smoke rack, she rudely ignores her husband. They argue, and the elder uncle registers his disapproval of her attitude. Early the following morning, the men conclude their night's fishing; the groom and the younger uncle leave the elder uncle at the weir and return to help the bride with processing the eels. While they are doing so, the elder uncle's cry alerts them that he has fallen into the river and has been swept away downstream. The groom and the younger uncle take a canoe through rapids to rescue him. The elder uncle has injured his ankle, and when they return to camp, the bride makes an eel-skin bandage for the sprain. Though they are uneasy about each other, the bride and elder uncle are left together in camp while the other two go to portage the canoe back upstream and to visit the beach where the younger uncle generally makes his stone tools. While the younger uncle prepares a spear point there, he discusses with his nephew the whole problem of the bride's discontent and of choosing whether to live with his own people or his in-laws. The two men resolve to seek a solution which will satisfy all parties with the help of their regional chief. When they return to camp, they find that the bride and the elder uncle have charmed one another into friendship with storytelling. The bride is delighted to learn that, for the present, the groom has decided to return with a supply of smoked eels to her family.

Suggested Discussion Questions

a) Compare the clothing of Paqtism and Kiunik with that of Ketkwi'tew. Why the differences?

b) Why did Amskwesewa'j carry so much of the load?

c) How was the greeting of the two groups similar to others you have seen in previous programs?

d) How do you account for the sullen mood of Amskwesewa'j?

e) How do you think the eel weir was constructed? How does it function?

f) What happened to Kiunik? How did he come to fall in?

g) Compare the river canoe with the canoes used in the first program. Why the differences?

h) How do you interpret the use of eel skin on Kiunik's leg?

i) What techniques are used in the preparation of stone tools?

j) Why do you think that Amskwesewa'j is more cheerful at the end of the program?

Suggested Projects and Activities

a) See if you can arrange to bring in a pack with a tumpline similar to that which is used by Amskwesewa'j. Have students try carrying the bulky load with and without the tumpline.

b) Try constructing a model eel weir.

c) Research the life cycle of the eel; find out when Native people customarily fish for them.

d) Find out about other medical treatments and medicines used by the Micmacs.

PROGRAM FIVE: THE WINTER ENCAMPMENT

The groom scouts ahead of the rest of the family as they approach their winter hunting camp over the ice and snow. They soon join him in the winter camp, all except the elder son, who has gone into bride service of his own, and the groom's parents, who will join the bride's household -- at least as a temporary measure -- for the winter. While the women set up camp, the men plan a moose hunting party, on which they set out the following morning. They hunt on snowshoes, with bow, arrows, and lance, and they eventually kill a moose and bring the heart and liver back to camp. The women then go out to butcher the meat and bring it back to camp on their sled. After that, they process the meat, hide, bones, and so on, while the men celebrate the kill in a sweat lodge. Some days later, the mother and her young son are performing a ritual with some remaining moose bones when the groom's parents arrive. They report that the regional chief has agreed to combine the two families' hunting grounds so that their households may combine permanently, and so both the bride and groom can be content. The two newcomers are welcomed in the winter wigwam that night as everyone busies himself or herself with some domestic activity. The program concludes when the groom goes out to check the camp and to commune with his spirit helper, the moose.

Suggested Discussion Questions

a) What features do you think make this site a particularly good one for the winter encampment?

b) Compare the winter and summer clothing. What are the similarities and differences?

c) How would you feel, personally, about the regular movements from summer to winter camps?

d) What materials did you notice that the family brought with them?

e) How does the winter wigwam differ from the summer one?

f) What steps are followed in the moose hunt?

g) What parts of the moose did the men bring back to camp?

h) How do you interpret Netukulit's use of charcoal and birchbark when he returns to camp?

i) How many uses do you see during the program for various parts of the moose carcass? How does such a use of a single resource compare with your own?

j) Can you think of other cultures which have customs similar to the Micmac use of the sweat lodge?

k) Why do you think Musqun places the remaining moose bones in the tree?

l) What activities did you notice taking place inside the wigwam?

m) Why do you think Netkwi'tew leaves the rest of the family and goes out on his own?

Suggested Projects and Activities

a) Prepare a model of one of the following: sled, snowshoes, spears, winter wigwam, meat spit, stretching rack for hides, sweat lodge.

b) Bring in a selection of natural foods that we use today. Try to find out which preservation techniques used by Wabanakis 500 years ago are used today.

c) Try writing a message using no letters or numerals. Can it be understood by others?

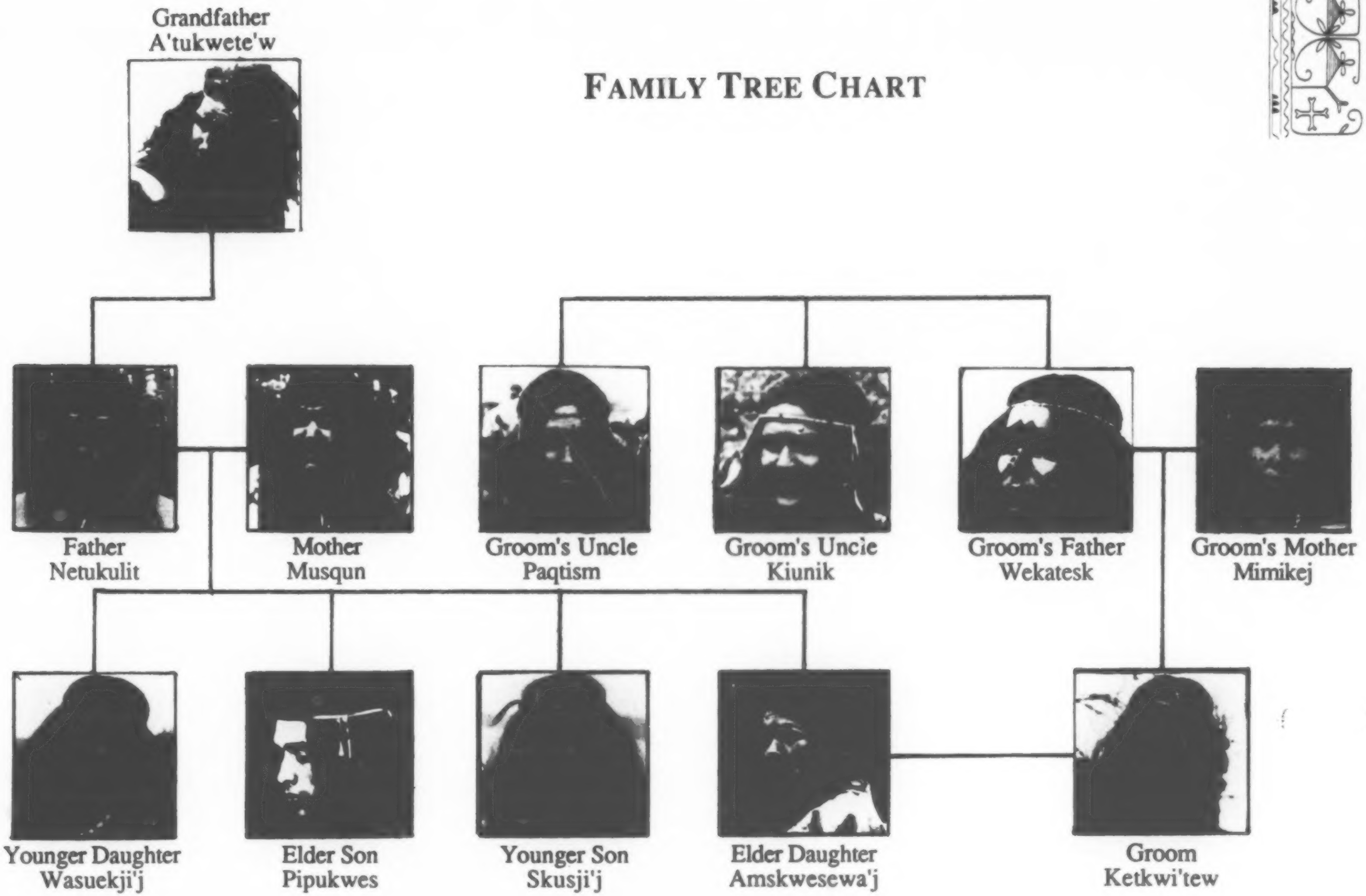
d) Prepare a report on items that we now use in winter recreation that were first used by Wabanakis.

SUGGESTED STUDENT LOG-BOOK

	Activities Noted	Animals Hunted	Food Gathered	Food Preservation Technique	Natural Materials used in Construction	Tools and Weapons Used	Other Interesting Points or Features
Program 1							
Program 2							
Program 3							
Program 4							
Program 5							

Suggested format for student log-book or chart. From School Television Teachers Guides 1983/84 for grade levels: P-6, Nova Scotia Department of Education, Education Media Services, Halifax, N.S.

FAMILY TREE CHART


Grandfather
A'tukwete'w
Father
Netukulit
Mother
Musqun
Groom's Uncle
Paqtism
Groom's Uncle
Kiunik
Groom's Father
Wekatesk
Groom's Mother
Mimikej
Younger Daughter
Wasuekji'j
Elder Son
Pipukwes
Younger Son
Skusji'j
Elder Daughter
Amskwesewa'j
Groom
Ketkwi'tew

From Mi'kmaq Student Handbook, Nova Scotia Department of Education, Education Media Services, Halifax, N.S.

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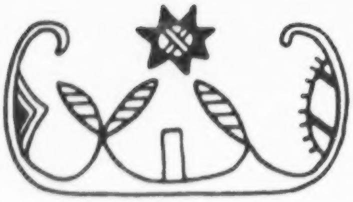

TIME AND PLACE

The goals of the mapping section are for students to learn where in their state or province Wabanakis lived just before 1600 and where they live today, as well as to understand the importance of rivers in the lives of Wabanakis in the 1600s and 1700s. An additional goal for older students is to understand some of the problems Europeans of the seventeenth century had in mapping territories of the Wabanaki people who lived here.

The two lessons for grade four are designed to introduce students to Wabanaki communities today and to the names of the five Wabanaki groups as well as to acquaint them with where Wabanaki people lived just before 1600. One of the lessons for grade six introduces students to Wabanaki people, and teaches them about Wabanaki place names. The other explores the importance of rivers and lakes in Wabanaki life. In the first lesson for grade eight, students compare where Wabanakis live today with where they lived just before 1600 and why. The second lesson focuses on the problems Europeans had with mapping.

The maps for use with this section can be found in the fact sheet section and the historical overview. **In addition, it is suggested that the teacher have on hand maps of Maine and New Brunswick, as well as a local topographical map with the scale of 1:62,500 or another detailed map of your state or province.**

The goals of the timeline section are to show graphically how long Native people have lived in Maine and the Maritimes as well as for students to gain a perspective for when the events studied in each section took place. Events that the teacher and students choose to put on the timeline may vary according to grade level and sections studied.

WHO ARE THE WABANAKIS?

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will locate where Native people are living today in Maine, the Maritimes, and southern Quebec.
- Students will define "Wabanaki" and recognize the names of the five Wabanaki groups.

WORDS TO KNOW: European, Wabanaki, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, Micmac, Abenaki, reservation, reserve

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Introduction to the Resource Book, "Names of Peoples," p. x, and "Explanation of the Focus," p. x; Time and Place, B-41

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Wabanaki Reservations and Reserves of 1988, D-16; Present-Day Wabanaki Groups, D-10

PROCEDURE:

1. Tell the students that the class is going to learn something about Wabanaki life over the past 500 years. Ask the students what they would like to learn. Make a list of students' suggestions on a large sheet of paper and post it somewhere in the classroom. (Check the list once in a while with the class during the time the class is learning about Wabanaki people.)

2. Introduce the name Wabanaki (which means "People of the Dawn"), and the names of different Wabanaki groups (Penobscot, Abenaki, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, and Micmac). Using the map entitled "Wabanaki Reservations and Reserves of 1988" and "Present-day Wabanaki Groups," discuss with the students where Wabanaki people live today.

3. Explain to the students that today most Wabanaki people are full participants in the "modern" world, and use automobiles, power tools, telephones, libraries, banks, computers, and supermarkets. Tell them, too, that today many Wabanaki people are also interested in learning about their own rich cultural heritage. Life and lifestyles have changed a lot over the past five centuries, and the class is going to learn something about those changes. (Wabanaki life was changing over the centuries before, but we do not know as much about changes in Wabanaki life before 500 years ago.)

WHERE DID WABANAKI PEOPLE LIVE 400 YEARS AGO?

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will locate on a map the approximate aboriginal territories (in the year 1590) of Micmacs, Maliseets, Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, and Abenakis.
- Students will name these groups.
- Students will explain how people choose a place to live.

WORDS TO KNOW: aboriginal, territory, origin, Micmac, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Abenaki

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Wabanaki Groups and Names, D-7; Present-Day Wabanaki Groups, D-10; Rivers, D-18

BACKGROUND NOTE: This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Key to Tribal Territories map, A-4, or Native Territories in 1590, D-4; Present-day Wabanaki Groups, D-10; Wabanaki Reservations and Reserves of 1988, D-16; Place Names, D-22; Indian Canoe Routes of Maine, D-20; **map of Maine, New Brunswick, or Nova Scotia**

PROCEDURES:

1. Find your own town on a map. Using the "Key to Tribal Territories" or "Native Territories in 1590," have the students locate the aboriginal group(s) that lived in the area of your town. With a crayon or colored pencil, outline major rivers in your area and their tributaries. Discuss how Wabanaki people lived along rivers, lakes, estuaries, and the seacoast, and that often there were not sharp territorial boundaries between river basins. Sometimes the land in these areas was shared between Wabanaki groups. On the "Wabanaki Reservations and Reserves of 1988" map, locate the nearest reservation or reserve. Is the Wabanaki group the same group that lived there 400 years ago? Discuss why or why not.

2. Discuss why things in the classroom are arranged as they are (teacher's desk, goldfish bowl, plants), why things in the school are arranged as they are (cafeteria, fire exit), and why the school and other buildings in the town are located where they are. Discuss why your community is located where it is.

3. Ask the students what they know about Wabanaki life 400 years ago. (Guessing is OK.) Discuss rivers, and what the students know about them. Look at the "Indian Canoe Routes of Maine" map. Ask students why rivers were important to Wabanaki people 400 years ago. (See "Rivers" fact sheet for ideas.) Ask the students where along the rivers Wabanaki settlements might have been located and why.

4. Look at the "Place Names" list. What do the Wabanaki names for places tell about the use of the land? Rivers?

5. Now look at contemporary Wabanaki communities on a map. (Use a map of your state or province, if possible, in conjunction with the "Wabanaki Reservations and Reserves of 1988" map and "Present-day Wabanaki Groups.") See whether you can guess why the reservation or reserve community might have been located where it is.

INTRODUCTION TO THE WABANAKIS: Today and Yesterday

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will locate on a map the territories Micmacs, Maliseets, Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, and Abenakis lived in around 1590.
- Students will name these groups.

WORDS TO KNOW: aboriginal, territory, origin, Micmac, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Abenaki

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Introduction to the Resource Book, "Names of Peoples," p. x and "Explanation of the Focus," p. x; Time and Place, B-41; Present-Day Wabanaki Groups, D-10

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: **maps of Maine and New Brunswick**, Key to Tribal Territories, A-4; Native Territories in 1590, D-4; Wabanaki Reservations and Reserves of 1988, D-16; Names of Wabanaki Origin, B-51

PROCEDURE:

1. Write down everything the students know about Wabanaki people. Make two lists: before Europeans settled here and today. (If there is misinformation here, the teacher might go back over these lists at the end of their study of Wabanaki people as a review of what students have learned.) An alternative procedure would be to give a pretest.
2. Introduce the name Wabanaki (which means "People of the Dawn"), the names of different Wabanaki groups (Penobscot, Abenaki, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, and Micmac).
3. Look at maps of Maine and New Brunswick. Locate communities of interviewees in "How We Look At Native People," Grade 6, Lesson 2 (B-13), if used. Using "Wabanaki Reservations and Reserves of 1988," locate the reservations and reserves of the five Wabanaki groups. Discuss off-reservation Indians, and where some nearby off-reservation communities might be.
4. Explain to students that they will learn how Wabanaki people live today in a later lesson. First they will learn more about Wabanaki life in the past, beginning with about 500 years ago.
5. On a Maine or New Brunswick map, find names with a Wabanaki origin. Use the "Names of Wabanaki Origin" list to see whether you are right.
6. Look on "Key to Tribal Territories" or "Native Territories in 1590" to see (roughly) which Wabanaki groups lived where around 1600. Explain how, since people lived along waterways, territorial boundaries between the watersheds often were not clear. Sometimes land in such an area was used by more than one Wabanaki group.

WABANAKI USE OF WATERWAYS

OBJECTIVES:
- Students will describe how Wabanakis used waterways as their transportation system.
- Students will explain why large groups of people settled along the coast, rivers, and major roads.

WORDS TO KNOW: watershed, head of tide, estuary, portage

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3; Rivers, D-18

BACKGROUND NOTES: As a rule of thumb, most rivers and streams that appear on a topographic map with a scale of 1:62,500 would have been navigable in the spring by the Wabanakis. (Exceptions would be parts of a stream that fall more than 20 feet in one mile or the smallest tributaries on the map.) In some places Wabanaki people would have had to "line" through (i.e. tow the canoes minus the passengers) or portage the canoes around shallow places. Remember that 400 or 500 years ago streams had more water in them in the summer and fall since a greater percentage of Maine was forested and water levels in the streams did not fluctuate as much as they do now. (See "The Environment Changes," A-10.) A larger beaver population also meant that more streams were dammed and consequently more navigable than today. For more information about the canoe routes of the Wabanakis, see Above the Gravel Bar by David S. Cook, 1986.

Procedure 5 of this lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: **map of your state or province, topographical map with a scale of 1:62,500** (or The Maine Atlas and Gazetteer by Delorme Publishing Company can be used in Maine, although it has no contour lines); Key to Tribal Territories, A-4, or Native Territories in 1590, D-4; Wabanaki Reservations and Reserves of 1988, D-16; Indian Canoe Routes of Maine, D-20; Seasonal Cycle Chart, D-26

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Discuss rivers and why they were important to Wabanaki people.
   - Discuss what a watershed is. On a map, outline some of the different watersheds in your state or province.
   - Discuss what the term "head of tide" of a river means. What keeps the tide from going further upstream? Why would the head of tide be a good place to live?
   - Discuss what an estuary is. What life can be found in and around estuaries today? How do you think Wabanaki people would have viewed estuaries? (Note to teachers: Estuaries serve as nurseries for many marine animals, places where the young are born and are protected from those predators and other competing organisms that cannot survive in water of low salinity.)

2. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of walking vs. canoeing in the woods of Maine and the Maritimes. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each? In different seasons? In different weather (including in a strong wind, fast currents)? Is walking or canoeing faster?

3. Choose a topographical map (or a Delorme map) from your area or an area of interest to your students. Outline land within one mile of water on the the map (except for the smallest tributaries, which are not navigable). Using one of the maps showing aboriginal territories, locate the abo-

riginal group(s) that lived in the area. What is the relationship between the major waterways and where Wabanaki people lived 400 years ago? Discuss how Wabanakis were able to traverse most of the Maine-Maritimes area by canoe. Using the "Indian Canoe Routes of Maine" map, choose two places on the map and see if you can find a river route between the two (examples: Quebec to Portland [this involved one 20-mile portage], or Pemaquid to the St. John River via the Penobscot River). Discuss the term "portage" and why canoes were especially suited for portages.

4. Discuss how at the time Europeans first settled here some Wabanaki groups spent summers on the coast but moved up the rivers to fish and hunt during other seasons. Micmac people spent more of the year along the coast than did most other groups of Wabanaki people. The "Seasonal Cycle Chart" illustrates the seasonal migration for Micmac people as well as the foods available to them at different seasons. Discuss with your class how Wabanaki people used waterways for travel by canoe in summer, spring, and fall, and how the frozen waterways were used as travel routes in the winter. In the warm months Wabanakis often chose waterways according to the foods that were available along them.

5. Using a map of your state or province, see how the population is distributed in relation to rivers, the coast, or major roads. Why do you think the population is distributed the way it is? Look at the map of reserves and reservations and see how each one is situated in relation to water. (In some cases you may need to locate the reserves or reservations on a larger map of your state or province.)

WABANAKI PEOPLE

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will locate on maps where the Wabanaki people lived in about 1590 and where they live now.
- Students will describe how seasons and rivers affected the lifestyle of the Wabanakis.

WORDS TO KNOW: aboriginal, territory, origin, Micmac, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Abenaki, Wabanaki

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Introduction to Resource Book, "Names of Peoples," p. x, and "Explanation of the Focus," p. x; Time and Place, B-41; Rivers, D-18

BACKGROUND NOTES: As a rule of thumb, most rivers and streams that appear on a topographic map with a scale of 1:62,500 would have been navigable in the spring by the Wabanakis. (Exceptions would be parts of a stream that fall more than 20 feet in one mile or the smallest tributaries on the map.) In some places Wabanaki people would have had to "line" through (i.e. tow the canoes minus the passengers) or portage the canoes around shallow places. Remember that 400 or 500 years ago streams had more water in them in the summer and fall since a greater percentage of Maine was forested and water levels in the streams did not fluctuate as much as they do now. (See "The Environment Changes," A-10.) A larger beaver population also meant that more streams would be dammed and consequently more navigable than today. For more information about the canoe routes of the Wabanakis, see Above the Gravel Bar by David S. Cook, 1986.

This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Key to Tribal Territories, A-4; Native Territories in 1590, D-4; Present-Day Wabanaki Groups, D-10; Wabanaki Reservations and Reserves of 1988, D-16; Indian Canoe Routes of Maine, D-20

PROCEDURE:

1. Review who the Wabanaki people are, and where they are today. If students have not studied Wabanaki people before, you can use one of the activities for grade four or grade six to find out what the students know. (See Procedure 1 on B-42 or B-45.)
2. Ask students whether they think Wabanaki people lived in smaller or larger groups in winter than in summer at the time of European arrival. What was the advantage of breaking into smaller groups in the winter? (It is not clear whether the seasonal pattern of spending summers on the coast and spending winters inland hunting was the same before European arrival, for it may have evolved in response to the demand for furs. However, by 1600 this was the pattern.)
3. Map some possible canoe routes using the "Indian Canoe Routes of Maine" map. What effects did river travel have on Wabanaki lifestyle, e.g., on the kinds of homes Wabanaki people built, and the foods they ate?
4. Use one of the aboriginal territories maps, the "Wabanaki Reservations and Reserves of 1988," and the "Present-Day Wabanaki Groups" fact sheet to compare roughly where Wabanaki people lived in about 1590 and where they live now. Discuss why Wabanakis live where they do now.

MAKING MAPS OF NATIVE TERRITORIES

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will locate and compare areas inhabited by Wabanaki people in about 1590 and areas inhabited by Wabanaki people today.
- Students will explore problems in making accurate maps of Native territories.

WORDS TO KNOW: aboriginal, Micmac, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Abenaki, Wabanaki

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Introduction to Resource Book, "Names of Peoples," p. x, and "Explanation of the Focus," p. x; Wabanaki Groups and Names, D-7

BACKGROUND NOTE: In the case of all the maps used in this lesson, information from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries was put onto modern base maps.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Key to Tribal Territories, A-4; Wabanaki Aboriginal Territories (including Maps A, B and C), D-4

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Have students compare "Map A" (1590) with "Map B" (1700) in the Wabanaki Aboriginal Territories fact sheet, and discuss the differences in the maps. What we know of changes in aboriginal territory before 1590 is very limited. Between 1590 and 1700, though, more is known. There were great changes in Wabanaki life in those years because of epidemics, wars, and European settlement in New England. How would these things explain some of the changes in where Wabanaki groups were living in 1590 and where they were living in 1700?

2. Ask students to compare "Map A" with the "Key to Tribal Territories" map in the historical overview (but without the caption that goes with it) or to compare "Map B" with "Map C" in the "Wabanaki Aboriginal Territories" fact sheet. Explain to them that scholars are not in agreement where the different groups of Wabanakis lived in 1590 and in 1700 (as well as other times in history). Ask students why it might have been difficult for Europeans to know where different groups of Wabanakis were living. (The best sources of information about this are the "Wabanaki Aboriginal Territories" fact sheet, the "Wabanaki Groups and Names" fact sheet and the caption to the map in the historical overview.)

3. Ask students how they would go about drawing a map of Native territories if they were early European explorers.

TIME LINE

OBJECTIVE

- Students will construct a time line to show how long Native people have been living in Maine and the Maritimes.

WORDS TO KNOW: B.P., A.D., B.C., tundra, temperate, epidemic, Indian missions, drainage

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3; Important Dates Chart, B-53; Sample Time Line, B-56

BACKGROUND NOTE: Procedure 3 of this lesson plan (explanation of glaciation and its effects) could involve more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: **roll or sheets of paper to put on wall(s) of classroom**

PROCEDURE:

1. Find space on one or more walls of your classroom to put up a very long time line. Depending on the scale that you use, you may want to have two time lines -- one an expanded timeline from 1000 A.D. to the present. (See "Sample Time Line.")
2. Decide how long the time line should be. It could start with the maximum line of advance of the Wisconsin Glacier (between 18,000 and 16,000 years ago [between 16,000 and 14,000 B.C.]) or with 11,000 years ago, the date that many archaeologists believe is the time when people moved into the area after the retreat of the glacier. Divide the time line into 500-year segments .
3. Explain to the class that the Wisconsin Glacier was the last of several glaciers that covered vast areas of North America. After it receded, plants colonized the semifrozen land. At first the vegetation was tundra vegetation. It was to this land that the first Native people came. How they got here is still not known. Wabanaki legends say that the people were created here.
4. Review the Roman calendar with students. This dates zero as the time of the birth of Christ. Dates after that time are A.D. (Anno Domini, meaning in the year of the Lord). Dates before that time are counted as the number of years B.C., or before Christ. Students may choose to use A.D. and B.C. on the time line, or they could number it as years before present (B.P.).
5. Have students consult the "Important Dates Chart" for dates to put on the time line. Add other dates that the students feel are important in gaining a better perspective.

ACTIVITY:

1. Have each student make a personal time line showing student's birth, key events in his or her life, birth of parents, birth of grandparents, date family came to area, etc.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

NAMES OF WABANAKI ORIGIN[1]

Maine Place Names

Abacotnetic Stream
Allagash River
Ambajejus Lake
Androscoggin River
Aroostook County
Arrowsic
Aziscohos Lake
Caratunk
Caribou
Carrabassett
Casco Bay
Chemquasabamticook Lake
Chesuncook Lake
Chementicook Stream
Chiputneticook Lakes
Cobscook Bay
Cupsuptic River
Cuxabexis Lake
Eggemoggin Reach
Eskutassis Pond
Mount Katahdin
Kenduskeag Stream
Kennebago Lake
Kennebec River
Kennebunk
Kennebunkport
Kokadjo
Lubec
Lunksoos Lake
Machias
Macwahoc
Madawaska
Grand Manan Channel
Great Chebeague Island
Manhanock Pond
Matinicus Island
Mattawamkeag
Meddybemps
Medomak
Messalonskee Lake
Millinocket
Molunkus
Monhegan Island
Moose River
Moosehead Lake
Mooseluk Mountain
Mooseleuk Lake
Mooselookmeguntook Lake
Mopang Lake
Musquacook Lakes
Musquash Mountain
Mabmakanta Lake
Narraguagus Lake
Naskeag
Cape Neddick
Nesowadnehunk Lake
Norridgewock
Ogunquit
Lake Onawa
Olamon Stream
Oquossoc
Passadumkeag
Passamaquoddy Bay
Pejepscot
Pemadumcook Lake
Pemaquid
Penobscot
Piscataqua River
Piscataquis County
Pocomoonshine Lake
Pocumcus Lake
Quoddy Head
Rennesseewassee Lake
Ripogenus Lake
Sabattus
Saco River
Sagadahoc County
Schoodic Point
Sebago Lake
Sebasco
Sebasticook River
Sebec Lake
Seboeis River
Seboomook Lake
Skowhegan
Socatean Stream
Squapan
Sysladobsis Lake
Tomah Stream
Tomhegan Pond
Umbagog Lake
Umbazcoksus Lake
Umsaskis Lake
Wabassus Lake
Wesserunsett Lake
Wiscasset
Wytopitilock

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[1] This list is suggested for use with "Introduction to the Wabanakis: Today and Yesterday," B-45, Grade 6, Lesson 1.

New Brunswick Place Names

Aboujagane
Apohaqui
Aroostook
Becagrumec Stream
Bocabec
Bouctouche
Chamcook
Chignecto Bay
Chiputneticook Lakes
Digdeguash River
Gulquac River
Jemseg
Kennebecasis River
Kouchibouguac River
Kouchibouguacis River
Mactaquac
Madawaska River
Magaguadavic River
Maquapit Lake
Grand Manan Island
Meduxnekeag River
Memracook
Miramichi River
Musquash Lake
Nackawic
Nashwaak River
Nashwaaksis
Nauwigewauk
Neguac
Nepisiguit River
Oromocto River
Pamdenec
Passamaquoddy Bay
Patapedia River
Penniac
Penobsquis
Pimouski River
Pocopogan
Pokemouche River
Pokiok
Poodiac
West Quaco
Quispamsis
Renous River
Restigouche River
Richibucto
Rusagonis
Scoudouc
Shediac
Shemogue
Shogomoc Lake
Spednic Lake
Upper Sysladobsis Lake
Tabusintac River
Tantramar River
Tetagouche River
Tobique River
Tomogonops River
Touladi River
Tracadie
Upsalquitch River
Waasis
Wapske
Waweig

IMPORTANT DATES CHART[1]

16-14,000 B.C.	maximum line of advance of the Wisconsin Glacier; ice one mile thick
10,500 B.C.	land free of ice much of Maine and the Maritimes (e.g., to East Millinocket and Bingham) flooded archaeologists' date for first humans in the area
	tundra; mammoths
	mixed tundra-forest (pine, birch)
7,500 B.C.	forest; tundra largely disappeared; mastodons, bears, horses
7,000 B.C.	mixed temperate forest
3,000 B.C.	beginning of "Red Paint" culture, when people used red ocher in their graves (Some people today believe the Red Paint people were not ancestors of Wabanaki people.)
500 B.C.	evidence of pottery; underground or pit houses
0	birth of Christ
1200 A.D.	warmer climate and ocean temperatures; larger central villages along major rivers
1400 A.D	time of "Mi'kmaq" and "A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter"
late 1400s	fishing crews from England, France, Spain, and Portugal along N. Atlantic coast
late 1500s	beginning of epidemics in Nova Scotia
1600	about 32,000 Wabanakis in Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island
1604	French settlement on Dochet Island

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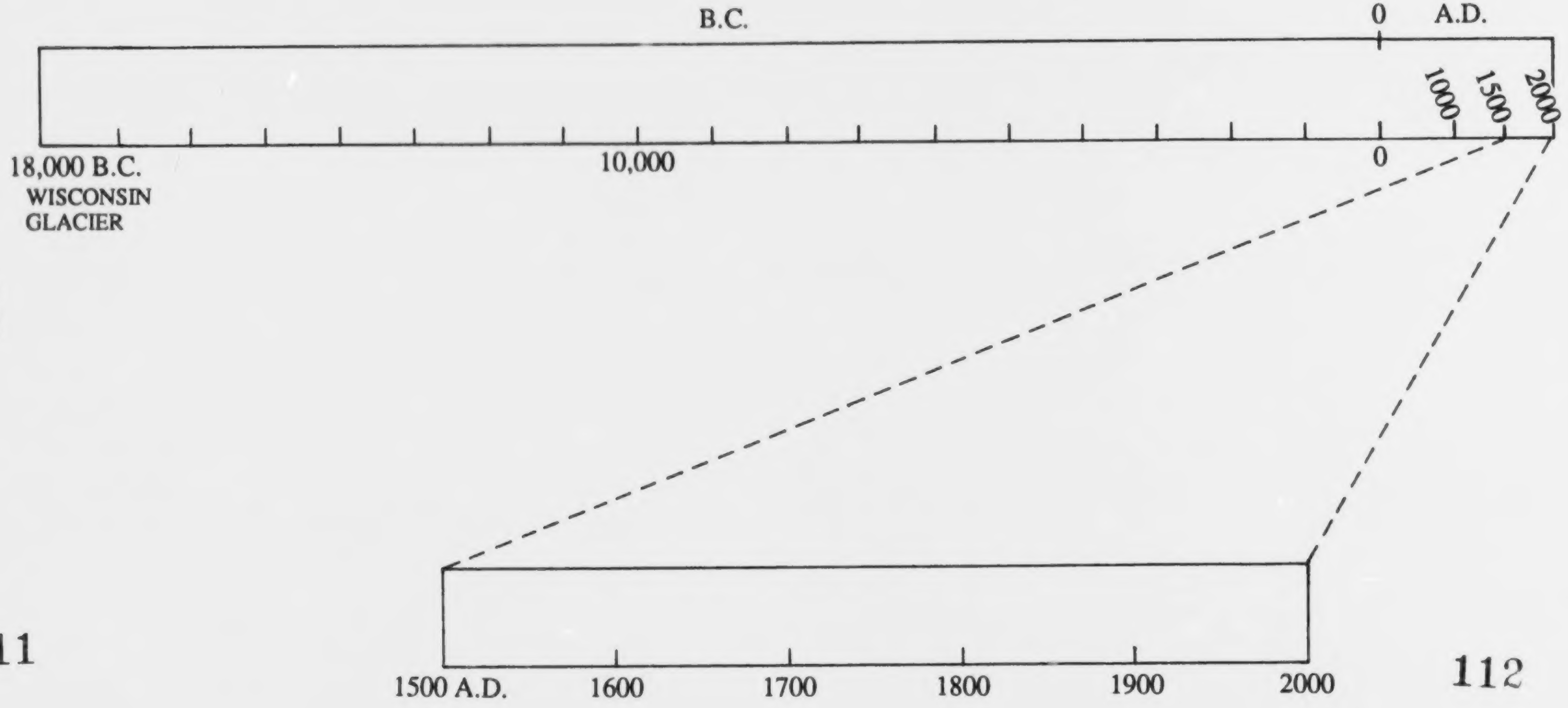
[1] The dates on this chart include some of those that are important in Wabanaki history as well as dates or times that are relevant for using this resource book. They are included as a guide, for use in making a time line with dates of most interest to students. (See "Time Line" lesson, B-50.)

1605	French settlement at Port Royal, Nova Scotia
	five Wabanakis captured by Weymouth
1607	Popham colony established
1615	beginning of period of hostility between Micmacs and Abenakis
1616-1619	first epidemic in Maine
1629	trading posts at Cushnoc and Penobscot Bay
1630s	first sawmills in Maine
1650	time of "A Kennebec Mother's Thoughts"
1650s & 60s	Iroquois raids into Maine
1675	beginning of King Philip's War in Maine
1676	first treaty between English and Eastern Abenakis
	Wabanaki flight to Indian missions at Sillery, Tadoussac, and Quebec
1685	time of "A Penobscot Boy's Thoughts" and "English Cousins Have a Talk in Pemaquid"
1688	King William's War begins; during war many western Wabanakis flee north, some to Quebec
1700	English population of all of New England numbers 93,000
1703	Queen Anne's War begins; bounties offered on Wabanaki scalps
1722	Dummer's War begins
1724	English attack on Norridgewock
1744	King George's War begins
1749	2,400 English settlers arrive in Halifax
1754	French and Indian War begins
1759	French defeat at Battle of Quebec
1763	official end of "French and Indian Wars" with British Proclamation of 1763
1764	English formally assume ownership of lower Penobscot drainage
1775	British warship destroys Fort Pownall
1776	Declaration of Independence
1777	British attack Machias
	time of "Maliseets in the Revolutionary War"
1780	American Loyalists granted land in the Maritimes
1783	Treaty of Paris; Wabanaki lands divided after the war
1789	First Congress of the U.S.
1790	law passed by U.S. Congress to protect Indian land transfers
1794	treaty between Massachusetts and Passamaquoddies; Passamaquoddy reservations established
1796	treaty between Massachusetts and Penobscots
1820	Maine separates from Massachusetts
1825	Miramichi forest fire burns land across New Brunswick and much of Maine

1842	international boundary severs territories of Passamaquoddies and Maliseets
1850s	chiefs elected on the Maine reservations
1860	colonies in Canada assume treaty responsibilities
1867	Canadian confederation; reserves relate directly to federal government
1887	time of Louis Mitchell's speech to the Maine Legislature
1920s	time of "Maliyan"
1924	U.S. Government declares Native Americans to be U.S. citizens
1950	bridge built to Indian Island
1954	Maine Indians gain right to vote in national elections
1965	Maine Department of Indian Affairs established
1967	Union of New Brunswick Indians established
	Maine Indians gain right to vote in state elections
1969	Association of Aroostook Indians established
1970s	reorganization of the Wabanaki Confederacy
1973	recognition of Micmacs and Maliseets by the State of Maine
1974	Central Maine Indian Association established
1980	formal organization of the Houlton Band of Maliseets
	Maine Land Claims Settlement
1982	formal organization of the Aroostook Band of Micmacs
1987	federal recognition of the Viger Band as a Maliseet community and the Conne River Band of Micmacs
	two-lane bridge to Indian Island completed

SAMPLE TIME LINE


B.C.
0
A.D.
1000
1500
2000
18,000 B.C.
WISCONSIN
GLACIER
10,000
0
1500 A.D.
1600
1700
1800
1900
2000

LEGENDS

The legends included in this resource book are a very few of the stories that were passed from older to younger people, from generation to generation, over the course of hundreds of years. These stories were not written -- until recorded on paper after European arrival in North America. They were recited from memory, again and again. Like other peoples who did not rely on writing, the Wabanakis had what most readers and writers would consider unusually keen memories. Everything they knew was held in the collective memory of the community, where it was always accessible through conversation and, most important, storytelling.

It is important to understand the setting in which oral storytelling occurred. It required that people come together and listen. As their attention was directed to what they heard rather than to what they saw, they could listen intently and simultaneously observe the faces of other listeners. Therefore, a person's response could be influenced by the visible responses of others. In this way, the story was an occasion for quiet intimacy among the members of a group. Also, the storyteller could be sensitive to the audience. How the storyteller told a story could vary as he or she gauged the response to it. Stories could be selected that addressed recent events. Values that needed to be emphasized could be emphasized. Behavior that needed to be punished could be punished -- in the story. And yet it was not the storyteller who punished, but the famous and respected characters who spoke through him or her.

Reading, by contrast, has a different effect on people (unless one reads aloud to a group). It is a solitary activity. A reader is separated and, even if in a room with others, wishes to be left alone. Reading a story does not bring people together. It emphasizes separateness and individualism rather than cooperation and intimacy. And it devalues the usefulness and authority of age, for elders are no longer required to be repositories of valuable information and entertainment and history -- books have replaced them.

One teacher who has used these stories in his class recommends that the stories not be read, but rather told. This is recommended here. A story can be told either by the teacher or by a student or students. It need not be memorized to the last detail to be well done. Then the ensuing discussion can be about both the story and the experience of listening to the story, and what that might have been like for Wabanakis as they sat among their families on long winter evenings -- the time of year when stories such as these were recited. (Gluskap stories were never told in the summer.)

It should be appreciated that while these stories come from a sacred tradition and are serious in intent, they can be humorous at the same time. They were meant to instruct -- and to entertain. And they did this very well. Even Gluskap, the hero who created man and woman, is not infallible. In a story not included here, he is asked by a mother to stop the crying of her baby; needless to say, the winner of countless other contests loses this one. It is a nice moment: with it, the Wabanakis put their hero and (by implication) themselves into a very human perspective. Nor is Gluskap beyond reproach in other ways. He is admonished numerous times by his grandmother, which leads to two interesting points.

The first is that while Gluskap, as hero, accomplishes many great things, he is in need of frequent guidance from an older woman, his grandmother. This no doubt gives us a pretty accurate picture of the important role that older women played in Wabanaki society. Not formally in charge, they nevertheless had tremendous influence.

Secondly, it brings up the place of animals in these stories, for Gluskap's grandmother is named Woodchuck. The use of animals in the stories is more than a device. The Wabanakis were keen observers of animal behavior, and in their stories animals lived in societies, just as humans do. The prominence of animals in these stories represents the Wabanaki perception of the very intimate closeness and cooperation possible between themselves and their "neighbors" -- birds, moose, beaver, etc. In their view, humans and animals were equally woven into the tapestry of the world; they could not be separated or in any way divorced from each other. The stories depict this vital idea again and again.

The legends illustrate core Wabanaki values in dramatic, memorable, and entertaining ways. Some of these values are: harmony with the environment, cooperation with others, respect and compassion for others, self-discipline and moderation and balance, self-restraint and generosity, and diligence and skill in providing. Behavior that is frowned upon includes: vanity and laziness, deception and waste, irresponsibility and greed, departure from social and sex roles, and self-aggrandizement.

Values are at the heart of the stories told today by Wabanaki storytellers. In these newer traditional tales, like "Amucalu" (D-128), animal or human characters exemplify desirable and undesirable behavior. Themes (and sometimes persons, like Rabbit) from the ancient Gluskap legends may appear in "modern dress." For the most part these stories, like traditional legends, are told by Wabanaki people only in their native language; the stories' humor and points of view are best expressed in Micmac, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, or Abenaki. It was the interest of non-Indians that resulted in the English versions of legends and tales.

The sources for the legends included here are Glooscap and His Magic, by Kay Hill; Penobscot Tales and Religious Beliefs, by Frank Speck; The Algonquian Legends of New England, by Charles G. Leland; and a private collection of legends by Molly Spotted Elk in the library of the University of Maine at Orono.

Do not be confused by the different spellings of Gluskap in the different legends. They all refer to the same person. Just as legends differ somewhat from Wabanaki group to Wabanaki group, names for Gluskap vary somewhat from Wabanaki language to Wabanaki language: e.g., the Penobscot name is Kəlóskɑpe (k'loos-KAH-bee), the Maliseet and Passamaquoddy name is Koluskap (GLOOS-kahb), and the Micmac name is Kluskap (GLOOS-kahb). The other variants that appear in the stories are spellings that different people used before standard spellings were devised for each of these languages.

While there are numerous discussion questions and activities suggested in the following lesson plans, the following questions are suggested for use with all grade levels and all legends:

- What did you learn about the environment of the storyteller's group? (mountains, forest, ocean, warm or cold?) What else did you learn about the storyteller's community?
- What is the moral of the story?
- What is a value? What values are reflected in the story?

Similarly, an activity that can be used is making shadow puppets and having students tell the legend as a puppet show.

Finally, there have been many books published over the years with stories adapted from Wabanaki traditional legends. Often these stories are published in a literary rather than a traditional format, which gives the stories quaint, anecdotal, fable-like characteristics. Sometimes important cultural details are omitted. For sources of legends that are closest to the originals, we recommend:

- Stories collected by bilingual education departments found in some Wabanaki communities. (Five legends have been put into booklet form by the Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program, Indian Township, Maine, 1976. See "Resources," E-1.)
- the legends recorded by Silas T. Rand (1894) for the Micmac, Charles G. Leland (1884) and John D. Prince (1894) for the Passamaquodddy, William H. Mechling (1914) for the Maliseet, Frank G. Speck (1928) for the Penobscot.

GLUSKAP LEGENDS

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will understand that legends play a significant role in passing on the values and culture of a society.
- Students will list some of the ways Gluskap helped the people.
- Students will identify some of the values taught in each legend.

WORDS TO KNOW:

- balsam, enviously, betrayed, amethysts, banished, famine, treachery (Koluskap and His People)
- shaman, descendants (Kəlóskɑpe's Childhood)
- game bag, descendants, starvation, scattered (Kəlóskɑpe Releases the Game Animals)
- observe, descendant (Kəlóskɑpe Traps All the Fish)

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Legends, B-57

BACKGROUND NOTES: For English translation of the Native language words and how to pronounce them, see the legends or listen to the part of the Supplementary Phonograph Record corresponding to the legends.

"Koluskap and His People" provides important background information about Gluskap, and should be read by students of any grade level who will be reading "Kəlóskɑpe's Childhood," "Kəlóskɑpe Releases the Game Animals," and "Kəlóskɑpe Traps All the Fish."

Discuss with the students legends and history and oral tradition. A great deal can be learned about people, their beliefs, and their way of life from reading their legends. Explain that legends reflect values, humor, and taboos, and explain how they can be used to gain cultural insight. (Use the introduction to the legends lesson plans for background.)

As legends are an oral tradition, it would be best to have each legend read aloud or, even better, told with the students seated in a circle.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: "Koluskap and His People," C-2; "Kəlóskɑpe's Childhood," C-7; "Kəlóskɑpe Releases the Game Animals," C-7; "Kəlóskɑpe Traps All the Fish," C-9; Supplementary Phonograph Record

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Explain to students that Wabanaki legends are not just stories, but rather an important way to teach values. If students have never read Wabanaki legends before, read or tell "Koluskap and His People" to the students so they understand who Gluskap is and why he is important to Wabanaki people.
2. Read or tell each legend to students.
3. Discuss each legend with students.

Possible Discussion Questions:

Koluskap and His People:

1. What is your impression of Koluskap after hearing this story? *(He is a friend, helps people, represents good, shows people how to make bows, arrows, and spears and how to scrape hides and make clothing, etc.)*

   What is your impression of Malsom? *(He represents bad, evil, envy.)*

2. Koluskap made the people and taught them many things. List some of the things he taught. *(How to build wigwams, canoes, weirs, what plants to use for medicines, names of stars.)*
3. Compare the creation of men, women, and animals, as told in this legend, with the account found in the Bible. What is the same? What are some differences?
4. How did Laks, the troublemaker, come to exist?
5. Discuss the quote "If you take more game than you need for food and clothing or kill for the pleasure of killing, you will be visited by a pitiless giant named Famine."
6. Have students recount in their own words the various ways in which Koluskap made some of the animals smaller, and some of the reasons why.
7. Sometimes Koluskap is called a transformer. What evidence exists today of the transformation described in this legend? *(Islands in Minas Basin, sizes of animals today.)*

Kəlóskαpe's Childhood:

1. What is the value being taught in this legend? *(Being a good hunter and provider.)* Would this be one of your values? Why?
2. In what ways might Kəlóskαpe's childhood have been like that of a Wabanaki child?

Kəlóskαpe Releases the Game Animals:

1. Why was Grandmother Woodchuck not pleased when Kəlóskαpe put all the animals in the game bag? What does she tell him? (*"You must only do what will benefit them, our descendants."*)
2. The fact that Kəlóskαpe is living with, helping, and learning from his grandmother is not unusual for Wabanakis. Who were a Wabanaki child's other teachers?
3. In what ways can you affect your environment? *(littering, cutting down or damaging trees, cultivating land, planting trees, making ponds, putting up bird houses, picking up litter, etc.)*
4. How will the way we interact with our environment affect the world of our descendents?

Kəlóskαpe Traps All the Fish:

1. Are there any environmental problems in your town or state, such as contaminated water supply, acid rain, etc.? Discuss these problems and what can be done about them. How does taking future generations into account affect the solution?

2. How might your school or community practice conservation?
3. Give an example of an endangered animal species. Why is it endangered? What can be done to protect such animals?

ACTIVITIES:

1. Have students discuss what values are important to them *(sharing, truth, kindness, etc.)*. List the values on the board and discuss them. Have each student choose a value that is especially important to him or her. Have each student write a legend about that value. Remind students that it is easier to write a legend if they have one character teach another character a lesson that shows the importance of the value. ("Koluskap and His People")
2. Draw a picture of Kəlóskɑpe practicing one of the lessons his grandmother taught him. Write a short paragraph explaining what Kəlóskɑpe is doing. ("Kəlóskɑpe Releases the Game Animals," "Kəlóskɑpe Traps All the Fish") Use information about Wabanaki life to make your account as accurate as possible.
3. Draw a poster illustrating ways your school could practice conservation.
4. Write a legend that shows conflict between one person who wants to hoard or use up a natural resource and a person who wants to preserve that resource for future generations. Have the second person teach the first character a lesson that shows the importance of that resource: sun, air, water, soil, minerals, plants, animals. ("Kəlóskɑpe Releases the Game Animals," "Kəlóskɑpe Traps All the Fish")

THE GREAT BULL FROG AND ADVENTURES OF MAHTƏKʷEHSO

OBJECTIVES:
- Students will explain who Gluskap is and what his relationship is with the Wabanaki people. (Bull Frog)
- Students will list behavior unacceptable to Wabanaki people. (Bull Frog)
- Students will identify several examples of unacceptable behavior of Máhtəkʷehso.

WORDS TO KNOW:
- diminished, verily, drought, lo, crumpled, brutal, ferocious, mightily, quake (Bull Frog)
- limpid, chute, humble, timid, meekly, mock, prey, descendants (Máhtəkʷehso)

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Legends, B-57 to 59; Koluskap and His People, C-2

BACKGROUND NOTE: For meanings and pronunciation of the Native language words see the legends or listen to the part of the Supplementary Phonograph Record corresponding to the legends.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: The Great Bull Frog, C-10; Adventures of Máhtəkʷehso: How the Rabbit Lost His Tail, C-13

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Explain to students that Wabanaki legends are not just stories, but rather an important way to teach values. (See the introduction to the legends for information to give to students about the importance of the legends and oral tradition.) If students have never read Wabanaki legends before, read or tell "Koluskap and His People" to the students so they understand who Gluskap is and why he is important to Wabanaki people.
2. Read or tell each legend to students.
3. Discuss each legend with students.

Possible discussion questions:

Bull Frog:

a. What do you think this legend is about?

b. Why do you think it was told (e.g., after what kind of incident)?

c. In what ways does the chief act that does not reflect the values and roles of a Wabanaki sakom (ZAH-g'-m)? *(Hoarding of water, selfishness, disregard for others, laziness, wastefulness, greediness.)*

d. What do you think causes Koluskap to come to the aid of the people in this village?

e. Think of other legends or stories that explain the formation of a body of water or land forms. *("Koluskap and His People" --" where the stones fell...in Minas Basin...they turned into islands and are there still".)* Compare these accounts with that found in Genesis. In many legends the existence nowadays of geographical features or certain animals and their characteristics is regarded as evidence of the account of what happened long ago. Give examples of other evidence found to support the legends about Gluskap.

f. Think of some ways people can practice conservation of water today. *(Turn off water while brushing teeth, take shorter showers, use smaller cars, use insulation in houses, etc.)*

Máhtəkʷehso:

a. What do you think this legend is about?

b. Why do you think it was told (e.g., after what kind of incident)?

c. What inappropriate values and behaviors are described in this legend? *(Vanity, laziness, lying, stealing.)*

d. The collector of this legend, Molly Spotted Elk, noted in her work of the early 1900s that "Today often an Indian child is shamed into good behavior by dubbing him or her 'Mahtəkʷehso' or 'Snowshoe Rabbit'." In what ways might the child be acting to be called that?

e. Why did Máhtəkʷehso hang his head in shame?

f. Describe the three ways Mahtəkʷehso tried to fish for salmon.

e. How do we know today that Máhtəkʷehso had the experiences recounted in the legend?

ACTIVITIES:

Bull Frog:

a. Write a legend in which a land or water form in your area (e.g. lake, mountain, cliff, beach, etc.) is used as evidence that the legend took place. The element might be the result of acceptable or unacceptable behavior.

Máhtəkʷehso:

a. Some students may wish to read other Wabanaki legends and decide what values or appropriate behaviors are being taught.

b. There are other, non-Wabanaki, legends describing how the elephant got its long trunk or the giraffe its long neck. Write a legend that explains how an animal got one of its distinctive characteristics as a result of being too greedy or too vain.

c. Some families have stories that they tell to help their children learn to behave in a certain way. Have students share these.

ADVENTURES OF MASTER RABBIT AND THE KCINU

OBJECTIVE:
- Students explain how values and appropriate behavior can be taught in legends.

WORDS TO KNOW:
- perseverance, vexed, reviled, scampered, venerable, abound, solemnity, ancient, gasp, vain, tottered, wretchedness, incredible, vindictive (Master Rabbit)
- haggard, cannibal, mute, woe-begone, devour, sapling, hewed, sullen, tallow, abominations (The Kcinu)

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Legends, B-57; Koluskap and His People, C-2

BACKGROUND NOTE: For meanings and pronunciations of the Native language words, see the legends or the Supplementary Phonograph Record.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Adventures of Master Rabbit: Relating How the Rabbit Became Wise by Being Original, C-21; The Kcinu: The Story of a Cannibal with an Icy Heart, C-25

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PROCEDURE:

1. Discuss with students the importance of legends in Wabanaki culture. If students are unacquainted with Wabanaki legends, have them read "Koluskap and His People."
2. Have students read one of the legends and then ask the class some questions about the story.

Possible Discussion Questions:

Adventures of Master Rabbit:

a. What is the inappropriate behavior described in this legend?

b. How does Wild Cat react to each new disgrace?

c. What items are mentioned in the legend that indicate it has been told in more recent times? *(Guns, large sailing ship, church, preacher.)*

The Kcinu:

a. What are the virtues you believe are being stressed in this story? *(Kindness, generosity, patience, compassion, ingenuity, etc.)*

b. What value is being stressed when the woman tells the Kcinu to stop chopping wood? *(Not taking more from the environment than is needed.)*

c. Why was the woman afraid when the the Kcinu appeared? *(She thought he would kill her.)*

d. What happened when the the Kcinu threw up?

e. How might you have reacted if you were surprised by this terrible Kcinu?

f. Can you think of other stories in which evil was changed to good through kindness?

ACTIVITIES:

Master Rabbit:

a. Some students might make a filmstrip of this legend or part of it.

b. Students can write a legend of their own on the pitfalls of the desire for revenge.

c. Students can draw a picture of Master Rabbit in one of his disguises.

The Kcinu:

a. Have students discuss some of the fears they have. What are some of the beliefs that could help them to overcome their fears? Interested students might write a legend about fears.

b. Have students write a story about a visit from a monster from outer space. Use what you have learned in this legend to tell how you would react and what you would do.

WABANAKI LIFE 500 YEARS AGO

This section presents a picture of what Wabanaki life was probably like just before Europeans came to Wabanaki territory. While this information is important in itself, it is also important for students to know when they analyze the impact of European settlement on Wabanaki people.

Although Europeans did not begin to settle in Maine and the Maritimes until the early seventeenth century, European explorers and fishing crews had been frequenting the coastal waters in the Gulf of St. Lawrence for 100 years. Wabanaki culture had been changing for many thousands of years before Europeans arrived in North America, and it began to change in response to Europeans long before Europeans began to settle here.

In piecing together what Wabanaki culture was like 500 years ago, ethnohistorians draw on several sources, each of which adds important pieces to the puzzle, but each of which has important limitations, as well.

Wabanaki **legends and oral tradition** offer a rich source of information about Wabanaki world view and values, as well as details about day-to-day life. These stories originated with Wabanaki people and tell about events that are important to them. They give an inside view of Wabanaki culture. Some of the events they describe happened a long time ago, well before Europeans arrived, although it is sometimes hard to tell just how long ago these events occurred. (Some Wabanaki people say that the giant bears and beavers that Gluskap transformed into smaller animals refer to those that scientists tell us were living here thousands of years ago and that stories [not included here] of Gluskap modifying the influence of winter refers to the time of the world warming trend after the Wisconsin glacier.)

There are, however, several limitations with these stories. Even with rhyme or cadence to help the storyteller remember details, stories are always subject to gradual change and reinterpretation over time. One can never be quite sure just how much has been added or changed, and what was the original story. Another problem is that not all of the rich body of legend and oral tradition survived the epidemics of the seventeenth century. The stories that survived are but a fraction of what existed before.

The earliest **European account of Wabanaki life** was Verrazano's, in 1524. But full accounts were not written until the early seventeenth century. These accounts, too, give us valuable information about Wabanaki culture. But for the most part Europeans who wrote these accounts did not describe, and were probably not aware of, the kinds of changes that had already occurred in Wabanaki society in response to European presence.

Micmacs were the first Wabanaki group in the Maine-Maritime area to trade with Europeans. There were several waves of epidemics among Micmac people in the late 1500s. The populations the Jesuits described in the early seventeenth century were already smaller than they had been in the previous century. The fur trade itself, which Micmacs participated in since the first quarter of the sixteenth century and other Wabanakis in New Brunswick and Maine at least since the latter part of the sixteenth century (probably indirectly, through the Micmacs), certainly must have affected the local economy, and perhaps the pattern of inland-coastal migration, by the time European writers began describing Wabanaki life in detail. We are not sure how much or even what kinds of changes occurred in response to the fur trade. It may have been what was responsible, for example, for some Wabanakis dividing up their land into family hunting territories. What is unlikely, however, is that the early seventeenth century accounts written by Europeans about Wabanaki people describe a culture that had not yet changed in response to European contact.

Even for the seventeenth century these accounts were not always accurate and must be viewed critically, keeping in mind the point of view, biases, and motives of each author. First of all, an author's perceptions were colored by cultural perspective. And what each author regarded as important was influenced by personal experiences and special interests. A trader's account might differ from a soldier's or a missionary's. Often, too, an author had a specific audience in mind, whether potential settlers or possible financial or military sponsors, and so wrote, and sometimes distorted facts, with an eye for what an audience would like to hear.

Europeans were limited not only by a language barrier, especially at first, but also by what they could understand. If they were unacquainted with certain aspects of Wabanaki culture, especially social or spiritual, they were likely to misinterpret them or miss them entirely. In addition, there were probably things that Wabanaki people did not care to show or tell these European observers.

Archaeology and supporting sciences also make valuable contributions to knowledge about Wabanaki people, in both the recent and not-so-recent past. Often the material remains of a culture can be dated fairly accurately. The most common surviving artifacts of Wabanaki culture are made of stone. From the pottery, which ceased to be made about the time Europeans arrived, and stone tools, archaeologists surmise the activities people engaged in. Less commonly found because they are less durable are animal bones, wooden and leather items, and plant seeds. Animal bones are most often found in shell heaps, where they are best preserved. The study of plant remains and the animal remains from shell heaps, pollen analysis, and other methods of reconstructing floral and faunal life give us clues as to what was probably eaten by Wabanaki people (and their ancestors) before European arrival. Other things can be told as well. For instance, some of the minerals used in tools found in Maine occur only in places such as Newfoundland and Ohio and give evidence for a widespread trading system before European arrival. In all of these cases archaeologists interpret the artifacts they find, choosing the best or most logical explanation as to what the artifacts were used for or what their meaning was for the people who used them.

Related sciences sometimes aid in interpreting what is known about Wabanaki culture in the recent, or more distant, past. Sometimes what is known about people of a similar culture (and occasionally of a similar environment) can offer clues as to what tools were used for or why certain foods were not eaten. In this way, too, ethnohistorians sometimes draw tentative conclusions about social structure and population density from such things as size and placement of houses. There are many other sources of information as well, such as Wabanaki languages, Wabanaki petroglyphs or rock drawings, and the oral tradition and music of neighboring Indian groups.

The challenge to ethnohistorians is to piece together the whole picture from information and evidence gathered from a variety of sources, viewing each source with a critical eye as to how accurate it might be. The picture we have presented in this resource book is a conservative one, and we hope the best guess in light of the evidence that is now available.

This section includes three lessons for grade four, three for grade six, and four for grade eight. The lessons for each grade focus on several themes: what culture means, and what some of the aspects of Wabanaki culture were 500 years ago; how Wabanaki people manufactured what they needed from materials in the natural environment; how Wabanaki people's lives changed with the seasons; and what everyday life was like for Wabanaki people. In addition, one of the lessons for grade eight discusses several methods of ethnohistorical research, and the strengths and limitations of each.

It should be noted that one of the lessons, "Wabanaki Celebration: A Feast," grade four, lesson 2, is meant to be flexible. A teacher can select activities and have a celebration lasting a day or two, or he or she might do all the activities with the students, taking several months to prepare for a two- or three-day feast to which outside guests are invited. This lesson can be adapted and used for the other grades as well.

LIVING WITH THE LAND AND SEASONS

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will give examples of how Wabanaki people lived with nature and in harmony with the rhythm of the seasons.
- Students will make predictions about Penobscot and Micmac life from their calendars.

WORDS TO KNOW: environment

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3; Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago, B-67; Seasonal Natural Resources, B-84

BACKGROUND NOTE: This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter: 1400, C-27; The Wabanaki Calendar, D-24; **pictures of the Maine-Maritime forest, rivers, and coast**

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Discuss what students know about each season. Ask students how their lives change with each season (clothes worn, foods eaten, games played, time spent indoors, etc.). Ask how the changing seasons might have affected Wabanaki life.
2. Look at pictures of the Maine-Maritime forest, rivers, and coast. Ask students to imagine that they live in each of these environments hundreds of years ago and must make everything they use from them. What would they need to know? What would they need to live? *(Food, clothing, shelter, tools, boats, kettles, etc.)* Brainstorm with students to come up with a list of basic needs. Help students to come up with plans for meeting these needs, taking into account the seasonal availability of required resources.
3. Look at the Micmac and Penobscot calendars ("The Wabanaki Calendar"). What can the students tell about Penobscot and Micmac life from the calendars?
4. Read "A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter: 1400" with the class. Before the story is read, ask the students to listen for: (1) basic human needs (food, clothing, shelter), (2) what was done in different seasons, and (3) what kinds of work people did. Discuss with the students what especially interested them about the story, how they felt about what they heard, and what, if anything, surprised or impressed them.

WABANAKI CELEBRATION: A Feast

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will sample foods eaten by Wabanaki people at a feast.
- Students will learn Wabanaki methods of hunting, fishing, and cooking.
- Students will be able to describe some of the activities that were a part of the celebration of a feast.

WORDS TO KNOW: feast, cooperation, eel, harmony, partridge, fiddlehead, Jerusalem artichoke

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3; Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago, B-67; Daily Life, B-81; Family, D-78; Legends lesson plan section, B-57 to B-66

BACKGROUND NOTES: Feasts were important events in the lives of Wabanaki people. There were large, regional feasts of a social or religious nature. Smaller family or village feasts might celebrate pregnancy, birth, naming, first game, first moose, marriage, death, or the appearance of a baby's first tooth. Sometimes a feast was held just for fun or because of special visitors, or when councils met to deliberate on important issues. Feasts often lasted for several days or a week, and included storytelling and dancing. These were also times for repeating some of the group genealogy and history. (Hoffman: 1955)

This lesson plan is comprehensive both in subject matter presented and in media used to present it. It can be employed to bring together skills and information acquired through other lessons in this section. A variety of subject areas, including science, language arts, visual arts, and mathematics, can be covered. **It is recommended that teachers consider possible applications of this lesson plan before beginning the section as a whole.**

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter: 1400, C-27; Fishing, D-28; Hunting, D-32; Clothing Worn at the Time of European Arrival, D-38; Animal Foods, D-45; Plant Foods, D-47; Wigwams, D-61; Social and Spiritual Life, D-81; Recreation, D-85; Ring and Pin Games, D-115; Snowsnake, D-116; Waltes, A Dice Game, D-117; Double-Curve Designs, D-122; Little Pines, D-126

PROCEDURE:

1. If you taught the previous lesson (grade 4, lesson 1), and your class read "A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter," ask students if they remember the reasons that were mentioned for having a feast or celebration. Tell students that they will be staging a feast or a celebration; decide together what you would like to celebrate. Make invitations using double-curve designs.

2. Discuss with students some of the customs and rituals associated with common holidays in the United States and Canada. (Valentine's Day, Hallowe'en, Christmas, Easter, Hannukah, Fourth of July, Queen's Birthday, etc.) Discuss the meaning behind some of these traditions. Explain that people of every culture in the world have traditions that are meaningful to them. (Encourage students to try to understand Wabanaki customs and rituals rather than to view them as "quaint" or "weird.")

3. Divide students into groups. Have each group choose something (report, mural, models, games, etc.) to do in preparation for the day of the feast. Set aside days now and then so that students can work on their projects. Following are some ideas for group projects.
   - constructing a wigwam or a model of a wigwam. (See "Wigwams.")
   - preparing games and toys for the end of the feast. (See "Recreation," "Waltes," "Ring and Pin Games," "Snowsnake," "Little Pines.")
   - making murals or a diorama.

   Murals or a diorama can focus on one topic, or many. For instance, one class working on dioramas soaked birchbark and made model wigwams, used small pieces of leather to illustrate how skins were stretched and dried, sewed birchbark canoes, made weirs of onion skin bags, and made models of deadfall traps. They illustrated both coastal and inland scenes. (It is important when students make models of something such as a canoe that they are acquainted with the materials and techniques used in making the real object so that they appreciate the skills required.)

4. Plan a menu with students. The Wabanakis most commonly ate soups and stews prepared with various combinations of the foods listed on the "Animal Foods" and "Plant Foods" fact sheets. If some of the foods are unavailable to you, students can choose substitutions such as the following:

chicken	for	wild ducks, partridge
chicken eggs	for	wild bird eggs
turkey	for	wild turkey
potatoes	for	Jerusalem artichokes
onions	for	wild onions and herbal seasonings
herbal teas	for	steeped plant beverages[1]

5. Read the fact sheet "Family" yourself. (For additional information refer to the "Daily Life" lesson plan.) Discuss with students how Wabanaki family life was similar to and different from their family life.

6. Discuss how Wabanaki children were educated. Ask students how this is similar or different from the way they are being educated. (For background, see "Family" and "Daily Life.")

7. Do a lesson plan on legends, and prepare a legend presentation for the feast. (See "Legends.")

8. Ask students whether they sit at a special location at the dinner table, and whether a visiting relative or guest has a special place at the table. Discuss seating arrangements at a church wedding, wedding reception, or other formal event. Explain that Wabanaki people had seating arrangements, too. The usual seating arrangement in a wigwam seems to have been women and girls on one side and men and boys on the other, with each side arranged in order by age. (See "Social and Spiritual Life.")

9. Hold the feast, using the menu prepared earlier by the students (#4). Start the day with welcoming speeches, praising participants and guests. After eating, put on the music, dancing, games, and activities that the students have prepared.

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[1] For another hot beverage, add a teaspoon of maple syrup to a cup of hot water.

EXPLORING CULTURE

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will identify elements of culture.
- Students will recognize the value of culture and its evolving nature.

WORDS TO KNOW: time capsule, governance, technology

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3; Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago, B-67

BACKGROUND NOTES: This lesson will help the student put the feast and its related activities into a cultural context. Elements of culture include values and traditions (spirituality, kinship, governance, storytelling); arts (literature, graphic arts, body painting, dancing, music); and material culture (housing, food, clothing).

Point out that each person has a culture, and things he/she may take for granted a person in another culture might think unusual or odd. Exploring cultures that differ in time as well as ethnicity provides an opportunity for students to realize that their culture is only one of many, each with its own values, customs, and traditions.

If students have little knowledge of contemporary Wabanaki life and people, you may want to come back to the last item in the procedure (6) after the class has had a lesson on contemporary Wabanaki life.

This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Interview Form, B-85

PROCEDURES:

1. Tell students they are going to bury a time capsule or box of objects that could tell something about their culture today if found by people in the future. Before the students decide what they will bury, they should discuss:
   - Whether to assume that the people who discover the time capsule can read English and what kind of technology they might have compared to that of today.
   - The best site to put the time capsule so it will be found.
   - How to best preserve things the students choose to put into a time capsule.
   - How large the time capsule should be.

2. Next the students should discuss the various aspects of their life that other people might be curious about (music, literature, games, values, TV, food, etc.). Then students need to decide what to include in the time capsule that will tell the people of the future about each aspect of life. Students will need to decide whether to include one example for each area, or several, to show the variety that exists in their community. An alternative would be to have each student, or each small group of students, pick a specified number of objects to include in a time capsule.

3. After students have chosen the objects to include, the class should discuss whether they have succeeded in giving a complete picture of their life for people of the future. If not, why not? What if the people of the future do not read? What if the time capsule is not found for 20,000 years or

more? What is not conveyed by objects? What do you wish you could put in that you can't (values, beliefs, social roles)?

4. Have students take interview sheets home and interview friends and/or members of their family over a week's time. The people they interview should be at least 20 years older than themselves -- more if possible. How would a time capsule of the interviewees' generation differ from their own? What is different about their culture?

5. What do you think Wabanaki children of 500 years ago would have put in their time capsule?

6. If you're not a Wabanaki person, what do you think Wabanaki people of today would put in their time capsule? What things would be the same in the contemporary Wabanaki person's time capsule as in that of his or her counterpart 500 years ago? What would be different?

WABANAKI LIFE IN THE 1400S

OBJECTIVES:
- Students will explain seasonal migration of the Wabanakis along a river valley.
- Students will describe certain aspects of Wabanaki life, such as clothing, wigwams, canoes, and hunting and fishing techniques.

WORDS TO KNOW: caribou, treaty, moose butter, epidemic, tanning, missionary, land grant, toboggan, weir, migration

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3; Family, D-78; Social and Spiritual Life, D-81

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: A Micmac Woman Speaks to her Granddaughter: 1400, C-27.

PROCEDURE:

1. Have the students place their chairs in a circle. Have them take turns reading "A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter." Ask students the following questions about the story:
    - What is the approximate date that this story takes place?
    - Is this before or after the Europeans arrived?
    - After the men hunted and killed a moose, what did the women do? *(They cut up the animal and carried it back to the wigwam.)*
    - How did the women in this story boil water? *(By placing heated stones in a birchbark container with the water to be heated.)*
    - Why might a young Micmac man go to live with a young woman's family before marrying her? *(To show that he can be a good husband and provider and to get to know the woman and her family.)*
    - List at least four jobs that the women did in this story. *(Putting birchbark on the wigwams, dyeing quills, gathering plants and making medicines, cutting up a moose, gathering mussels, scallops, and clams, putting down fir branches inside a wigwam, preparing foods for a feast, catching rabbits and birds, preparing birchbark, tanning hides, cording snowshoes, collecting birds' eggs.)*

2. On the board or a chart list the following topics with room for the students to write what they learned about each from the story: shelter, fishing, hunting, clothing, food, canoes, government, family, marriage, burial customs, legends.

SEASONAL CYCLES

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will describe ways in which the Wabanakis adapted their lives to the environment and seasons.
- Students will compare their calendars with those of the Wabanakis.

WORDS TO KNOW: cultivated, wild

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A -3; Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago, B-67; Animal Foods, D-45; Plant Foods, D-47

BACKGROUND NOTE: This lesson might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Wabanaki Calendar, D-24; Seasonal Cycle Chart, D-26

PROCEDURE:

1. Distribute one of the Wabanaki calendars to the class, as well as the "Seasonal Cycle Chart" on Micmac seasonal activities. Have each student choose a month and illustrate an activity a Wabanaki person might be engaged in. Label each illustration with both the Wabanaki name of the moon and the name of the month. (These could then be used as a bulletin board display or individual posters could make up a room-size calendar.)
2. Discuss what the lunar names tell about Wabanaki life during that month. What are the differences in the Micmac and Penobscot calendars? Explain that people in Nova Scotia (Micmacs) probably grew very little, if any, of their food, but got their food from wild animals and plants. The farther south Wabanaki people lived, the more they could count on growing some of their food. (Also, Micmac people spent more time along the coast than most other Wabanaki people.) What kinds of differences do the students think there might be in the lives of the Wabanaki people who used cultivated foods to supplement wild foods?
3. Discuss foods that would be available during each season. Find out how excess foods could be preserved. (See "Animal Foods" and "Plant Foods.") List the kinds of work and other activities that would occupy the people during each season. Discuss why certain activities were carried on in certain seasons (e.g. when animals' fur would be thickest, how it is easier to hunt moose in the winter when moose flounder in the snow and hunters wear snowshoes, how black flies and mosquitoes might affect where people lived in the summer).
4. Have students make their own calendars marked with activities/events that are important to them. How do these calendars differ from those of the Wabanakis? Why? The availability of foods is one important difference. How has the availability of food changed our concept of the seasons?

ACTIVITY:

1. Make a mural depicting the seasonal cycle. Show homes, activities, foods, etc. for each season.

EXPLORING WABANAKI TECHNOLOGY

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will understand that while people may have different cultures and backgrounds, many of their needs are similar.
- Students will explain how the tools of the early Wabanakis were well suited to the purposes for which they were made.
- Students will describe in detail how two or more tools or objects were made.
- Students will list a number of natural materials that were used to make tools, equipment, and other useful items.

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3

BACKGROUND NOTE: This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: **snowshoes or sphagnum moss;** Seasonal Cycle Chart, D-26; Fishing, D-28; Hunting, D-32; Wabanaki Clothing Worn at the Time of European Arrival, D-38; Uses of Animals, D-43; Animal Foods, D-45; Plant Foods, D-47; Uses of Plants, D-51; Wabanaki Healing, D-53; Uses of Birchbark, D-56; The Birchbark Canoe, D-58; Wigwams, D-61; Domestic and Decorative Skills, D-64; Double-Curve Designs, D-122; Projects with Natural Materials, D-129; Natural Dyes, D-135; Finger Weaving, D-136; How to Construct a Wigwam, D-138

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Discuss with students different animals' feet, and the adaptations that give them an advantage in certain environments. *(For swimming, running on hard ground, ripping apart rotten wood for food, running on top of deep snow.)* Why is a "snowshoe hare" so named? Why was it important for Wabanakis to be able to move through deep snow? What happens to moose and deer in deep snow? What other invention did Wabanakis use in the snow? *(Toboggans and sleds to transport baggage.)*

   Have students bring a pair of snowshoes into the classroom. Have students list materials used to make them *(wood, leather, lacing, varnish, rivets).* Look at each item and think about its required characteristics. *(Wood -- no knots, no splinters, flexible without breaking, light, available; leather laces -- strong, light, pliable, stay soft; webbing -- strong, light, pliable, shrinks and retains shape when dries, available.)* Discuss what materials might have been used 500 years ago.

   If you do not have access to snowshoes, substitute another item, such as diapers, comparing several different kinds of diapers used today with the sphagnum moss, held in place with a small fur bag, which was used when Wabanaki infants were in cradleboards.

2. Have each student write a report on an aspect of Wabanaki material culture before European arrival. Students may use fact sheets and the historical overview for information. Other sources of information might be books, and magazines (see "Resources," E-1, for sources of information), knowledgeable people, or museums. If appropriate, the report should include illustrations. Reports should be shared orally.

Instead of reports, some students may wish to share with the class stories they have written or that they have read, models they have constructed of wigwams or snares, crafts they have learned, plays they have written, objects they have woven or materials they have dyed, or murals they have drawn.

ACTIVITIES:

1. Try some of the activities such as finger weaving, domestic projects, dyeing with natural dyes, etc., in the "Things to Try" section of fact sheets.
2. Draw or list tools or other items made of bones, fur, skins, hair, plants, etc. Make a poster showing a picture of the animal, fish, etc. from which the item was made.
3. Look at a birch tree, cedar tree, cattail, moose, beaver. Choose one and make a drawing of it. Label parts of the animal or plant with what they were used for. Students can get information from the following fact sheets: "Uses of Animals," "Uses of Plants," "Wabanaki Healing," "Uses of Birchbark.")
4. Make a model of a canoe, a piece of clothing, or a wigwam as a class project. Be sure to allow plenty of time. Make posters of different kinds of snares and traps, or other examples of Wabanaki technology.

HOW DO WE LEARN ABOUT THE PAST?

OBJECTIVES:
- Students will name several methods used for historical research.
- Students will explain how research methodology can affect historic interpretation.

WORDS TO KNOW: archaeology, ethnohistory

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago, B-67; Mi'kmaq, B-25

BACKGROUND NOTES: This lesson plan requires planning ahead, as the materials used are not contained in this resource book.

This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: **Mi'kmaq Video Series** (Free. See Resources, E-1, for information on how to order.); **obsolete or esoteric household, yard, or craft tools**

PROCEDURE:

1. Ask students how they think we might learn about how Wabanaki people lived before European people arrived. *(Oral tradition, archaeological digs, early European observation/ accounts.).* To explore the method of historical accounting, have students imagine themselves as early Europeans observing a Wabanaki community while they watch the Mi'kmaq video series in the Micmac language. After they have recorded their initial observations, have them watch the series in English and then discuss the differences between their interpretation and the actual occurrences and relationships they observed. What are the problems with this method of historical research?

2. Bring to class a number of unusual, historical, or curious objects that could be used to stimulate class discussion on how the objects are meant to be used. Ask students to imagine they had found these objects in particular contexts (e.g. near a barn, in an indoors activity area) and speculate on their use. Is it always possible to be sure of their proper use? Would other information help? What kind would be most helpful to have?

3. Have students tell stories of some historical event or remembrance that they learned from their grandparents, aunts, uncles, parents, older neighbors. It should be something that all students might have heard of -- floods of past years, assassination of past presidents, or how lives were affected by the Great Depression. A local event of some significance might be a good subject for the interviews. How does each story add to the whole? What is still missing?

SEASONAL CYCLES

OBJECTIVE:

- Students will describe ways in which the Wabanaki people adapted their lives to the environment and the seasons.

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3; Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago, B-67; **Maine Dirigo: I Lead, chapter 3**

BACKGROUND NOTE: If you are studying all Wabanaki groups, be sure to point out that Passamaquoddies and Micmacs spent more of the year along the coast than did Maliseets, Penobscots, and most Abenakis. If you have already done the "Wabanaki People" lesson, B-48, this lesson plan can build upon it; if you have not, then you might want to incorporate parts of the "Wabanaki People" lesson into this lesson.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Seasonal Cycle Chart, D-26

PROCEDURE:

1. Ask students whether they think Wabanakis would live in smaller or larger groups in the winter and why.

2. Distribute the "Seasonal Cycle Chart." Give students a few minutes to study the chart. Then ask students a few questions about the chart, such as: "When do you think Wabanaki people began fishing for salmon?"; "In what month was the widest variety of foods available?"; or "When would Wabanakis have to dry their supply of salmon (or blueberries, or lobster) for the winter?"

3. Discuss again whether Wabanaki people would live in smaller or larger groups in the winter, and why. In which seasons did Wabanakis live along the coast? Inland? Later, after 1600, when European people settled, Wabanaki people hunted more extensively for furs to export to Europe. Would this have disrupted or reinforced their previous seasonal pattern of spending time in winter inland in small groups, hunting? (This was the Wabanaki pattern that Europeans first recorded. There is not agreement on whether this pattern was the same before Europeans recorded it, for even before Europeans settled in North America Wabanakis had begun hunting for furs to trade with European fishers and traders. Some people think that there had been several patterns: the one described by the European observers, and groups of people who lived more or less in one place, whether inland or on the coast.)

DAILY LIFE

OBJECTIVES:
- Students will compare the life of Wabanaki children with their own.
- Students will compare how the Wabanaki family in 1400 functioned with how their families function.

WORDS TO KNOW: aboriginal

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3; Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago, B-67; Family, D-78; Social and Spiritual Life, D-81

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter: 1400, C-27; or Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3; **or Maine Dirigo: I Lead, chapter 3**

PROCEDURE:

1. Have students read an account of aboriginal Wabanaki life. (If students have already read "A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter," use the historical overview, or Chapter 3 in Maine Dirigo: I Lead.)

2. Discuss with students Wabanaki life 500 years ago. Discuss what is meant by "growing up." What does it mean in terms of privileges and responsibilities? What would it have meant in terms of privileges and responsibilities to Wabanaki children 500 years ago? Do you think a Wabanaki person 500 years ago was considered an adult at an earlier or later age than students in your school?

3. Define family, presenting it first as "two or more people who live, work, and play together" (with a structure that can vary and still remain a family) or "the people who live at our house." Have students come up with a final definition that accords equal dignity to each student's family regardless of its variations in size and composition. Take care not to embarrass children.

   Discuss the functions a family serves. First have students establish the differences between needs (essential items such as food, clothing, shelter) and wants (nonessential items such as toys). Discuss love and affection, music, art, security, and whether they are needs or wants. Discuss how a family meets these needs and wants and how different family members help fulfill them.

   Discuss size of family and how some families may include only two people, while other families may be large or "extended," with grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins in a single household. Discuss different family members' contributions in an extended family. Discuss the different roles of the people in "A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter."

INDEPENDENT RESEARCH

OBJECTIVE:
- The students will investigate at least one aspect of Wabanaki culture.

BACKGROUND NOTE: This lesson will take more than one class period.

PROCEDURE:

1. Have students select topics from the list of projects below that include technology as well as other aspects of Wabanaki culture (language, government, family, etc.). Require the use of three sources for each project. (See "Sources" for the historical overview, A-34; "Sources" for the fact sheets, D-142; "Resources," E-1; and "Bibliography," E-9.) Each student may present a report, or make, demonstrate, or teach something to the class.

   Following is a list of projects for independent research. Relevant fact sheets available in this book are listed beside the topic.

   1. Games -- Recreation, D-85; Ring and Pin Games, D-115; Snowsnake, D-116; Waltes, a Dice Game, D-117.

   2. Science
      - plant recognition -- Uses of Plants, D-51
      - natural dyeing -- Natural Dyes, D-135
      - maple sap collection
      - chart showing medicinal plants -- Wabanaki Healing, D-53
      - animal tracking -- Hunting, D-32
      - plant uses -- Plant Foods, D-47; Uses of Plants, D-51

   3. Arts and crafts
      - weaving -- Projects with Natural Materials, D-129; Finger Weaving, D-136
      - quill and bead necklaces -- Projects with Natural Materials, D-129; Finger Weaving, D-136
      - quillwork -- Projects with Natural Materials, D-130; Finger Weaving, D-136
      - cornhusk dolls -- Cornhusk Dolls, D-119
      - building models (canoe, wigwam, traps, snares, weirs) -- How to Construct a Wigwam, D-138; The Birchbark Canoe, D-58; Hunting, D-32; Fishing, D-28
      - double-curve designs -- Double-Curve Designs, D-122
      - murals depicting some aspect of Wabanaki culture

4. Outdoor activities
    - nature hike
    - overnight camping
    - survival training
    - cooking over an open fire
    - clambake
    - building a wigwam -- How to Construct a Wigwam, D-138
5. Family and community -- Family, D-78; Social and Spiritual Life, D-81
6. Government -- Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Government and Politics," A-12; Wabanaki Governance, D-66
7. Music and Dancing -- Little Pines, D-126
8. Language arts
    - poetry writing
    - book reports

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

SEASONAL NATURAL RESOURCES[1]

This calendar is from the "Student Handbook" of the Mi'kmaq video series. It is a selection of natural resources that would be available to the Micmac people during different seasons. Further details about uses of plants and animals can be found in the fact sheets section.

SPRING
Maple sap
Spruce gum
Birds' eggs
Lobsters
Fish roe
Salmon
Smelts
Migrating birds
Gaspereau (alewives)
Native copper exposed during the spring thaw
Red-osier dogwood and witherod for weaving fish traps and containers

SUMMER
Birchbark used for canoes, wigwams, and containers collected when the birch trees are having their lateral growth in late July or early August, when the fireflies are out
Cedar bark. The inner bark is collected in late spring and early summer for weaving.
Basswood for cordage
Dye and medicine plants such as goldthread roots, sweet gale berries, goldenrod, bloodroot, and various tree barks
Spruce roots
Squid
Clams
Porpoises for food and oil
Natural pigments (red and yellow ocher)
Berries
Groundnuts

AUTUMN (and late summer)
Eels
Bass
Porcupine quills
Fiber plants such as Indian hemp for weaving
Reeds and grasses for mats

WINTER
Seals for oil, hides, and food
Large mammals such as moose and caribou for hides, food, sinews, and fibers for sewing; bones and marrow for food
Small mammals such as beavers and hares for food and hides
Oysters collected through holes in the ice

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[1] This list is suggested for use with "Living with the Land and Seasons, B-70, Grade 4, Lesson 1.

SAMPLE INTERVIEW FORM[1]

CULTURE INVESTIGATION: INTERVIEW

Interviewer: ______________________________

Interviewee: ______________________________ Date of birth: ______________

Relationship, if any, to interviewer (for example, parent, friend, grandparent): _________

What is your earliest and most vivid recollection of an important historic event or person?

How did you get news of the world as a young adult? How did you listen to music?

When you were young, what did your family do in the evening after dinner? What did you do on Saturday night?

Who was your favorite hero/heroine? Why? Can you recall your parents' heroes/heroines? What qualities did they admire?

How did you celebrate Christmas or Hannukah? How did you celebrate the Fourth of July?

Can you remember what you were doing when you heard and how you learned about: (pick a famous event furthest back in the person's memory -- e.g., end of World War I, Black Monday [the beginning of the Great Depression], Pearl Harbor Day, death of President Roosevelt, assassination of President Kennedy)?

The class should generate at least a few more questions and, if desired, delete any of the above.

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[1] Suggested for use with "Exploring Culture," B-73, Grade 4, Lesson 3.

WABANAKI AND EUROPEAN INTERACTION: 1600-1800

This section includes lesson plans about the interaction of Wabanaki people with the English and French from the early seventeenth century through the eighteenth century. During this time major changes occurred that strongly affected Wabanaki communities, including the first permanent settlements of Europeans on Wabanaki land; epidemics of diseases new to North America that probably killed 75 percent of the population of Wabanaki people; six different wars between the Wabanakis and the English; the transfer of nearly all of the Wabanaki lands to European or, later, United States and Canadian control; and the establishment of reservations for Wabanaki people.

The section includes one lesson plan for grade four covering Thanksgiving and how it may have originated. The three lesson plans for grade six are concerned with the impact on Wabanaki communities of epidemics, European settlement and trade, and European patterns of land use. Four of the lesson plans for grade eight focus on comparing different aspects of Wabanaki and European cultures in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One centers on how Wabanakis viewed European lifestyle, another differing attitudes about land and land use, and another how the English and the Wabanakis tried to resolve their disputes through negotiation and treaties. One calls upon students to use what they have learned about Wabanakis and Europeans in colonial times in a "TV roleplay" exercise. The fifth lesson plan for grade eight deals with the dilemma that Wabanakis faced in deciding whether or not to participate in the Revolutionary War.

Although lessons in this section emphasize the effects of European cultures on Wabanakis, they also present information on the way Europeans were affected by Wabanaki communities. We hope that in this section students will not only consider some of the ways one culture may affect another, but also to think about how some of the conflicts that arise between cultures may be resolved in mutually beneficial ways.

ONE NATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON THANKSGIVING

OBJECTIVE:
- Students will describe a Native perspective on Thanksgiving.

WORD TO KNOW: epidemic

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "European Contact," A-7; "The Environment Changes," A-10; "Wabanaki Government and Politics," A-12; Animal Foods, D-45, Plant Foods; D-47

BACKGROUND NOTES:

When the Pilgrims arrived in Plymouth in 1620, they arrived at a site that had been a Pawtuxet village. A smallpox plague, which had begun a few years before, caused the village to be deserted; almost no one was left alive, and the Pilgrims claimed for their own the cleared fields that the Pawtuxet people had left.

After a few days the Pilgrims discovered that Pawtuxet people buried their dead with supplies of corn and beans. They dug up many graves, taking the food. Some Wampanoag people who saw this were deeply offended by what they regarded as flagrant disrespect for the dead, and they attacked the Pilgrims. They were frightened off by gunfire.

Several weeks later Pilgrims were working in the fields when some Native people approached. The Pilgrims ran away, leaving their tools, which the Native people took.

In February, 1621, a Wabanaki man from Maine walked into the Pilgrim village speaking English. Samoset had been kidnapped by the English in Maine and taken to England; he had returned to North America six months before the Pilgrims arrived. He told the Pilgrims about the neighboring Native peoples, and their experiences with Europeans. He promised their tools would be returned.

Samoset returned with 60 Native people. Massasoit was a Wampanoag sakom[1] [ZAH-g'm] who signed a treaty of cooperation between the Wampanoags and the Pilgrims. Tisquantum (Squanto), a Pawtuxet, had also been captured by the English and sold into slavery in Spain. He escaped to England and came back to North America on the same ship as did Samoset. Because his people had died of smallpox, he went to live with Wampanoag people. Tisquantum remained with the Pilgrims for the rest of his life, teaching them how to survive in their new environment. (The Pilgrims were mainly artisans.)

In the fall of 1621, at the Pilgrims' invitation, the Wampanoags brought to share food that they had gathered for their traditional harvest feast. This first Thanksgiving feast lasted three days. Massasoit and 90 Wampanoags celebrated with 55 Pilgrims, all that remained from the original 103. The Wampanoags had brought five deer, as well as turkeys, geese, ducks, clams, oysters, fish, fruits, corn, molasses, salads, and maple sugar.

By the time of Massasoit's death in 1622, Wampanoag people were concerned about the loss of their land to the English. In addition, the Pilgrims expected Wampanoag people to obey their laws. These included not trespassing on "English" land, whether English people were using it or not, and laws that provided the death penalty against "blasphemy." (This law is said to have applied to Native people who refused to accept the Puritan religion.) By 1675 the Wampanoags, along with other Native people in the area, declared war on the English settlers. The Native people were defeated there a year later along with other Native people in the area. Many of the survivors were executed or sold into slavery. (Much of this information comes from Unlearning Indian Stereotypes, Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1977.)

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[1] Passamaquoddy-Maliseet word for Wabanaki leader.

This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

PROCEDURE

1. Discuss from where Europeans came and why. Then talk about where Europeans settled. Discuss how this might have affected Wabanakis' seasonal migration to the coast and how they might have felt about this.

2. Discuss what an epidemic is and how diseases spread. Discuss with the students how many of the Wabanaki people (probably 75%) died from diseases that the European colonists brought with them. Explain that the waves of epidemics started before many Europeans had settled in the area.

3. Discuss with your class that it is not certain just how Thanksgiving first became a holiday. Tradition says that it began in the early 1600s when Pilgrims in what is now Plymouth, Massachusetts, invited Wampanoag people to a harvest feast. Before this feast, several things had already happened. Discuss with children the information provided in "Background Notes." Be sure that students understand that this history took place in what is now Massachusetts, and not in Maine or the Maritimes.

4. Have students make up a skit or have a discussion about what the Wampanoag people may have considered or weighed before they shared their harvest feast with the colonists. Do you think that some Wampanoag people may have objected to celebrating with the Pilgrims? Take into account what you have learned about Wabanaki values. (Although some people consider Wampanoag people to be Wabanaki people, they are not the Wabanaki people that the students are studying. Remind the students of this, and tell them to be careful about assuming that Wampanoag people would have the very same values.) Or, your class could have a debate or meeting, some taking the point of view of Wampanoag people who would argue for sharing their harvest food with the Pilgrims, and others arguing for not helping the Pilgrims. (Remind students that this is hypothetical, and that we do not really know if such a discussion occurred.)

5. List on the board what each group, the Pilgrims and the Wampanoags, had to be thankful for in 1621. Do you think the Wampanoags would have felt grateful to the Pilgrims? Do you think the Pilgrims would have felt grateful to the Wampanoags?

6. Today many people in the United States celebrate Thanksgiving. Although the meaning of Thanksgiving is probably a little different for each family who celebrates it, many serve a "traditional Thanksgiving dinner" that includes foods native to North America. What are some of these foods? (See "Plant Foods" and "Animal Foods" for lists of food native to Maine and the Maritimes.) Many people in the United States remember the first Thanksgiving as a time of friendship and sharing between the two peoples. Many Native Americans celebrate Thanksgiving today. Many Native people, however, do not celebrate Thanksgiving, and some consider it a day for mourning. Discuss with the class why some Native Americans might feel this way.

A KENNEBEC MOTHER'S THOUGHTS: The Impact of Epidemics

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will define epidemic.
- Students will describe the concerns of the mother as she tries to decide whether to seek help from the Kennebec shaman or the French Catholic priest.

WORDS TO KNOW: epidemic, shaman, symbolism, immunity

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "European Contact," A-7; Wabanaki Aboriginal Territories, D-4; Present-Day Wabanaki Groups, D-10; English Domestic Life, D-103

BACKGROUND NOTE: This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: "A Kennebec Mother's Thoughts: 1650," C-33

PROCEDURE:

1. Discuss epidemics. (See "European Contact" in the historical overview for information.) Discuss why Europeans came here. *(Explorers, fur traders, trappers, missionaries, settlers.)*
2. Read with the class "A Kennebec Mother's Thoughts, 1650."
3. Questions:
    a. Why did the French man wear a black robe? *(He was a priest. This was their traditional clothing.)*
    b. If the disease did not make the priest sick, why was it killing Kennebec people? *(They had no immunity, no bodily defenses against diseases they had never before encountered.)*
    c. What is the symbolism of the uncle preparing to leave the village with his gun and pack stored near the door, but his medicine bag, drum, and rattle left near the fire? *(The uncle is taking his survival tools. His tools for healing no longer seem to be working, and he is abandoning them.)*
    d. What has happened in the village and why has it happened? *(Many people have died, many are leaving the village. The community is no longer supportive, leaving each person to fend for him/ herself. The leader has abandoned his leadership role.)*
    e. What is meant by the mother's words, "Do I permit the cross to rest on your heart, or do I carry you to the canoe?" Why must she choose? *(The mother has the choice of relying on the healing of her people, which seems to be ineffective against this new disease, or relying on the healing skills of the priest, an outsider. She is either going to leave the village and seek the shaman in another village, or stay and accept the help of the priest.)*
    f. Discuss the questions that the father asked the priest. (See paragraph two of the story.)
    g. Put yourself in the place of one of the characters. What do you think you would have done in this person's place, and why?

h. Think about those Wabanakis who caught European diseases without ever having seen a European. How might they have explained the epidemics?

i. What was European medicine like at this time? How did they view epidemics? How did they treat disease, illness? (See "English Domestic Life.")

ACTIVITIES:

1. Write an ending to the story. To whom did the mother turn for help? Why?
2. Dramatize the story using one of the students' endings.
3. Write a poem reflecting how a young child might have felt as a survivor, or showing events during an epidemic.
4. Find out more about the Kennebecs. On a map locate the Kennebec River, along which the Kennebecs lived during the sixteenth century. (See "Present-Day Wabanaki Groups," and "Wabanaki Aboriginal Territories.")

A PENOBSCOT BOY'S THOUGHTS: Changes Caused by Settlement and Trade

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will describe three changes in Wabanaki life caused by settlement of Europeans.
- Students will describe three ways the Europeans lived that were different from the ways Wabanakis lived.

WORDS TO KNOW: pelts, trade goods, musket, Pemaquid, Pentagoet

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "European Contact," A-7, and "The Environment Changes," A-10

BACKGROUND NOTES: The fur trade centered around beavers, whose pelts were used to make felt hats that were highly fashionable in Europe at the time. European beavers were nearly extinct, and Europeans looked to North America to provide beaver hides. (Europeans also exported North American furs to Asia.) For Native people, who had used beavers as a source of food, medicine, fur for clothing, and teeth for making crooked knives, the value of beavers changed. Now their pelts could be traded for metal tools, cloth, and firearms. They began to trade large quantities of "surplus" natural resources for other needed resources. Native life changed dramatically in response to the fur trade. So did the population of beavers. By the time styles changed in Europe, beavers in eastern North America were nearing extinction.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: A Penobscot Boy's Thoughts: 1685, C-35; Wabanaki Aboriginal Territories, D-4; Indian Canoe Routes of Maine, D-20; Place Names, D-22; Calendar of Present-Day Micmac Seasonal Activities, D-27; Wabanaki Languages, D-69; Trade, D-86; Wampum, D-87

PROCEDURE:

1. Review with students the life of Wabanakis before Europeans came to settle. Include seasonal migration, living part of the year on the coast, respect for animals and plants, and taking only what was needed from the environment. Also, discuss the concept of land ownership held by the English and other European settlers. (See the historical overview, "The Environment Changes.")

2. Have the students read the story aloud in class (while seated in a circle, if possible). Possible discussion questions:
   a. Why did the grandfather prefer trading with the French trader? *(The trader lived with Wabanaki people, and had adopted some of their ways.)*
   b. Why was the grandfather opposed to trading with the English? *(The English had taken the land, ruined the land, taken the fish, cut the trees.)*
   c. Why were the boy and his father unable to trade at the French post? *(The English had seized the French ship that was carrying supplies.)*
   d. Why did the father decide to go to Pemaquid? *(The English had better prices, and they had the supplies that he needed.)*
   e. What were some of the changes the father and son saw when they arrived at Pemaquid? *(Trees cut down, large log houses, piles of firewood, a ship, a fort, an eating place, a forge.)*

f. What did you learn about the Penobscots' attitude toward beavers? *(The Penobscots treated the beavers with respect, and in turn the beavers cooperated so the two could live together year to year.)*

g. List the items traded for furs. *(Powder and shot, needles and thread, blankets and cloth, beans, peas, flour, sugar, knives, and corn.)*

h. What reasons might the English trader have had for offering the boy's father some brandy?

i. Discuss the changes the musket brought to the hunting techniques of the Wabanakis.

j. Discuss the changes that may have occurred with the introduction of iron pots for cooking.

k. In the story the father said, "Even the good English ruin the land, so that we cannot use it any more. The game leave. When we share with them the land becomes useless to us." What did he mean?

l. What were some of the reasons the Penobscots may have gotten along with the French better than with the English? *(The French were willing to adopt some Wabanaki ways; the English wanted all the land, they cut the forest, the game left the coast.)*

3. Discuss trade today with students. First discuss why people trade, and what they trade. Ask students for what and with whom Wabanakis traded before European arrival. Wabanaki people did not use money or wampum before European arrival here. How did they trade? Why did Wabanaki trade intensify after Europeans arrived? What effects do you think this trade with Europeans had on Wabanaki lifestyle and culture? (Consider leadership, seasonal cycle, diet, "mining the surplus" in an environment compared to using only what was needed, viewing human beings as only one element in the balance of nature, social structure and status.) (See "Trade" and the historical overview, "European Contact.") Discuss the interdependence that results from trading.

ACTIVITIES:

1. Take a field trip to Pemaquid and visit the archaeological dig and the museum. Discuss with the class whether the exhibit portrays the history of Pemaquid in an even-handed way.

2. Map the possible route the Penobscot boy and his father took to Pemaquid, assuming they started near Bangor. Describe what the trip might have been like.

3. Create two dioramas or two murals, one showing the Penobscots using the Pemaquid area in the early 1600s and the other showing the English settlers living there in 1685.

4. Write your own story of a visit to an English village as you imagine a Wabanaki boy or girl might have told it.

5. Use the fact sheets to learn more about a topic:
   - "Cycles of Wars and Treaties: 1675-1763."
   - "Trade." Compare the items listed on that sheet with those mentioned in the story.
   - Wampum. How was wampum used in trade?
   - Language. What are the differences among the Wabanaki languages, and what is being done to preserve the languages?
   - Place names. Learn the meaning of some place names having Wabanaki origins.

LAND USE

OBJECTIVE:
- Students will describe ways different cultures view land and its resources.

WORDS TO KNOW: point of view, frame of reference, topography

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3; Uses of Animals, D-43; Animal Foods, D-45; Plant Foods, D-47; Uses of Plants, D-51

BACKGROUND NOTE: This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: **map of a local area in Maine or the Maritimes**

PROCEDURE:

1. Give students copies of an outline map of an area of land in Maine or the Maritimes. (It can be a sketch drawn by the teacher or a detailed map.) Briefly describe topography, vegetation, climate, animal life, and water resources at the time when Europeans first arrived. (See historical overview). Indicate important topographic features and natural resources with map symbols.

2. Divide students into groups representing Wabanakis and European explorers, fur trappers and traders, missionaries, farmers (settlers), soldiers, and government officials.

3. Ask each group to describe how they would view the designated area of land. What features would they consider valuable? How would they use the land?

4. Have students meet separately in their groups to draw up a "plan" for use of the area. Be as specific as possible. Each group can draw on a copy of the map details such as villages, fences, forts, towns, summer/ winter encampments, etc. Have each group share its drawing with the other groups.

5. Discuss with students how the views of the various groups harmonize or conflict. Give reasons for similarities and differences in views about land held by people in the different groups. Discuss point of view and "frame of reference." Distinguish between individual and cultural frames of reference. Point out to students that "Each culture tends to view its physical habitat differently. A society's value system, goals, social organization and level of technology determine which elements of the land are prized and utilized." (The History and Culture of the Indians of Washington State: A Curriculum Guide, 1984)

6. The colonies in North America were established by the governments of England, France, and other European countries to make them more wealthy and powerful. The nobility and wealthy people in those countries were the main beneficiaries. Ask students how they think these people viewed the land in North America.

A MICMAC LOOKS AT WAYS OF THE EUROPEANS

OBJECTIVE:
- Students will interpret the Micmac point of view about the French (Acadian) way of life in Nova Scotia.

WORDS TO KNOW: point of view, ownership, provision, abundance, subsistence, immunities, ingenuity, impoverished, adopting, presumption

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3, and "European Contact," A-7; Family, D-78; English Domestic Life, D-103

BACKGROUND NOTES: Both the English and the French encouraged Wabanakis to give up their traditional ways and to adopt European ways, including European religions. Some settlers felt that if Wabanakis did not cultivate and "improve" the land that they had no claim to ownership of it. This story gives students an opportunity to read what at least one Wabanaki person thought about the "superiority" of European ways.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: A Micmac Looks at the Ways of Europeans, C-31

PROCEDURE:

1. Have your class read "A Micmac Looks at the Ways of Europeans."
2. Discuss the Micmac point of view regarding French houses and other French values and customs.
3. Have the class choose another area in which Europeans encouraged Wabanakis to change their ways. (Possibilities are: to have the Wabanakis build fences around their fields; to settle in one place and cultivate the land, rather than move to places where there is an abundance, hunting, fishing, and gathering food; to send Wabanaki children to colonial schools to be educated.) Ask them to imagine how they would feel if this happened to them and to write up their reactions in a short paper.

ENGLISH COUSINS HAVE A TALK: A Contrast of Values

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will compare the concepts of land use of the English settlers and the Wabanakis.
- Students will explore how the differences in the concepts of land use led to many conflicts.

WORDS TO KNOW: of the same persuasion, covet, sagamore

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3, "European Contact," A-7, "The Environment Changes," A-10, and "Land and Treaties," A-15; Trade, D-86; Wampum, D-87; Wars and Treaties, D-89

BACKGROUND NOTES: Massachusetts (of which Maine was a part until 1820) was largely settled by Puritans, members of a religious group who left England and came to North America to be able to worship as they chose. Their name comes from their desire to "purify" their church of many of what they considered the ornamentations of the Catholic Church. Native Americans were caught in the middle of a long-standing antipathy between the English Puritans of Massachusetts and the French Catholics.

This story highlights English attitudes towards the land. It underscores that many English settlers were more concerned over conflicting English claims to the land than to Wabanaki claims. The English believed that the best use of land was to bring it under human control and cultivation, to harvest its natural resources as quickly as possible, and to sell those resources in the marketplace that offered the highest price. From their point of view, Wabanakis were not making the best use of the land.

The French and English kings granted charters and patents for colonization by their subjects even though, from the Wabanaki point of view, European kings had no right to make grants of Wabanaki lands. Wabanaki people believed that land was to be used and shared. They did not have the concept of land ownership the way Europeans thought of it. When they deeded lands to the settlers they thought they were deeding the right to share the use of the land.

This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: English Cousins Have a Talk in Pemaquid: 1685, C-39

PROCEDURE:

1. Have the students read "English Cousins Have a Talk in Pemaquid," or have two students present it as a dramatization.
2. Locate the places mentioned on a Maine map.
3. Compare the English and Wabanaki attitudes toward the land. What conflicts did these differences in attitude create?
4. Have the students name as many ways as they can that Wabanaki life was affected by European settlement. (Seasonal migration, hunting and fishing, government, settlement patterns, trade, etc.) Discuss whether Wabanakis would have considered each change positive or negative.

5. Have the students name as many ways as they can that English (and French) settlers were affected by Wabanaki presence. Discuss whether the settlers would have considered each thing positive or negative.

6. In many cases differences between the English and the Wabanakis caused bitter conflict and even war. (See "Wars and Treaties.") With the perspective of hindsight, can you think of better ways these conflicts could have been resolved?

7. Have a debate or discussion about an area in which the values or attitudes of Wabanaki people differed from those of European people. For example:
   - Land ownership (See historical overview, "Land and Treaties" for background.)
   - Attitudes toward nature and natural resources (See historical overview, "The Environment Changes.")
   - Attitudes toward material possessions (See historical overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago.")

8. Have the class discuss what was a serious problem in the 1600s between Wabanakis and settlers in New England. The English allowed domesticated animals such as hogs to roam the countryside and forage where they wished. They fenced in their crops to keep out the animals. The Wabanakis had never built fences and were upset when the English hogs ate their crops. The English answer to this was to build fences for the Wabanaki crops and then to insist that the Wabanakis were responsible for the upkeep of the fences. From what you know about Wabanaki people, how do you think they would have felt about this? Do you think they would have thought it was fair? Do you think it was fair?

TV ROLE PLAY:
An Approach to the Past

OBJECTIVE:

- Students will explain how the European settlers and the Wabanakis viewed one another.

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "European Contact," A-7, "The Environment Changes," A-10, "Wabanaki Government and Politics," A-12, and "Land and Treaties," A-15; English Domestic Life, D-103

BACKGROUND NOTES: Communication was slow and uncertain in the English colonies. Most news traveled by word of mouth. The population within the colonies was scattered over great distances, and generally communication by sea was better than overland. Often news about events in one colony would arrive in other colonies via England. Important news from England traveling by the fastest available means might take six weeks to three months to reach people in the colonies.

The colonies' first regular newspaper was the "Boston News-Letter," a weekly founded in 1704. A paper began in Falmouth, Maine, in 1785 after the colonial period; but during colonial times even where there were newspapers, much of the news was "old" news about what was happening in Europe. (Most of the information in the background notes comes from "Colonial Government" by John M. Murrin.)

This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: **Maine Dirigo: I Lead, Chapter 3**; appropriate fact sheets, readings, and parts of the historical overview for interview topics.

PROCEDURE:

1. Discuss with students how people communicated in New England in the 1600s. *(Letters, word of mouth.)* Discuss some of the ways that people communicate today. Discuss the kinds of techniques (e.g., interviews, debates, etc.) that TV news programs use today to bring viewers the news or information on issues and events in foreign countries. How would these techniques make it possible to be better informed about foreign issues and peoples? What barriers existed in 1600 that would make it difficult for people in Europe to understand what was going on in North America?

2. Ask students to pretend that things were the same in the mid-1600s except that both Wabanaki people and European people had TV news programs. Ask students to pretend that they are reporters and must design and present a program to give information about the other group to the TV audience. Assume reporters are fluent in Wabanaki languages, English, and French. (See ideas below.)

3. After students do the TV program, discuss the role playing with the class. How accurate were the portrayals? Discuss with the class how much they actually knew about how the person interviewed would have felt and how much was guessing. Discuss any cultural, racial, or religious stereotyping that may have emerged in the roleplaying.

IDEAS FOR PROGRAMS:

1. A feast, hunting and fishing, other scenes from Wabanaki life. (Fishing, D-28; Hunting, D-32; Animal Foods, D-45; Plant Foods, D-47)

2. "Good Morning Europe" interviews
   - A Wabanaki woman describing how to erect a wigwam (Wigwams, D-61; How to Construct a Wigwam, D-138)
   - A Wabanaki man describing a moose hunt (Hunting, D-32)
   - A Wabanaki child who is collecting bird eggs, explaining how the morning went
   - A Wabanaki elder introducing Europeans to tobacco
   - A Wabanaki woman explaining how to snare game or hunt for geese (Hunting, D-32)
   - A Wabanaki woman explaining Wabanaki methods of agriculture and the advantages of growing several crops together (Plant Foods, D-47)

3. "Meet the Press" interviews
   - An elder discussing Wabanaki values, government by consensus, attitudes toward animals and plants (Wabanaki Government and Politics, A-12; Wabanaki Governance, D-66; Social and Spiritual Life, D-81)
   - Two sakoms[1] meeting to form an alliance (Wabanaki Government and Politics, A-12; Wabanaki Governance, D-66)
   - A Wabanaki person discussing how many Wabanaki people view English settlers or French priests (European Contact, A-7; The Environment Changes, A-10; Land and Treaties, A-15; A Micmac Looks at the Ways of Europeans, C-31)

4. A Wabanaki TV program- interviews
   - An English ship crew that has just sailed across the ocean
   - An English woman discussing the kinds of things English settlers miss about their life in England, and how life is different here (The Environment Changes, A-10; English Domestic Life, D-103)
   - An English settler describing use of animals on the farm (The Environment Changes, A-10; English Domestic Life, D-103)
   - An English farmer discussing his land, clearing fields, and cutting wood for the winter (The Environment Changes, A-10; English Domestic Life, D-103)
   - An English person describing what English people think about Wabanaki people (Land and Treaties, A-15; English Cousins Have a Talk, C-39)
   - A French person describing what French people think about Wabanaki people (Land and Treaties, A-15; A Penobscot Boy's Thoughts, C-35)
   - A French priest discussing the message he wants to bring to Wabanaki people

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[1] The Passamaquoddy-Maliseet word for leader.

THINKING ABOUT TREATIES

OBJECTIVES:
- Students will describe the different behavior of the English and Wabanaki people in peace treaty negotiations.
- Students will identify some of the reasons for the failure of English-Wabanaki negotiations.

WORDS TO KNOW: negotiate, negotiations

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Government and Politics," A-12, and "Land and Treaties," A-15

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Four Wabanaki Deeds, B-103; Excerpts from Treaty Conferences, B-106; Wars and Treaties, D-89

PROCEDURE:

1. Discuss with your class the different English and Wabanaki concepts of property rights and of what was understood when deeds were signed. (See "Land and Treaties" in the historical overviewfor information.) Explain to your students that misunderstanding over deeds was one of the main reasons for conflict between Wabanakis and the English.

2. Show students the four examples of deeds. (See "Four Wabanaki Deeds.") Discuss with students how the deeds reflect Wabanaki and English concepts of property use. Discuss whether the English interpretation and the Wabanaki interpretation of the deed would have been the same.

3. Give your students some background on the reasons for the first Maine Indian War and also King William's War and Queen Anne's War. (See "Wars and Treaties.") Can the students see a pattern that leads to hostilities? Explain to your students that the war was terrible for both sides and that both sides wanted badly to prevent another war. The treaty that the English and the Wabanakis were negotiating was meant to address the underlying reasons for hostility between the groups and to prevent another war.

4. Have the students read the account of negotiations between the English and the Wabanakis in "Excerpts from Treaty Conferences."
   - What evidence do you see of courtesy or understanding on each side? *(Greetings, English giving Wabanakis an ox to eat, arranging meeting time, etc.)*
   - What evidence of mistrust or discourtesy? *(The governor kept interrupting Wiwurna, the Wabanaki delegation left without saying good-bye, the Wabanakis asked that they be given the English copy of the treaty so they could be sure they weren't getting a different version, the English held the Wabanaki captives throughout the conference, etc.)*
   - What evidence of willingness to compromise? *(Wabanakis allowed the two forts to remain where they were, and the English promised they would be used as trading houses, etc.)*

- What evidence do you see that hostilities might continue? *(Underlying land issues were never really solved, the English expected to resolve conflicts in the English court system, the English still sought to change Wabanakis' religion, etc.)*
- What are some of the basic issues of disagreement between the Wabanakis and the English and how do the treaties attempt to resolve them?

5. The treaty signed in 1717 (between Queen Anne's War and Dummer's War) was not acknowledged by many Wabanakis. Can you see evidence in the treaty conference text of why this might have been so? *(Wabanakis were divided as to whether to accept the treaty, in particular because of the presence of the forts.)*

   Consider the terms of the treaty signed in 1726 and 1727. (See "Wars and Treaties" for treaty terms.) The treaty (with subsequent actions) was not successful in preventing another war. Are there ways in which the treaty could have been written differently so that it would have been a better deterrent to another war?

6. Some people believe that it was inevitable that the conflicts between Wabanaki people and the English would result in wars and the dominance of one group over another. (According to Harold B. Clifford in Maine and Her People, the Bond Wheelwright Co., Freeport, Maine, 1957, "The struggle could not have had a different ending. It always comes out this way when a people with an advanced civilization meets a race with a backward way of life. The civilized people are stronger. They take what they want and the uncivilized natives may have what is left.") Other people believe that the conflicts between English people and Wabanaki people could have been resolved without wars and that the losses that Wabanaki people suffered in their numbers and to their culture were a loss to all of the people who were to become U.S. and Canadian citizens. What do you think? How do you think the colonists could have learned and benefited from Wabanaki culture more than they did?

ACTIVITY

1. Rewrite part or all of "Excerpts from Treaty Conferences" in modern English. (See example on B-118.)

WABANAKIS IN THE REVOLUTION

OBJECTIVE:

- Students will state reasons why some Wabanaki people participated in the Revolutionary War and why some remained neutral.

WORDS TO KNOW: revolution, neutral

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Effects of the American Revolution," A-17

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Maliseets in the Revolutionary War, C-42; Route of Indians with Col. John Allan, B-120; **a map (or maps) showing rivers and lakes in the area between Fredericton, New Brunswick, and Machias, Maine**

PROCEDURE:

1. Present the highlights of "Effects of the American Revolution," or have students read it themselves. Discuss with students that Nova Scotia (of which New Brunswick was then a part.) was an English colony that remained loyal to Great Britain, while Maine was a part of an English colony (Massachusetts) that declared independence from Great Britain. Discuss why Great Britain did not want to lose control of the English colonies.

2. Discuss the points in favor and the points against Wabanaki people retaining a large area of land at the time of the Revolution.

3. Have students read "Maliseets in the Revolutionary War." Discuss the positions of Pierre Tomah and Ambrose St. Aubin Bear, and the reasons for these positions. How do you think you would have felt in the same situation? What does "For Now, Not For Long" mean in the story?

4. Ask students why they think John Allan joined the Revolutionary War even though he was from Nova Scotia. Why did he ask for Wabanaki help? What did he promise in exchange?

5. Five hundred Maliseets in more than 120 canoes traveled for nearly three weeks from their village at Aukpaque (near present-day Fredericton) to Machias. (See "Route of Indians with Col. John Allan.") On a map that shows waterways, chart the course between the two places. Discuss some of the difficulties in moving 500 people this distance. What would have been some of the difficulties for the Maliseets in living at Machias? *(They would be less able to live off the land and more dependent on food brought in; they would be far from home; they would be exposed to the dangers of warfare.)*

6. Ask students who they think was in a better position after the Revolutionary War to retain land, Wabanakis who had supported the Americans, or Wabanakis who had remained neutral. Why?

7. It is to John Allan's credit that he continued to press the new U.S. government to fulfill its promises to Wabanakis after the Revolution. Why do you think he did this? The new government, however, did not honor most of its promises to Wabanakis. Why do you think this was?

8. If Ambrose St. Aubin Bear and Pierre Tomah lived until 1800, what do you think they thought (or would have thought) about their actions?

ACTIVITIES:

1. Have students act out the parts of Ambrose St. Aubin Bear, Pierre Tomah, Orono, and John Allan.
2. Have a debate with students taking the positions of Ambrose St. Aubin Bear and Pierre Tomah.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

FOUR WABANAKI DEEDS

The following four deeds were taken from historical records. The signatures or marks to the deeds, the signatures of the witnesses, and recording information have been omitted.

1. INDIAN DEED TO PARKER 1659[1]

This instrument witnesseth this 14th June 1659 that I Nanuddemaure Proprietor of these Lands hereafter mentioned have let, set & sold all my Right, Title of the Said Land and Appurtenances of Marsh & Upland Meadow unto John Parker now dwelling upon the Said Land unto him his heirs Executors adm^{rs} for ever, for one Beaver Skin receiv'd & the yearly rent of one Bushell of Corn & a quart of Liquor to be paid unto the Said Nanudemaure his heirs for ever at or before the Twenty fifth Day of December being Christmas Day at the Dwelling house of the Said Parker reserving out of the aforesaid Land Liberty unto me my heirs to fish fowl & hunt also to set Otter-Traps without Molestation, The afores^{d} Land being bounded as followeth, Beginning at the first high Head upon the South-West Side of Sagadehock River & so running up the Said River unto Winegance Creek being by estimation Six Miles or thereabouts & all the Tract of Land Southwestward unto the Eastern part of Casco Bay. To confirm the truth hereof I have hereunto set my hand the day & year above written.

2. THE 19TH OF SEPTEMBER 1659[2]

The declaration of Jane the Indian of Scarborough concerning land.

This aforesaid Jane, alias Uphanum, declares that her mother Naguasqua, the wife of Wickwarrawaske Sagamore, and her brother Ugagoyuskitt, and herself coequally have sold unto Andrew Alger and his brother Arthur Alger a tract of land, beginning at the mouth of Blue Point River, where the river splits, and so bounded up along with the River called Oawascoage in Indian, and so up three score pools above the falls on the one side, and on the other bounded up along with the Northernmost River, that trains by the great hill of Abram Jocelyns and goes northward, bounding from the head of the river Southwest, and so to the aforesaid bounds, namely three score pools above the falls. Uphanum declares that her mother and brother and she have already in hand received full satisfaction of the Algers for the land from the beginning of the world to this day provided on conditions that for time to come yearly the Algers shall peaceably allow Uphanum to plant in Andrew Algers field, so long as Uphanum and her mother Naguasqua do both live; and also one bushel of corn every year as long as they both shall live. Uphanum declares that the bargain was made in the year 1651, unto which she subscribes.

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[1] From the Documentary History of the State of Maine, Vol. XXIV, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts, edited by James Phinney Baxter, A.M., Litt.D., published by the Maine Historical Society, aided by appropriations from the state, Portland, Fred L. Tower Co., 1916.

[2] From York Deeds, Book II, Portland: John T. Tull and B. Thurston and Co., 1887. The wording and spelling of this deed have been changed slightly to make it easier to read.

3. SIX INDIAN SAGAMORES DEED TO WHARTON[3] (excerpts)

To all People to whom these presents shall come, Know Yee that whereas near threescore years since M^r Thomas Purchase deceas'd came into this Countrey as wee have been informed and did as well by Power or Patent derived from the King of England as by consent contract & agreement with Sagamores & Proprietors of all the Lands lying on the Easterly Side of Casco Bay & on the both Sides of Androscoggen River & Kenebeck River, enter upon & take possession of all the Lands [in a great parcel of land along the Androscoggin and Kennebec Rivers which his heirs transferred to Richard Wharton].... And whereas the S^d Richard Wharton hath desired an enlargement upon and between the S^d Androscoggen & Kenebeck Rivers & to encourage the Said Richard Wharton to settle an English Town & promote the Salmon & Sturgeon Fishing by which we promise our Selves great Supplys & Relief, Therefore & for other good causes & considerations and especially for & in consideration of a Valuable Sum received from the Said Wharton in Merchandize, Wee Warumbee, Darumkine, Wihikermet, Wedon-Domhegon, Neonogasset & Nimbanewet Chief Sagamores of all the aforesaid and other Rivers & Land Adjacent have in confirmation of the Said Richard Whartons Title & Propriety fully freely and absolutely given granted ratifyed & confirmed to him the Said Richard Wharton all the afores^d Lands ... All wood Trees of Timber or other Trees & all Mines Mineralls & Quarries and especially the Sole & absolute use & benefit of Salmon and Sturgeon Fishing in all the Rivers Rivulets or Bays afores^d & in all Rivers Brooks Creeks or Ponds within any of the Bounds aforesaid ...To have & to hold to him the Said Richard Wharton his heirs & assignes for ever all the aforenamed Lands Priviledges & Premises with all benefits rights appurtenances or advantages that now do or hereafter shall or may belong unto any part or parcell of the Premises fully freely & absolutely acquitted & discharged from all former & other gifts grants bargains Sales Mortgages & Incumbrances whatsoever, And Wee the Said Warumbee Derumkine Wihikermet Weedon-Domhegon Neonongasset & Nimbanewet do covenant & grant to & with the Said Richard Wharton that we have in our selves good right & full power thus to confirm & convey the premises & that we our heirs and Successors shall & will warrant & defend the Said Richard Wharton his heirs & assignes for ever in the peaceable enjoyment of the Premises & every part thereof against all and every person or persons that may legally claim any right Title Interest or Propriety in the Premises by from or under us the abovenamed Sagamores or any of our Ancestors or predecessors, Provided nevertheless that nothing in this Deed be construed to deprive us the S^d Sagamores our Successors or People from improving our antient planting grounds nor from hunting in any of the Said Land being not inclosed nor from fishing for own provision so long as no Damage shall be to the English Fishery, Provided also that nothing herein contained shall prejudice any of the English Inhabitants or Planters being at present actually possessed of any part of the premises & legally deriving right from S^{d} M^{r} Purchase &c or Ancestors. In Witness whereof we the aforenamed Sagamores well understanding the Purport hereof do set to our Hands & Seales at Pejepscot the seventh Day of July in the Fifty fifth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second One Thousand Six hundred Eighty four.

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[3] From the Documentary History of the State of Maine, Vol. XXIV, Containing the Baxter Manuscripts, edited by James Phinney Baxter, A.M., Litt.D., published by the Maine Historical Society, aided by appropriations from the state, Portland, Fred L. Tower Co., 1916.

4. JOHN MASON'S DEED[4]

January 20th 1652. Be it known unto all men, by these presents, that we, Robinhood and Dick Swash and Jack Pudding, do hereby severally and jointly grant and make free sale unto John Mason, one neck of land lying in Sheepscot river, which bounds of the said neck is from Sheepscot Falls, over a cove, to a parcel of pines, and from thence right over the said neck unto the head of another cove, on the Eastward side of the neck; and a parcel of marsh ground lying on the other side of the river southerly, which bounds is from the burnt islands which is the northerly end of it, and from thence to a freshet called by the English "The Oven's Mouth," and all the said marsh is on the southward side of the river, with the upland joining to it; and we the said Sagamores, Robinhood and Dick Swash and Jack Pudding, our heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, do hereby grant and give quiet possession unto the said John Mason, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, with a parcel of fresh marsh lying at the head of Allen's Falls.

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[4] From The History of Ancient Sheepscot and Newcastle, including Early Pemaquid, Damariscotta and other contiguous places, from the earliest discovery to the present time; Together with the Genealogy of More than four hundred families by Rev. David Quimby Cushman, Bath: E. Upton and Son, Printers, 1882.

EXCERPTS FROM TREATY CONFERENCES[1]

The following pages contain excerpts from written proceedings of two different treaty conferences. The excerpts have been chosen to give readers an idea of the kinds of issues that were discussed. The treaty conferences included here were held in 1717 and 1726. For an example of these negotiations in modern English, see B-118 - 119. The treaty excerpts come from Collections of the Maine Historical Society.

Excerpts from a treaty conference at George Town on Arrowsick Island, Aug. 9, 1717[2]

His Excellency being Arrived here in His Majesty's Ship the Squirrel, the Indians sent a Message to him from Puddle-stones Island (where they were assembled) Desiring to know when it would be his Excellency's pleasure that they should attend him.

His Excellency told them at Three a Clock this Afternoon, when he would order the Union Flagg to be displayed...And ordered a British Flagg to be delivered to the Indians for them to wear when they came, in Token of their Subjection to His Majesty King GEORGE.

At the Time appointed, the Flagg being set up, the Indians forthwith came over, with the British Flagg in their headmost Canoo.[3]...

Governour: Tell the Sachems That notwithstanding the great Fatigue and Danger of this Expedition, yet to comply with my own Word, and their Desire, I am now come to see them, and am very glad to find so many of them in Health.

Tell them, That this Great, Good and Wise Prince KING GEORGE, is their KING, as well as Ours, and that therefore we look upon them, and shall always Treat them as fellow Subjects; and that they must likewise remember at all times, that they are KING GEORGE's Subjects, under His Allegiance and Protection, and they must by no means hearken to any contrary Insinuations, that they will always find themselves safest under the Government of Great Britain.

Tell them, That KING GEORGE, and the British Nation, are Christians of the Reformed Protestant Religion; That the great and only Rule of their Faith and Worship, and Life, is contained in the BIBLE, (the Governor holding one in his hand) here in this Book which is the Word of GOD is contained our Holy Religion; and we would gladly, have you of the same Religion with us, and therefore we have agreed, to be at the Charge of a Protestant Missionary among you, to instruct you, and this is the Gentleman (shewing Mr. Baxter to them). And I hope in a little Time to appoint a Schoolmaster among you to teach your Children, and that I hope and expect that they Treat this Protestant Missionary with all affection and respect, not only for the sake of the King's Government, but of his own Character....

Tell them. That the English settlements that have lately been made in these Eastern Parts, have been promoted partly on their accounts, and that they will find the benefit of them in having trade brought so near them, besides the advantage of the Neighborhood and Conversation of the English, to whom I have given strict Orders, that they be very just and kind to the Indians, upon all accounts, and therefore if at any time, they meet with any Oppression, Fraud, or unfair Dealing, from the English in any of their affairs; let them make their Complaint to any of my Officers here, and then I shall soon hear of it, and take speedy and effectual care to do them right....

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[1] Suggested for use with "Thinking About Treaties," B-99, Grade 8, Lesson 4.

[2] The third war between the Wabanakis and the English colonists ended in 1713 with a treaty signed in Portsmouth. In 1717 another treaty was negotiated. One of the terms was that Wabanakis would respect English deeds that had been drawn up since the treaty of 1713. See "Wars and Treaties," D-89. The text of this treaty conference comes from (F16-M33), Volume 3.

[3] The meeting was held in a large tent erected for the occasion near the house of a Mr. Watts.

Tell them, Interpreter, That in Token of my great sincerity and affection to them, and as an earnest of my future Justice and Kindness to them, I here give my Hand to their Sachems, and Chief Captains.

Then his Excellency taking an English, and an Indian Bible in his Hand, bid the Interpreters tell them that he gave those Bibles, and left them with Mr. Baxter their Minister, for their Instruction, whenever they desire to be Taught. The Minister will reside here, or hereabouts, and so will the Schoolmaster to Instruct their Children, when they have a mind to send them....

Wiwurna stood up and said he was appointed to speak in the Name of the rest....

Wiwurna: We are very glad of this Opportunity, to see your Excellency, when the Sun shines so bright upon us; and Hope the Angels in Heaven rejoyce with us; We have been in expectation of this favour ever since we received your Excellency's Letter in the Winter.

We are not now prepared to answer what your Excellency has said to us; But shall wait on your Excellency again to Morrow.

Governour: It is well: At what time?

Wiwurna: We desire his Excellency to Appoint the time.

Governour: Let them come about Nine a Clock, when they will see the Flag set up. I will give them an Ox for Dinner, and let them send some to Kill, and Dress it.

Wiwurna: We are very thankful to your Excellency, for some of us have had little to eat for these two Days....

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August 10th, 1717....

Wiwurna: We have done with the Treaty at Piscataqua; and now proceed to a new one.

Gov.: They Ratify, and Confirm former Treaties.

Wiwurna: Yes, We do.... We have considered what his Excellency said Yesterday; and the first thing was for Love and Unity; and we admire it exceedingly. And believe it pleases GOD. And hope your Excellency will endeavor it shall be so.

Gov.: I assure them of it, If they carry themselves suitable, with Duty and Allegiance to KING GEORGE.

Wiwurna: We hope all hard thoughts will be laid aside, between the English and Us, and that the Amity will be hearty.

Gov.: Very well.

Wiwurna: We are well pleas'd that his Excellency is Commander of New England; and that altho' He is lately Arriv'd from England, He is Acquainted with the Affairs of New England, and hope all things will be well.

Gov.: Tell them if they behave themselves well, I shall use them kindly.

Wiwurna: We have had the same Discourse from other Governours, as from your Excellency: and we have said the same, to them; Other Governours have said to us that we are under no other Government but our own.

Gov.: How is that?

Wiwurna: We Pray leave to Speak out. Your Excellency was pleased to say that we must be Obedient to KING GEORGE, which we shall if we like the Offers made us.

Gov.: They must be Obedient to KING GEORGE, and all just Offers and usage shall be given them.

Wiwurna: We will be very Obedient to the KING, if we are not Molested in the Improvement of our Lands.

Gov.: They shall not be Interrupted in the Improvement of their Lands; and the English must not be Molested by them in theirs.

Wiwurna.: We are pleased with the liberty your Excellency gives us, of making Mention of any wrong we have suffered.

Gov.: They must Desist from any Pretensions to Lands which the English own.

Wiwurna: We pray leave to go on in order with our Answer.

Gov.: Let them go on.

Wiwurna: If any wrong happens to us we will not avenge ourselves, but apply to your Excellency for Redress. If any Foreign Indians come upon us, We shall Acquaint your Excellency, but hope by our Young Men to defend our selves.

Gov.: If they want help our Young Men shall Assist them also.

Wiwurna: If any Quarrel happens and blood should be shed, We will not avenge our selves, but apply to your Excellency. We Return Thanks to your Excellency for your favour in offering us Succours, & if there should be any Disturbance we shall not Complain without real proof, nor for any frivolous matter.... This Place was formerly Settled and is now Settling at our request: And we now return Thanks that the English are come to Settle here, and will Imbrace them in our Bosoms that come to Settle on our Lands.

Gov.: They must not call it their Land, for the English have bought it of them and their Ancestors.

Wiwurna: We Pray leave to proceed in our Answer, and to talk that matter afterward. We Desire there may be no further Settlements made. We shan't be able to hold them all in our Bosoms, and to take care to Shelter them, if it be like to be bad Weather, and Mischief be Threatened.

As to the Ministers Instructing us:

All People have a love for their Ministers, and it would be strange if we should not love them, that come for GOD. And as to the Bibles your Excellency mentioned, We desire to be Excused on that Point. GOD has given us Teaching already, and if we should go from that, we should displease GOD. We are not capable to make any Judgment about Religion....

Gov.: Tell them they must be sensible and satisfied that the English own this Land, and have Deeds that shew, and set forth their Purchase from their Ancestors. And we will not be molested in our Improvement of them, And they shall not be molested in the improvement of the Lands that belong to them....

Wiwurna: We desire time to consult.

Gov.: They may have it, but tell them I expect to see them again at Three a Clock, with a positive Answer about the Lands. And that they should always Muzzle their Dogs, when they come upon the English Lands where their Cattle are.

Wiwurna: We are very thankful that your Excellency gives us leave to consider, and shall attend your Excellency at the time appointed with our Answers, for it is not a jesting matter we are now upon.

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3 a Clock in the afternoon,

Wiwurna: We are willing to cut off our Lands as far as the Mills, and the Coasts to Pemaquid.

Gov.: Tell them we desire only what is our own, and that we will have. We will not wrong them, but what is our own we will be Masters of.

Wiwurna: It was said at Casco Treaty, that no more Forts should be made.

Gov.: Tell them the Forts are not made for their hurt, and that I wonder they should speak against them, when they are for the security of both, we being all Subjects of King George.

King GEORGE builds what Forts he Pleases in his own Dominions, and has given me Power to do it here, and they are for their security as well as ours, and the French do the like, They build what Forts they please, and all Kings have that Power, and the Governours they appoint to do the same.

Wiwurna: We can't understand how our Lands have been purchased, what has been Alienated was by our Gift.

His Excellency hereupon ordered a Deed of Sale of Lands on Kennebeck River, made by Six Indian Sagamores, to Richard Wharton,[4] should be opened and exhibited to them, which was done and partly Read, and Interpreted to them.

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[4] See "Six Indian Sagamores Deed to Wharton (excerpts)," B-104.

Wiwurna: As for the West side of the Kennebeck River I have nothing to say, but am sure nothing has been Sold on the East side.

Gov.: I expect their positive Answer and Compliance in this matter, that the English may be quiet in the Possession of the Lands they have purchased.

Wiwurna: We don't know what to think of new Forts built.

Gov.: I have spoke to that fully already, and told them they are for our mutual defence.

Wiwurna: We should be pleased with King GEORGE if there was never a Fort in the Eastern Parts.

Gov.: Tell them that wherever there is a new Settlement, I shall always order a Fort, if I think it proper, and that it is for the security of them and us, and so do the French. Are any People under the same Government afraid of being made too strong to keep our enemies?

Wiwurna: We are a little uneasy concerning these Lands, but are willing the English shall possess all they have done, excepting Forts.

Gov.: Tell them we will not take an Inch of their Land: nor will we part with an Inch of our own.

Wiwurna: We shall have Fishing and Fowling wherever we will?

Gov.: It is freely consented to, and they are assured of it.

Then the Indians rose up at once & withdrew, in a hasty and abrupt manner without taking leave, and left behind them their English Colours, returning to their Head quarters at Puddle-stones-Island.

And in the evening brought to His Excellency a Letter from Sebastian Ralle their Jesuit, Dated [sic]. Wherein he says, that Governor Vaudreville had written to them, that when he was lately in France, he enquired of the King of France, whether he had in any Treaty given away the Indians Lands to the English, and that the French King told him, he had not, but was ready to succour the Indians, if their Lands were encroacht upon. Which his Excellency read and rejected as not worthy of his Regard. And the Indians return'd.

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August 11th, 1717

His Excellency went on board the Squirril Man of War, and Ordered the Fore-top-sail to be loosed. Whereupon a Canoo with two Indians hastened on board, & acknowledged the rudeness & ill Manners they were guilty of Yesterday, and Pray'd that they might see his Excellency again.

His Excellency told them they should if they quitted their unreasonable Pretensions to the English Lands, and Complied with what he had said, but not otherwise. Which they promising to do, His Excellency Appointed to meet them at Six a Clock. And the Indians Desired they might have the British Colours again; which were given to them, and they returned.

And at the time appointed the Sachems, and Principal Men came over with the British Colours, leaving behind them Wiwurna, because (as was said) he had behaved himself so improperly Yesterday.

And they Appointed Querebennit their Speaker.

Quer.: We are very sorry for our rude Carriage Yesterday, and Pray it may be forgiven. As your Excellency said if any thing should happen amiss, it should be rectified.

Gov.: 'Tis well.

Quer.: It was agreed in the Articles of Peace, that the English should Settle, where their Predecessors had done; And we agree to those Articles & Confirm them. And Desire the English may Settle as far as ever they have done. And then Presented His Excellency a Belt of Wampum. And said we Desire to live in Peace.

Gov.: Tell them, if they don't begin the Quarrel they shall have no occasion from us.

Quer.: We desire that by the favour of GOD, we may always live in Peace and Unity.

Gov.: We Pray the same.

Quer.: If any of our People should happen to be out in Cold and Stormy Weather, we desire the English to shelter them.

Gov.: As long as they behave themselves well kindness shall be shewn them.

Quer.: We shall always do the same for the English, and GOD Almighty hears us say it.

Gov.: It is doing like Christians.

Quer.: What I have said GOD Almighty hears, and presented another belt of Wampum.

Gov.: We say the same, what is done is done in the presence of GOD....

Excerpts from a Peace Conference held at Falmouth in Casco-Bay, in July and August 1726[5]

A conference between the Eastern Indians and His Honour Lt. Governour William Dummer

Lt. Gov. Dummer: I Am very glad to see you here, You are all Welcome to Casco.

Indians: We come to wait on the Governour to know when it will be his Pleasure that we should see him again, in order for the Treaty. The Business requires haste, and the Governour has been here a long time waiting; we want to have the Business over, that so we might get home again: All the Indians that are expected at the Ratification are now Arrived.

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[5] Dummer's War, the fourth war between Wabanakis and the English, began in 1722. Treaties were signed in 1725 in Nova Scotia and New England, but not all the Wabanakis signed the treaties. In 1726 a conference was held at Casco Bay for a treaty to be signed by the Penobscots. See "Wars and Treaties," D-89. (A year later the treaty was signed by the Wawenocks, Norridgewocks, and Arrosaguntacooks.)

Lt. Gov.: We will be ready at Three a Clock for the Treaty, in case you are ready, and it will suit you.

Indians: It is the desire of our Ancient Men that the Governour would give Orders that all the Vessels in the Harbour, and Taverns on the Shore, may be restrained from Selling our Young Men any Strong Liquor, which may present Mischief.

Lt. Gov.: We approve very much of that, and shall give Orders accordingly.

Indians: We also desire that any Vessels that come in be restrained from Selling Drink to our Young Men, we want very much to get home, and desire the Business may be done.

Lt. Gov.: How many Indians are there in the whole.

Indians: About Forty.

Lt. Gov.: You shall be supplied with Provisions needful for you. Then the Indians withdrew....

Lt. Gov. of the Massachusetts-Bay: Interpreters, You are now to Acquaint the Indians, that you have been Sworn well and truly and faithfully to Interpret in the Negociation now depending.

Indians: We desire that Capt. Jordan may Interpret to us, because we understand him plainest, and the other two will stand by.

Lt. Gov.: ...We are ready to Ratify the Articles of the Treaty on Our Part, and we suppose you are also ready to Ratify the same on your Part, and that's what we have to say now.

Loron: ...The Lieut. Governour has mentioned the same thing that we are come for, The Treaty we had the last Winter so far as it was then finished, There are none but the Penobscot Tribe here at present, Others that we expected are not here at this Place, which is the Place the Government expected we should meet at, We sent Messengers to the other Tribes, and acquainted them of the time the Governour Appointed to meet, but being so soon, they are not yet come, we sent to the Canada Tribes to come over to the Treaty according to the Time appointed by the Governour, but they have not come, they have sent a Letter, and two Wampom Belts, one to the Governour, and one to the Penobscot Tribe.

Lt. Gov.: Who do you mean by the Canada Indians.

Loron: We mean the Narridgwocks, St. Francois & Wowenock Indians....

Loron: ...As to the first Motions of Peace when we heard of it from the Governour we were very glad of it, and were ready to join in the Peace, and made Proposals in order to effect it, and particularly about the Lands, and the English quitting the two Houses, viz. Richmond & St. George's which the Government did not see cause to come into; if they had we with the other Indians should all have come into a Peace before now, and there would be no Difficulty with the others; not that the Houses should be removed at a great distance, but that the House at St. George's should be removed to Pemaquid, and that at Richmond to Arrowsick, for the Trading-Houses. As for the Penobscot-Tribe they are so careful that they will do every thing that is just, That there shall be no Breach or Misunderstanding for the future, but that the Tribes round about us might approve of every thing we do, it was further mentioned in the Treaty, that if any of the Tribes should rise or break up what was therein Agreed on, or lift up the Hatchet, we shall all joyn in Suppressing them, and so we now Agree. We have nothing further to offer now....

Lt. Gov.: ToMorrow is the Lord's Day, upon which we do no Business. On Monday we will give you an Answer to what you have said....

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Monday, August 1st, 1726

Lt. Gov. of the Massachusetts Bay: As to the Two Houses you except against, you may Remember you were told at Boston, that King GEORGE had a Right to build Houses where he pleased within his Dominions, and we have not built any Houses on Lands in the Eastern Parts but what we have Purchased, and are ready to prove the Title, and that the Houses mentioned were not kept for Offence after the Ratification, but as they were most Conveniently Scituated in the Judgment of the Government of the Massachusetts for Supplying the Indians, which we then concluded you had rested satisfied with, and you may depend that we shall not depart from that or any other of our Engagements: This is all we have to say to you at Present, if you desire it, it shall all be repeated to you over again.

Indians: We desire time to consider of what has been said, and we will make an Answer....

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Tuesday, August 2d, 1726

Lt. Gov. of the Massachusetts Bay: I Am ready to hear what you have to say.

Loron. We will now give our Answer to what was said Yesterday.... Every thing of the Treaty is very plain to us, and there is nothing in the way excepting the Two Houses; in case they could be removed a little further in, as we mentioned Yesterday. The Governour was mentioning that he would Settle no Lands, but what good Rights & Titles might be set forth to, & in case the Lands were Sold, we have a Number of Young People growing up who never were Acquainted of the Lands being Sold, The Government is a Great and Rich Government, and if the Lands were Sold, they were Sold for a small matter, and Cost but little, and it would be but a small matter for the Government to make Allowance for them, and give them up.

Lt. Gov.: What do you mean by making Allowance for the Lands.

Loron: We desire that no Houses or Settlement may be made to the Eastward of Pemaquid, or above Arrowsick, As for the Penobscutt Tribe in particular, we don't know that ever they Sold any Lands, That's all we have to say.

Lt. Gov.: We shall be ready to make you an Answer to Morrow Morning at Nine a Clock, and shall Order the Signal to be made for you.

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Wednesday, August 3d, 1726

Lt. Gov. of the Massachusetts: We have Considered your Motion, That we would remove those two Houses on Kennebeck and St. George's Rivers a little further in, to which we Answer, That those Houses are on Lands Purchased by His Majesty's Subjects, which we are ready by Commissioners appointed by the Government of the Massachusetts-Bay for that Affair, to make evident to you, (altho' the Narridgwocks are not present) by producing fair Deeds under the Hands of the Sachems of those Countrys for the same, as well as divers Treaties wherein you Allow'd and Confirm'd to the English...so we are also ready to receive the said Ratification, and now expect that it shall be done accordingly. We have no more to say, but to demand of you what English Captives you have ready to Exchange, Pursuant to an Article of the Treaty on that behalf. We have said what we have to say now, and will take a Walk out for a little time if you desire it, and give you an Opportunity of advising one with another here.

Indians: We thank the Governour, We are the smallest in Number and we will walk out, we can best bear the heat of the Sun, and the Indians accordingly retired....

Loron: ...We insist upon the removal of those two Houses which was mentioned last Winter, we again make mention of them now, and if they were removed there would be no difficulty among the Tribes. We can't find any Record in our Memory, nor in the Memory of Our Grand Fathers that the Penobscutt Tribe have sold any Land, as to the Deeds mentioned last Winter, made by Medoccewanda and Sheepscutt John they were not Penobscutt Indians, one belonging to Mechias Medockewondo, the other towards Boston, if we could find in reality that the Lands were Purchased of the right Owners, we should not have insisted upon it, nor have opened our Mouths, we would not pretend to tell a Lye about it, for we know that God will be angry with the Man that tells a Lye, We do not remember of any Settlements at St. George's, we remember a pretty while, and as long as we remember, the Place where the Garrison stands was filled with Great Long Grown Trees. As to the mentioning of Prisoners as we told you last Winter, we had not one in our whole Tribe, so we say now, we have not one Prisoner in our Tribe, if we had we would have bro't 'em in long before now, All the Prisoners we took as we took them they were return'd to Boston, or sent to Canada to the French, and those that are among the French we have no Command of; We mention it over again, that if we had any Prisoners we should have brought 'em in long ago, for we understand it that the Peace was Concluded at the Signing the Articles almost a Twelve-month ago, All the Controversy now is about a small Tract of Land, which is but a Trifle, and all is finished excepting that, which is a Trifle. We have nothing further to offer now....

Lt. Gov.: The Committee for Claims are here, ready in the Presence of all the Governments here Assembled to set forth the Titles of the English to the Lands in the Eastern Parts of this Government.

Then the Committee made a Beginning to shew the Deeds of the Sagamore's to the Lands about St. George's River, and after some time spent therein, the Indians desired to refer the further Proceedings of that matter to some other time, when they would take an Opportunity to consider it.

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Thursday, August 4th, 1726....

Lt. Gov. of the Massachusetts: You have been with the Committee this morning, and I trust they have given you Satisfaction concerning the Lands in Dispute, and may be assured that you shall always have equal Justice with His Majesty's English Subjects in all Points, when ever any Difficulty shall arise concerning the Property of Lands or any other Matters.... We now justly expect the Ratification and accordingly tender the same to you now....

Loron: We have been tho'tful of what has been said to us this Morning respecting the Lands, as well as what the Governour has spoken to us at this time concerning the Articles. We suppose you can't bring to pass what we have been proposing concerning giving way. We reckon the Governour was the first mover in bringing forward the Peace, and having a good Settlement among us, now we think we shall go beyond the further than ordinary to effect a good Understanding, As to the House at St. George's, which lies at our Door as it were, we submit that it shall be a Truck-House, and that no other Houses be built there or thereabouts, but that that House remain as a Truck-House for the Penobscutt Tribe. We desire Brothers as we have so good an Understanding together that there be no other Houses built there, unless it be by Purchase or Agreement, The neighbouring Tribes have already told us that we should go on with the Treaty with good Understanding and Courage, and settle every thing, That if a Line should happen to be Run, the English may hereafter be apt to step over it, so that every thing they desire may now be Settled Strong. We are in hopes, Brothers, that what we have offered is to your Acceptance, This is all we have to say now....

Lt. Gov.: I shall then put you in mind of what I told you just now respecting the Settling the Lands at St. George's River, and that is, that you shall have equal Justice in all Points with the Subjects of His Majesty King GEORGE, either in Controversies respecting the Property of Lands, or any other Matter whatsoever, we don't suppose that any Gentlemen that come to produce or offer Claims of Lands there shall be their own Judges, but it shall be determined by Lawful Authority, wherein the Indians shall have the Benefit of the Law, equal with any Englishman whatsoever, and this you may be assured of, for we don't expect a Peace to last on any other footing than that of Justice.

Indians: We are very well pleased with what is said.

Lt. Gov.: This is all that can be said to your last offer, and I should desire no more might be said to me, if it were my own Case.

Indians: For want of that there has been Misunderstandings.

Lt. Gov.: I hope it will never be so again, and I trust it won't, and that is the mind of the whole Government of New-England, we hope this will be a better and more lasting Peace, than ever was made yet, and that it will last to the End of the World.

Indians: We hope it will and rejoice at it....

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Friday, August 5th, 1726

While the Articles were in Reading, Immediately after the Article respecting Trade, the Indians by their Speaker Loron, acquainted the Lieut. Governour that they had been told the Prices of Goods would be raised when the Ratification was over.

The Lieut. Governour answered them, that they might be assured, that the Goods always were, and still should be, bought with ready Money, and that the Government would not make any new Advance on their goods, and for a Proof of it, they would always be sensible and find that the Government would supply them Cheaper than any other People whatsoever, That they are Acquainted with the Nature of Markets, that they are sometimes higher and sometimes lower.

After the Articles were read, and the Interpreters had finished, Loron made a second motion, and informed the Lieut. Governour, that it had been reported that the Articles of Peace which were delivered to him, and the other Delegates at Boston, were not of the same Purport with those they Deposited and left in the Hands of the Government, and therefore desired that an Exchange might be made of the Articles they carried with them to Penobscutt, with those left in the Hands of the Government, in order to their being Enabled to confute such Reports: Which was readily granted them by the Lieut. Governour, to the apparent Satisfaction of the whole Tribe. The Articles being Interpreted to the Indians, the Lieut. Governour asked them whether they thoroughly understood them.

Indians: We perfectly understand them all....

The...Ratification was signed in front of a Considerable Number of Spectators....

Loron: We make bold to mention to the Governour, one thing, that when we were at St. George's we desired a Vessel to bring us here, so as we are not short of Canoes, we desire the Governour would supply us with a Vessel to carry us back again.

Lt. Gov.: I will take care that a small vessel be provided to carry you back.

Indians: We are very thankful to the Governour. What place does your Honour appoint we should Rejoyce at.

Lt. Gov.: Upon the Rising Ground before us at the Point.

The Conference was concluded this Day with Publick Rejoycing accordingly.

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Conference Continued Tuesday, August 9th, 1726[6]...

Loron: Are the Indian Prisoners at Boston in Health.

Lt. Gov.: Yes they are all very well.

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[6] This was a continuation of the conference, after a draft of the conference was drawn up, to carry on discussion about the implementation of peace, as well as discussion of when the Wawenocks, Norridgewocks, and Arrosaguntacooks might sign the treaty.

Loron: We desire to know whether it is expected that the Penobscutts procure any English Prisoners before the Indian Prisoners are delivered, we have before several times acquainted we have not One with us.

Lt. Gov.: We expect you do your utmost Endeavour to have the English Prisoners Restored.

Loron: Is it expected we should buy the English Prisoners of the French?

Lt. Gov.: How do you understand that Article in the Treaty?

Loron: As to the Articles we understand them fully, we have acquainted the Governour we have not one Prisoner in our whole Tribe, we know of none, when we go home we shall send directly to Canada, and acquaint them that we have made a Peace: The French Indians will then ask us presently, how many Captives have you brought away with you? We shall answer none. They will say, how does it look like a Peace, when you have not got the Captives?

Lt. Gov.: What do you mean by sending them to Canada?

Loron. To Arresguntecook.

Lt. Gov.: As to what you say, that you shall tell the French Indians you have not got any of the Captives, I have not told you that I would not deliver up the Captives, I design you shall have them all, I mean all such as are in the Hands of the Government.

Loron: We speak Truly, we have no English Captives in our Hands, but we speak for the Indians for those that are any where afar off, their Eyes are looking upon us, and we would willingly satisfy them as far as we can.

Lt. Gov.: I design the Indian Captives shall be set at Liberty when I go to Boston, and Saccarexes the Hostage shall also be set at Liberty.

There were several Persons Attending whose Friends and Relations are in the Hands of the French, who were Recommended to the Indians for their Assistance in getting them Returned home.

Loron: As the Governor has Offer'd that the Indian Captives shall all be Restored and none kept back, so we may say that we will make Search for any Captives that may be among the Tribes, and shall take care that they shall be Restored, and shall also do our utmost to get those Redeemed that are in the Hands of the French. We shall not forget it, we have given Our Words, and repeated our Promises and Engagements, and our words are written down, and they will appear afterwards against us.

The following is a translation of the first two and a half pages of these excerpts (B-106-108) into present-day English.

After the Governor arrived in the ship "HMS Squirrel," the Indians sent a message to him from Puddlestones Island, where they were waiting, asking when they should meet together.

The Governor set the time for 3 o'clock this afternoon, when he would have the flag raised.... He ordered a British flag to be given to the Indians to wear when they came, as a symbol of their subjection to King George.

At the appointed time the flag was set up, and the Indians came over, with the British flag in the lead canoe.

Gov.: Tell the sakoms that despite the long and dangerous journey I have come to see them, and am very glad to find so many of them in good health.

Tell them that the great, good and wise King George is their king as well as ours, and that we therefore see them and shall treat them as fellow subjects, under the King's allegiance and protection. They must not listen to anyone who thinks otherwise; they will always find themselves safest under the government of Great Britain.

Tell them that King George and the British Nation are Christians of the Reformed Protestant religion, whose rules are contained in the Bible (the Governor holding one in his hand), which is the word of God. We would gladly have you be of the same religion, and have agreed to pay for this Protestant minister (showing Mr. Baxter) to live with you. I hope soon to appoint a schoolmaster to teach your children. I expect you to treat the Protestant missionary with affection and respect, not only for the sake of the King's government, but also because of his own character.

Tell them that the new English settlements in these Eastern Parts have been encouraged partly for them, and they will benefit in having trade so near to them, besides the advantage of English neighbors, to whom I have given strict orders to be very kind and just to the Indians at all times. If ever they meet with oppression, fraud, or unfair dealing from the English, let them complain to my officers here, and I shall quickly take care to do them right.

Tell them that as a sign of my great sincerity and affection for them, and my future kindness, I shake hands with their sakoms, and chief captains.

Then the governor, taking an English and an Indian Bible in his hand, asked the interpreters to say that he gave those Bibles, and left them with the minister, Mr. Baxter, for their instruction, whenever they desired to be taught. The minister will live here, or near here, and so will the schoolmaster to teach their children, when they desire to send them.

Wiwurna stood up and said he was spokesperson.

Wiwurna: We are very glad to have this opportunity to see your Excellency, when the sun shines so brightly upon us, and hope the angels in heaven rejoice with us. We have been looking forward the seeing the governor since we received his letter in the winter.

We are not prepared to answer the governor now, but shall meet with him tomorrow.

Gov.: It is well. At what time?

Wiwurna: We want the governor to name a time.

Gov.: Let them come about nine o'clock, when they will see the flag raised. I will give them an ox for dinner; let them send someone to kill and butcher it.

Wiwurna: We are very thankful to you, for some of us have had little to eat for the past two days.

* * * * * * * * * *

August 10th, 1717

Wiwurna: We have finished reading the Treaty at Piscataqua and now go on to a new one.

Gov.: They agree to the terms of former Treaties?

Wiwurna: Yes, we do.

We have considered what you said yesterday, and the first thing was for love and unity. We strongly approve of this, and believe it pleases God. And we hope you will try to see that this shall be so.

Gov.: It shall be so, If they are loyal to King George.

Wiwurna: We hope all hard feelings will be put aside, between the English and us, and that we will be good friends.

Gov.: Very well.

Wiwurna: We welcome you to New England; although you just arrived from England, you are knowledgeable about New England. We hope all things will go well.

Gov.: Tell them if they behave themselves well, things will go well.

Wiwurna: We have heard what you have said before, from other Governors. We say now what we said to them, that other governors have told us we are subject to no other government than our own.

Gov.: What do you mean?

Wiwurna: Please let us speak out. You said we must be obedient to King George, and we shall be if we like the proposals of the government.

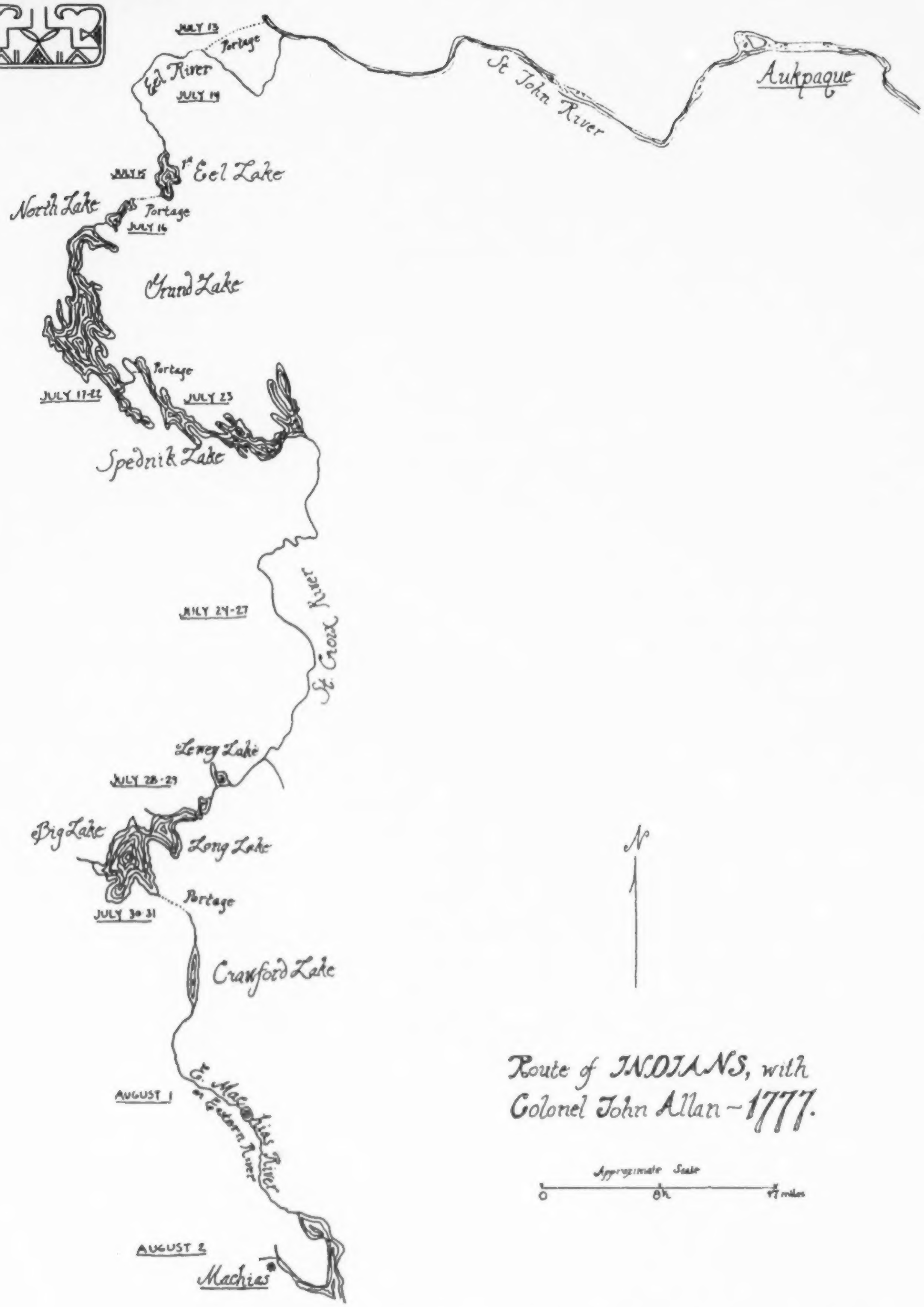
Gov: They must be obedient to King George, and they will be treated well.

Wiwurna: We will be very obedient to the King if we are not disturbed on our lands.

Gov.: They shall not be disturbed on their lands, and the English must not be disturbed on theirs.

Wiwurna: We are happy to have the opportunity to discuss any wrongs we have suffered.

Gov.: They must stop claiming lands that the English own.


JULY 13
Portage
Eel River
JULY 14
St John River
Aukpaque
JULY 15
1st Eel Lake
North Lake
Portage
JULY 16
Grand Lake
Portage
JULY 17-22
JULY 23
Spednik Lake
JULY 24-27
St Croix River
Lewey Lake
JULY 28-29
Big Lake
Long Lake
Portage
JULY 30-31
Crawford Lake
N
Route of INDIANS, with
Colonel John Allan - 1777.
AUGUST 1
E. Machias River
or Eastern River
Approximate Scale
0
8½
17 miles
AUGUST 2
Machias

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AN INVISIBLE PEOPLE: 1800-1950

This lesson plan section includes lesson plans to be used in teaching about Wabanaki people during the years between 1800 and 1950. Wabanaki people's lives and lifestyles continued to change during this period as it became harder and harder to live off the land. During this time most Wabanaki people on reservations or reserves had little say concerning many of the decisions affecting their lives. When Wabanaki spokespeople protested situations or decisions over which they had little control, for the most part they were ignored. In many ways they were "invisible" to others during these years; in fact, it was often assumed by people who did not live near the reservations and reserves that Indian people had somehow disappeared from New England and the Maritimes.

One of the best sources of information about Wabanaki people and their lives during this period is from stories Wabanaki people tell about their parents and grandparents. In addition some Wabanaki people have stories to tell about their own lives during this time. Some of these stories are presented in the "Memories" part of the interviews of Wabanaki people (C-70 to C-87).

There are five lessons in this section: one for grade four, two for grade six, and two for grade eight. One of the lesson plans at each grade level uses interviews included in the resource book as background for a discussion of Wabanaki life in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The other lesson plan for grade six uses Maliyan, a story written by a Passamaquoddy woman about life in the 1920s, as a resource and basis for discussion. The second lesson for grade eight uses a speech delivered by a Passamaquoddy man to the Maine Legislature in 1887 as well as the historical overview for background for a discussion of Wabanaki life in the nineteenth century.

MEMORIES

OBJECTIVES:
- Students will locate on a map where Native people of Maine and the Maritimes were living from 1800 to 1950.
- Students will identify values and activities of people in stories.
- Students will tell a story as an example of conveying something about their past through oral history.

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "An Invisible People: 1800-1950," A-19; Memories interviews, C-70 to C-87

BACKGROUND NOTES: Oral history records events that are passed by word of mouth from one generation to the next, whether accounts of historical incidents or humorous stories. In order to be passed on, an event must have had some significance or personal value to the person passing it on and to the person who remembered it after it was told, or it would have been forgotten.

This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Interview 8, A Maliseet Man from Woodstock, New Brunswick, C-70; **map of western New Brunswick**

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Summarize some of the important ideas in the section of the historical overview and discuss them with the class. Some of the events can be marked on the "Time Line" from Lesson 3 in "Time and Place," B-50.
2. Read "A Maliseet Man from Woodstock, New Brunswick," in the "Memories" section of the interviews. Have students find the communities mentioned on a map. As the students listen to stories of life in the early twentieth century, have them listen for:
   - values.
   - activities of the people.
   - what the similarities and differences are with Wabanaki life 500 years ago.
3. Have the students choose an interview to read from the "Memories" section and tell to the class.
4. Have students tell the class a story about something that happened to them.

LIFE ON A PASSAMAQUODDY RESERVATION IN THE 1920S

OBJECTIVE:
- Students will list some of the ways Passamaquoddy life in the 1920s differs from their life today.

WORDS TO KNOW: inauguration, ash (tree), ceremony

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "An Invisible People:1800-1950," A-19

BACKGROUND NOTES: Explain to your students that in 1794 the Passamaquoddy reservations were established and that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries many Passamaquoddies have lived on these reservations. Making a living was hard for many Passamaquoddies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because it was no longer possible to make a living in more traditional ways; because the communities were in relatively isolated parts of the state; because the Passamaquoddies were considered incapable of managing their own communities and were regulated by the State of Maine; and because often educational and employment opportunities were not available to them on the same basis as to other people in the state.

This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Maliyan, C-50

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Read "Maliyan" aloud, preferably with the students seated in a circle.
2. Ask students some questions about the story, such as the following:
   a. When does this story take place? *(1920s)*
   b. How do you think Mary Ann's life was different than it would have been if she had attended school at an earlier age?
   c. Mary Ann did not have a Passamaquoddy person as a teacher. Why do you think this was so? *(Since full-time schooling on the Passamaquoddy reservations was not available until the 1950s, it was unlikely that many Passamaquoddies had completed elementary school and gone on to get the education they would have needed to be a teacher.)*
   d. How did the Passamaquoddies celebrate the new chief's inauguration? *(People went hunting, a big feast was prepared, there was dancing, singing, drumming, and celebrating for a week.)*
   e. Explain the election process of the new chief. *(The candidates sat at opposite ends of the room; the voters threw their hats at the foot of the candidate of their choice.)* Why do you think elections were held that way? *(The chief knew who his real allies were.)*
   f. Why do you think that everyone congratulated the new chief, and that the new chief accepted the congratulations of everyone? *(They publicly cast their votes so that everyone knew who voted for whom. The acceptance of the new chief by everyone united the group, and the new chief's acceptance of everyone's congratulations strengthened this.)*

3. Discuss with students how this Passamaquoddy reservation community was different from a Wabanaki community in 1400. In what ways do you think it was similar? Think about:
    - the "boundaries" of the community.
    - making a living.
    - where people lived in each season.
    - traveling to other Wabanaki communities.

   What did Wabanaki men and women do for work in the 1400s? Compare this to the work the men and women did in the Maliyan story.

ACTIVITIES:

1. Invite a Wabanaki person into your classroom.
2. Find out what schools were like in the 1920s.
3. If you have a relative or neighbor who can remember life in the 1920s, ask him or her to tell you or the class about it. Compare and contrast what you have learned about this person's life in the 1920s with Mary Ann's life in the 1920s.
4. Read and discuss some of the "Memories" interviews (C-70 to C-87) to learn more about the years between 1800 and 1950.

MOVING DAYS

OBJECTIVE:
- Students will compare different experiences in moving from one place to another.

WORD TO KNOW: relocation

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "An Invisible People: 1800-1950," A-19

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Interview 15, A Micmac Woman From Whycocomagh, C-81; A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter: 1400, C-27; Wabanaki Reservations and Reserves of 1988, D-16; **map of Nova Scotia**

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Discuss moving and ask students whether they have always lived in this area. Ask those who have moved to think of where they used to live and what they miss about it. Ask students who have always lived here what they would miss if they moved.
2. Read "A Micmac Woman From Whycocomagh."
3. Compare the account of moving in the interview with the account of moving in "A Micmac Woman Speaks to Her Granddaughter." Why did each woman move? What did each look forward to? What did each regret?
4. Discuss forced relocation. Ask students how reading the interview made them feel. Ask students what they think are some of the most difficult changes Wabanaki people have faced.
5. Find Whycocomagh and Eskasoni on a map.

AN INVISIBLE PEOPLE

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will compare ways Wabanaki people made a living and their values over the period from 1800 to 1950 with their ways of making a living and their values 500 years ago.
- Students will use oral history as a way of finding out about their own family history.

WORDS TO KNOW: survival

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "An Invisible People: 1800-1950," A-19

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Memories Interviews, C-70 to C-87

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Have students interview family members about individuals and events that contributed to their family history during the time from 1800 to 1950. Relate this to the class' time line.

2. Discuss survival. What does it constitute? Compare physical, emotional, and cultural survival. Why might we call the Wabanaki people invisible during the years between 1800 and 1950? *(They were virtually ignored and forgotten by others throughout these years.)*

3. Choose some of the "Memories" interviews that you think would interest students. Have students read them, and then ask about each interview:
   - What in the interview stood out for you?
   - What surprised you?
   - How do you feel about the interview?

4. Discuss the interviews. Ask the students:
   - What do the interviews reveal about Wabanaki culture at the time of the interviews? (family, language, customs, etc.)
   - What are some of the ways Wabanaki people made a living? How are these different/ similar to the ways in which Wabanakis made a living when Europeans first arrived? Why might Wabanaki people have chosen the jobs that they did? What can you tell from the interviews about men's and women's jobs and how these changed or remained the same over the years?

5. Make a list of the values held by the people in the interviews. (Some might be: sharing, cooperation, travel, attitudes toward elders, relationship with the natural world, attitudes toward work, education, and raising children.) Using what you know about Wabanaki culture, discuss whether values changed since the time Europeans first arrived, and if so which values and how. (Keep in mind that there is and was a great diversity among Wabanaki people, and that all points of view have not been represented.)

ACTIVITIES:

1. With students consider the following hypothetical situation:
   It is 1800. You are a group of Wabanaki people who have lived together for a long time. The area where you usually hunt and fish and gather plants can no longer support you, and you must decide what to do. State or provincial officials have offered your group a tract of land to farm, and you have to decide whether or not you will accept it. Have students decide what to do, and then write a letter to the governor of the province or state. Or have students take sides and debate the issue.

2. Have students consider what kind of reservation/reserve they would choose and where they would like it to be if they were Wabanakis in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.

A PASSAMAQUODDY MAN SPEAKS TO THE MAINE LEGISLATURE: 1887

OBJECTIVE:
- Students will describe some of the injustices suffered by Wabanaki people over a long period of time.

WORDS TO KNOW: treaty, treaty rights

BACKGROUND NOTES: Many Wabanaki people are very proud of the role they played in the Revolutionary War. It is generally acknowledged by historians that without Wabanaki help the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick would be located much farther west than it is.

One of the incidents in the Revolutionary War that Passamaquoddies are fond of recounting was during the battle of Machias, where the English troops greatly outnumbered the American troops. The Americans won the battle against such great odds in part because, from a distance that most of the soldiers considered impossible, a Passamaquoddy shaman and chief shot one of the British officers. (The Wabanakis also had an idea as to how to trick the British into thinking the American side had many more soldiers than it did.)

Passamaquoddy hunting and fishing rights were not expressly mentioned in the 1794 treaty, and thus were not given up by Passamaquoddies. They were confirmed in previous treaties, however, and Louis Mitchell brings these up to show that Passamaquoddies retained treaty hunting and fishing rights. This was at a time when the state was insisting that Passamaquoddies were entitled only to the same hunting and fishing rights as other Maine residents.

In the 1794 treaty Passamaquoddies gave up nearly all of their land in exchange for nothing that was written into the treaty. Many historians believe that Passamaquoddies must have expected the state to live up to the promises that George Washington and others made during the Revolutionary War when they signed the treaty. After they signed over the land it became harder and harder for Passamaquoddies to live in their traditional manner.

It should be noted that many others spoke up for Passamaquoddy rights along with Louis Mitchell.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Historical Overview, "An Invisible People: 1800-1950," A-19; A Passamaquoddy Man Speaks to the Maine Legislature, C-46

* * *

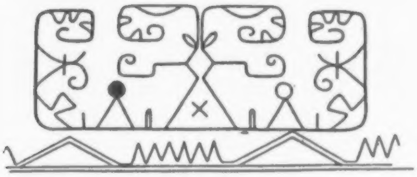
PROCEDURE:

1. Read and discuss with students "An Invisible People: 1800-1950" so they will have the background needed to read Louis Mitchell's speech.
2. Read "A Passamaquoddy Man Speaks to the Maine Legislature," discussing it with students as you read. Or have a student present the speech as he or she feels it would have been presented.
3. Some possible discussion questions:
    a. Why do you think that Louis Mitchell gives so many references to back up what he says? *(He expects that many of the legislators won't believe him.)* Do you think that most Maine legislators gave so many references when they spoke?
    b. Why do you think he thinks it is important to tell the legislators about the Passamaquoddies' role in the Revolutionary War? *(To show that the Wabanakis fought together with other Americans and were promised aid and assistance in return for their help in the war.)*

c. Why does Louis Mitchell feel that hunting and fishing rights are so important? *(Because after Passamaquoddies lost their land in the treaty of 1794, it was harder and harder to sustain themselves.)*

d. Why do you think the state felt it could make all the decisions concerning Passamaquoddies, even giving away some of Passamaquoddy land? *(The state thought Passamaquoddies were not capable of making their own decisions. Also, the state benefited from this arrangement.)*

e. If you had been one of the legislators Louis Mitchell was addressing, do you think you would have voted for the assistance he was asking for? Why or why not?



CONTEMPORARY LIFE

The final lesson plan section is on contemporary life of Wabanaki people. This section is one of the most important in the resource book. It offers students a chance to learn about communities of Wabanaki people in Maine and the Maritimes as well as issues that are of concern to them. We hope that through this section students will gain a better understanding and appreciation of these communities.

Included in this section are one lesson plan for grade four, two for grade six, and two for grade eight, plus a concluding lesson that could be used for any of these grades and that is meant to be the final lesson in the study of the Wabanaki people. The fourth-grade lesson and one of the sixth-grade lessons discuss ideas and thoughts presented in interviews of Wabanaki people. The second lesson for grade six discusses Columbus Day -- what it means and how some Wabanaki people feel about it today. One of the lessons for eighth grade is focused on the Maine land claims case and aboriginal rights. These are issues that have been conspicuous in the news in recent years and that are of special concern to Wabanaki people. Through them students are introduced to a way that Native communities are different from all other communities in Canada and the United States -- their political status and the political rights they inherited from their ancestors. Because these issues are sensitive and complicated, a number of supplementary materials are included for background.

Often people in the U.S. and Canada stress the ways in which Indian people have been influenced and changed by non-Indian cultures and forget that the reverse is equally true. The second lesson plan for grade eight discusses ways in which Indian cultures have had profound effects on the lives of non-Indian people in the United States[1] and Canada.

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[1] The focus in this lesson is on the U.S., but we hope Canadian teachers can draw parallels from what is presented.

WABANAKI LIFE TODAY

OBJECTIVES:
- Students will list some of the jobs held by Wabanaki people today.
- Students will describe some aspect of present-day Wabanaki family life.

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Contemporary Life: 1950 to Present Day," A-24; Resources, E-1

BACKGROUND NOTES: Except for the lessons on stereotyping, students have been learning about Wabanaki people as they were in the past. Before concluding this section, it is important to discuss with students several aspects of present-day Wabanaki life.

Remind students that among Penobscots, Micmacs, Passamaquoddies, Maliseets, and Abenakis there are many different opinions, experiences, and values. For example, the Memories interviews show that some Penobscots felt much discrimination when they attended school in Old Town, while others did not.

Remind students that there are differences between communities and this does not imply that one is better or worse than another.

This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Present-Day Wabanaki Groups, D-10; Contemporary Life and Change Interviews, C-56 to C-69 and Prejudice Interviews, C-92 to C-96; Children's Essays, C-112 to C-117

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Mark dates on the time line. Discuss how long 500 years is. Ask students whose ancestors were not Wabanaki how their ancestors lived 500 years ago. Ask what kinds of changes have occurred in the last 500 years. What kinds of changes do you think Wabanaki people might have experienced? How has the forest changed? What about fish and wildlife?

2. Brainstorm questions about Wabanaki life today. (e.g., what are houses like, where do children go to school, what do people do for work, where do reservation people buy groceries, etc.) Compile a list. Then have students research answers individually or in groups. The topical markers in the interviews section should help, along with "Present-day Wabanaki Groups" in the historical overview, "Children's Essays," and any additional sources the students locate.

   Or, invite a Wabanaki person to class and have the students ask him or her questions about Wabanaki life. (Try to find a Wabanaki person from your town or nearby, if possible. See Resources.) Some questions you might like to discuss with students before speaking with a Wabanaki resource person:

   - What is a reservation/ reserve? Why are there reservations and reserves? Are all reservations alike? Students might like to draw what they think a reservation/ reserve is like.

- Have students think of what they do as members of a group (religious, community, social) that they or their families belong to. Then ask what students think Wabanaki people on a reservation/ reserve or in an Indian organization do as a community.
- How do students learn about their religion or family background? How do the students think people in a Native community learn about their background? What kinds of things would Native people learn as part of their community?

3. What might be some differences between the lives of Wabanaki people and others? What are some similarities? Discuss items in the historical overview that the students might be interested in. School experiences exemplify how Wabanaki communities differ from one another (e.g., some Wabanaki students go to school on their reservations and change to off-reservation junior or senior high schools; some students attend off-reservation schools from their early years, going from reservations to the outside communities each day; some live off the reservations or reserves and go to off-reservation or off-reserve schools). See the "Prejudice" and "Contemporary Life and Change" sections of the interviews for experiences of prejudice in school.

4. Have students read the children's essays and discuss what life is like for these children.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND CHANGE

OBJECTIVES:
- Students will describe some aspects of Wabanaki life and culture.
- Students will list and describe values held by Wabanaki people.

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Historical Overview, "Contemporary Life: 1950 to Present Day," A-24

BACKGROUND NOTE: This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Contemporary Life and Change Interviews, C-56 to C-69; Memories Interviews, C-70 to C-87; Calendar of Present-Day Micmac Seasonal Activities, D-27

PROCEDURE:

1. Choose some of the interviews in the "Contemporary Life and Change" section that you think students may relate to, and have them read them aloud.

2. About each of the interviews, ask:
   - What in the interview stood out for you?
   - Did anything surprise you?
   - How do you feel about the interview?
   - Did anyone remind you of someone you know?
   - Have you ever felt like the person in the interview?

3. Discuss each interview, asking the following questions:
   - What is revealed about the modern culture of the Wabanakis? *(Family, life, values, beliefs, customs, view of nature, etc.)*
   - What aspects of Wabanaki life described are similar to those from earlier times? What aspects are different?

4. Make a list of the values held by people in the interviews. Discuss these values and whether they are values that are important in your community. *(Some examples: sharing, caring, cooperation, respect for others, respect for elders, respect for the natural world, relationship with the earth, love of travel, making one's work enjoyable, sense of community, community consensus, being responsible for each others' children.)*

5. Discuss the "Calendar of Present-Day Seasonal Activities" chart and whether the interviews told about seasonal movement. What are some of the reasons that people move seasonally? *(Economy, visiting friends.)* If you are interested in developing this further see "Memories" section of interviews for comparison.

6. In "Interview 1," the man speaking says, "Conservation is not a new thing among Indian people. The whole basis of conservation I think goes back to one very strong law that existed within our culture, that when you make a decision as an Indian person, a life decision, you make that with a

consideration for seven generations unborn. That is very important. I think if it followed through today, in modern life, if every time the board of directors of a corporation made a decision, if they had to consider the lives of the next seven generations in that decision that conservation would not have to be enforced by law." Ask students whether they agree with what is being said. Would they do anything differently in their own lives if they took into account future generations? Are future generations taken into account by town, state, and federal governments? How much?

COLUMBUS DAY

OBJECTIVE:
- Students will examine Columbus Day and discuss how some Indian people feel about this holiday.

WORDS TO KNOW: New World, Old World, continent, covetousness, discourse, decorous, ingenious, tractable

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Introduction to Resource Book, "Names of Peoples," p. x, and "Stereotyping," p. xii

BACKGROUND NOTES:

"Most children know that Columbus was lost when he found his 'New World,' for he expected to land in India. His ships landed in what is now called the Bahama Islands, and the first people he met were the Arawaks. Their society was based on village communes where most property was jointly held.... [They cultivated their own food.] Being very friendly, they were ready to share what they had with the newcomers. But Columbus had other ideas, and on October 12, 1492, he wrote, 'It appears to me that the people are ingenious and would be good servants.' On October 14 he wrote, 'With 50 men we could subject them all and make them do whatever we want.' And that same day he also wrote that the land had great riches and as many 'slaves as one could wish for.' Columbus' men enslaved many Natives, despite the fact that he had written to the King and Queen of Spain:

> They are a loving people without covetousness. So tractable, so peaceful are these people, that I swear to your Majesties there is not in the world a better nation. They love their neighbor as themselves, and their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile; and though it is true that they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy.

"...The first Europeans had been sent by their rulers to find new ways to make money. And so Columbus, and the people who came after him, set out to find riches like gold, spices, or slaves. In the process they killed and enslaved many Native people. Columbus made other voyages, searching for gold he never found. And he left the islands cruelly destroyed, sometimes killing all the people, like the Arawaks, who had greeted him on his arrival."

(from Unlearning "Indian" Stereotypes,
Council on Interracial Books for Children)

Columbus and those whom he brought with him to North America were responsible for enslaving and killing hundreds of thousands of Native Americans. For specific information, see A People's History of the United States, by Howard Zinn.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Background Notes to this lesson.

* * *

PROCEDURE:

1. Tell the students that they are going to examine the holiday of Columbus Day. Ask them why this is a holiday in the United States and what is being celebrated.
2. Share with students the information in the "Background Notes" in this lesson plan. Ask students how they feel after hearing this. Ask them why it was that some of the European explorers might kill or enslave Native people.

3. Some people give Columbus credit for discovering the Americas. Do you think he was the first person to discover the Americas? When people say that Columbus discovered America, what are they assuming about the many people who were living here at the time?
4. It was Columbus who gave the Native people the name "Indians." Ask students why he gave them that name. Why was the name given to nearly all of the Native people in North and South America, even though there were hundreds of different peoples, cultures, and languages? Ask students why some Native people do not like to use the term "Indian" to refer to themselves, and prefer a term such as Native American, or Native person, or, better still, Penobscot or Mohawk?
5. Many Native people choose not to celebrate Columbus Day. Discuss with students why this is so.
6. Europeans at the time of Columbus called North and South America the "New World," and Europe, Africa, and Asia the "Old World." Why do you think they used these names? Is the "New World" really newer than the "Old World"?
7. Do you think that people who celebrate Columbus Day should celebrate everything Columbus did and everything he stood for?

LAND CLAIMS CASE AND ABORIGINAL RIGHTS

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will delineate some of the issues involved in the land claims case.
- Students will role-play one of five viewpoints on the land claims case.

WORDS TO KNOW: aboriginal, sovereignty, negotiating, treaty, mutually, jurisdiction

BACKGROUND NOTE: If Part 1 of this lesson plan is too advanced for your class, you may wish to omit it and proceed to Part 2.

This lesson plan will take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS:

Part 1: a) For the presentations: Historical Overview, A-26; Settlement Issues, B-142; Points of View on the Maine Indian Land Claims Case and Settlement, B-142 to B-160; Penobscot Treaties and Land Rights, B-160 to B-162; Interviews, "Land Claims Settlement," C-99 to C-103; The Maine Indian Land Claims Settlement of 1980, D-98 to D-100 up to Settlement Terms only; Sovereignty, D-95 to D-97; **Maine Dirigo: I Lead**, 143-148

b) For the discussion on settlement terms: Historical Overview, A-27 to A-28; The Maine Indian Land Claims Settlement of 1980, D-98 to D-102; Sovereignty, D-95 to D-97

Part 2: Indians, Treaties, and the Federal Government, B-162 to B-163; Aboriginal Rights Interviews, C-97 to C-98; Aboriginal Rights Excerpts, B-164

PROCEDURE:

Part 1:

1. Divide the class into five groups. This will be a role play of the land claims case.
2. Make group assignments. Each group will research and present one of the following points of view: (1) non-Indian people in favor of having Congress ratify the treaties of Penobscots and Passamaquoddies and thus extinguish the land claims, (2) non-Indian people in favor of taking the claims to court, (3) non-Indian people in favor of reaching a settlement out of court, (4) Passamaquoddy and Penobscot people in favor of taking the claims to court, (5) Passamaquoddy and Penobscot people in favor of reaching a settlement out of court. (Groups 4 and 5 could each be divided into two: people who think land and money are the most important aspects of the settlement, and people who think that retention of as much sovereignty as possible is the most important aspect.)
3. Each group should use research and discussion to develop an argument, using the materials listed above and any other materials you may have available in your school library. Each group should choose one of its members to present the argument.
4. Each group should be able to separate the legal and moral aspects of its argument. It should be as clear as possible as to:
   - what the group wants.
   - what facts support the group's position.
   - what the group's values and interests are.

5. Each group representative will have a chance to give the group's position (about 5 minutes for each group). After the group has given its presentation, the class as a whole should devote some time to discussing the merit of the group's position.
6. Present the terms of the settlement to the class. Have each group discuss what its position would be on the settlement terms and why. (If students need additional information, they can consult the resources listed above under [b].)

Part 2:

1. a) Discuss with your class whether being treated equally ever means being treated differently and why. Under what conditions? Consider, for example, the handicapped, elderly, small children.
   b) Do you think any group should ever be accorded special rights or privileges? Why or why not?
2. Read aloud in class "Indians, Treaties, and the Federal Government." Do you think treaties and agreements made in the eighteenth century should be upheld today?
3. Wabanakis never gave up rights of hunting, fishing, and gathering in vast areas of land in their treaties, and in some cases guarantees of these rights were written into treaties. Issues concerning these aboriginal rights, while different in each state or province, are a concern today among members of all the Wabanaki groups. Read "Points of View on Aboriginal Rights," and "Aboriginal Rights" interviews. Explain the points of view put forth in each interview or newspaper excerpt.

INFLUENCES OF NATIVE CULTURES ON MODERN NORTH AMERICAN LIFE

OBJECTIVES:

- Students will list and describe some of the Native influences on life in North America.
- Students will compare Native governments and the government of the United States.

WORDS TO KNOW: consensus, conservation

BACKGROUND MATERIALS: Animal Foods, D-45; Plant Foods, D-47; Family, D-78; Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Society 400 Years Ago," A-3, and "The Environment Changes," A-10; Colonial Life before the Revolutionary War: Raising Children, D-109

BACKGROUND NOTES: Students should be reminded that the dominant cultures in the United States and Canada today are very different from European cultures in colonial times. Students should be clear about the differences when discussing the effects of Native cultures on European colonial life.

This lesson plan might take more than one class period.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS:

Part 1: Historical Overview, "Wabanaki Government and Politics," A-12; Wabanaki Governance, D-66; English Colonial Governance in Maine, D-113; Americanizing the White Man, "Government," B-170; Great Law of the Iroquois, B-175; Roots of Constitution in Iroquois Confederacy, Scholars Say, B-178

Part 2: Americanizing the White Man, all of the article except "Government," B-167; "The Aborigines" -- a Textbook Excerpt, B-165

PROCEDURE:

Part 1:

1. Read and discuss the main points of the first three resources in "Materials to Use in Class, Part 1." Compare Wabanaki government to English government in the colonial days. What were the drawbacks and strong points of each system?

2. Have students suggest some issues or plans around which they can practice making some decisions by consensus. Discuss how this process is different from making decisions by a simple majority. What are the drawbacks and strong points of each?

3. Discuss Wabanaki government today and how it has changed. A Passamaquoddy man says in the interviews (C-68), "The community also tries to rule by consensus, I really think it still does." How might this happen within the modern Wabanaki communities?

4. Read the sections dealing with government in "Americanizing the White Man" and the information on how the framers of the U.S. Constitution were influenced by the Great Law of the Iroquois. Do you agree with Felix Cohen's description of U.S. government and democracy? Why or why not? Discuss how Felix Cohen says Native governments and ideas of democracy influenced U.S. society. Discuss the Great Law of the Iroquois and how it influenced the U.S. Constitution.

Part 2:

1. Have students read the remaining sections (other than government) of "Americanizing the White Man," or present the main ideas. Discuss Felix Cohen's point of view. Discuss how U.S. society in general benefited from Native advances and inventions in such areas as agriculture, medicine, law, and recreation. Discuss whether Native advances and inventions are widely appreciated today.

2. What are some of the things about modern life in Maine and the Maritimes that you believe have come from or were influenced by Wabanaki culture? Discuss.

   Possibilities: Foods (e.g., corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, Jerusalem artichokes, cranberries, steamed clams, baked beans, etc. See "Plant Foods" and "Animal Foods" for background.
   Transportation (e.g., canoes, snowshoes, toboggans, tumplines)
   Words of Wabanaki origin (e.g., wigwam, toboggan, tomahawk, moccasin)
   Ideas of democracy, federation, egalitarianism
   Raising children (For background see "Raising Children," and "Family" fact sheet.)
   Games (e.g., lacrosse, hockey, canoeing, etc.)
   Conservation and preservation of land (See "The Environment Changes" for background.)

3. Have students read "'The Aborigines' -- A Textbook Excerpt." How do you think Felix Cohen would have reacted to this excerpt? How do you think he would have answered the author's statements?

CONCLUSION

OBJECTIVE:

- Students will summarize what they have learned from their study of Wabanakis.

MATERIALS TO USE IN CLASS: Lists that students made of everything they know about Wabanaki people (in **"Introduction to the Wabanakis: Today and Yesterday," grade 6, lesson 1, B-45**).

PROCEDURE:

1. Go over with the class the lists that students made of everything they knew about Wabanakis at the beginning of their study of Wabanakis. Have students change anything on the lists that is inaccurate or based on misconceptions.
2. Have students add to the lists some additional things they have learned while studying about Wabanaki people.
3. Ask students what they have not learned about that they would like to learn in the future. What did they find most interesting?

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

MAINE INDIAN LAND CLAIMS CASE AND ITS SETTLEMENT[1]

Settlement Issues

1. Passamaquoddies and Penobscots were suing for up to twelve and a half million acres of land. The exact amount would be determined by just how much land they could prove they occupied at the time of European arrival, and how much had been deeded or ceded in treaties by 1790.

2. Passamaquoddies and Penobscots were suing for nearly 200 years' back rent and damages -- up to $25 billion.

3. The state wanted Indian people to abandon their claim for rent and damages. If there had to be a settlement, the state wanted the federal government to pay for the entire settlement.

4. Passamaquoddies and Penobscots wanted federal jurisdiction (which was established on the reservations when they were federally recognized) to continue. They would be subject to the same federal Indian law as other reservations across the country. Some examples of what this would mean are: their own courts would try cases except for offenses that by law would be tried in federal courts; they would have control over placing their own children in foster homes; they would not pay property taxes; they would have control over their own air quality, and industries could not be built near the reservations that would violate their air quality standards; their land could never be alienated, or taken away, without an act of Congress; they could not be sued; they could establish hunting and fishing regulations on Indian (trust) land; federal, and not state laws would apply, and so the reservations would be able to hold, for example, high-stakes Beano games. They wanted to continue to receive federal benefits, such as health care.

5. The state wanted state jurisdiction to be restored. They wanted all state laws to apply on the reservations, including hunting and fishing regulations, offenses to be tried in Maine courts, people on reservations to pay property taxes, state control over foster children, eminent domain over reservation land, and no special laws, such as exemption from being sued, or the ability to establish air quality standards, or to hold high-stakes Beano games.

Points of View on the Maine Indian Land Claims Case and Settlement[1]

Following are excerpts having to do with the Maine Indian land claims case and the settlement of the claims. They include material from newspapers, letters to newspaper editors, and newspaper editorials. For the most part, names of the contributors and people quoted have been deleted so that students may look at the articles for their points of view without being influenced by the personalities of those who held them.

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[1] All supplementary materials from B-142 through B-164 are suggested for use with "Land Claims Case and Aboriginal Rights," grade 8, lesson 1, B-137.

The articles are arranged more or less consecutively, in part because there were several proposed settlements that people responded to during these years, and grouping the articles referring to a particular settlement makes them less confusing. The terms of each settlement were, of course, different from those of the other settlements. However, the details are not included here for students since they do not need to know them to understand the major issues and points of view put forth.

Indian points of view are represented more from 1980 on than before 1980, mostly because relatively few Indian points of view appeared in newspapers before then. However, students should use these points of view (and those expressed in the "Land Claims" section of the interviews) as a basis for their presentations.

The Indian Suit

If this Indian lawsuit goes through in Maine and Massachusetts, a precedent of tremendous magnitude will have been developed. Without the guts to face this cold potato of 200 years and so treat it for what it really is, a great extortion, the not-so-wise present day leaders are about to allow the creation of a monster in our midst once these two states bow to the Indian demands and so set the wheels a-rolling. Such a monster can and no doubt will in the final showdown demand payment for every blasted inch of land in the whole nation. Think that is too far-fetched? Then wait and see, as the handwriting on the wall is crystal clear.

The next demand to follow a capitulation by Maine and Massachusetts to this Indian lawsuit will be the logical demand for payment of what was known as the Great Plains, an area from Texas to the Canadian border -- Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota and North Dakota. White man thought this territory was useless and too dry for farming -- so the U.S. Government set aside all the territory for the Indians, who had already been pushed all the way back from the East coastal area, and told them it would be theirs forever. That was in the 1830s.

Forever didn't mean much to the white man, for in 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska Act by Congress, squeezed the Indians practically out of this whole territory -- settlers quickly moved in and took over, then due to Indian resistance over loss of their inalienable rights to the territory, the U.S. Government turned its army against them. The rest is history -- murder of men, women and children and of course defeat.

We of today are in no way responsible for what the U.S. Government did wrong 200 years ago. Still, our government in Washington is backing this Indian suit to the hilt, even though we the people of today are not in any way conceivably guilty of the atrocities instigated and carried out by orders from D.C.

The governors of Maine and Massachusetts should simply toss this lawsuit right back into the hands of our government in Washington, as the whole mess is blood on their hands, not ours -- the sons and daughters of murderers must not be punished for what the parents did before them.

The time has come to call an abrupt halt to all this nonsense being forced upon us. A state or nation so wishy-washy it can't or won't protect itself in the name of common sense is destined to end up in Hades. Every inch of what is now the U.S. once belonged to the Indians; therefore there is not one distinct place to draw a line: we took it from them, that is true, but we sure as all hell are in no position today to give it back under threat of extortion or anything else. Like it or not the Indians are now a part of our nation and must be treated on an equal basis as all other U.S. citizens, none of whom would even dream of disrupting our entire nation to right a wrong done to our ancestors 200 years ago.... Such an attempt would be instantly branded as the reactionary act of addle-brained nincompoops and be treated as such.

Letter to the editor, Kennebec Journal, 2/12/77

The Indians: What a doctor prescribes

Mr. Cummings stated that any reading of history clearly establishes the fact that the Maine Indians lost possession of their lands prior to 1776.

Although partly true, this says nothing at all about how these lands were lost. You may steal a man's land or his property, but without a legal bill of sale, can hardly claim it. Title searches are part and parcel of legal land ownership and much of the land of Maine falls into this category. We should be thankful that the Canibas, Sokokis and Anasagunticook Abenaki tribes are not presently living in Maine or we would have further suits on our hands.

In spite of the sad condition our Maine Indians find themselves in today, their leaders have repeatedly said they do not seek to evict any Maine citizen from his home. They are asking instead for a financial settlement for the inhabited lands involved and a return of the uninhabited lands. Certainly neither side can hope to win everything it desires and a negotiated settlement with compromise by both parties would be in the best interest of all.

Excerpt from a letter to the editor
Maine Sunday Telegram, 2/20/77

Indian Case: Blocking Property Settlement

State officials involved in the Indian land claims case are getting down to brass tacks. With the Maine Congressional delegation taking the lead, they are going full steam ahead in trying to cut off the Indians from regaining any of the aboriginal lands, they claim. Politicians are determined to have the claims of the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes limited to monetary damages.

The Congressional delegation, which had been relatively quiet about the whole situation, announced last week a plan to have the Indian case resolved by Congress, rather than through the courts. Governor James Longley and Attorney General Joseph Brennan, who talked over the plan with the delegation in Washington, applauded the strategy.

The plan includes a directive from the delegation to Congressional lawyers to draft possible legislation to limit the claims to a monetary settlement. (Republican Rep. William Cohen has told the Maine legislature he already has prepared such a bill.) The delegation furthermore plans to file legislation pledging the credit of the federal government behind the state on bond issues.

Excerpt from Maine Times, 2/18/77

Indians say suit is for the children

The suit, begun in 1968, originally sought the return of 12.5 million acres of land in Maine, all the territory east and north of the Penobscot River, about 60 percent of the state. In February the Indians reduced their claim to five million acres plus money and agreed to make no claims against homeowners or small property owners.

Thomas Tureen, the Calais, Maine, attorney who represents the Indians, said:

"There is much land in this state that is owned by a few large corporations. I don't think anyone would have to be displaced. I think there is room for everyone, should a settlement in good faith get underway."

Excerpt from Boston Globe, 4/3/77

The Indians and Justice

The State of Maine should resist pressure to enter into any negotiated agreement which would turn over publicly-owned lands to Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Indian tribes.

If the two Indian tribes are legally entitled to recovery for alleged violations of a 183-year-old federal law, that judgment ought to be made in the courts, not in the Maine Legislature.

If a political determination is made to give away publicly-held lands publicly held for use by all Maine citizens -- Indians and non-Indians alike -- the action would both fan unrest and leave unanswered the fundamental question as to whether Maine was legally responsible.

From the outset we've maintained that the state is in a strong position to argue persuasively that -- if the Indians were legally wronged -- the liability falls on the Congress for failure to enforce its own law. President Carter's special aide in the Indians land case, Judge William B. Gunter, respects that position in a recommended alternative solution to the dispute.

Judge Gunter suggests that should the state wish to pursue the court route, rather than a negotiated settlement, the Congress could make a $25 million payment to the two tribes, extinguish all Indian claims to private property in Maine and permit the Indians to proceed in court in an effort to recover all state-owned lands in the claims area in Northern and Eastern Maine.

That route, using the courts rather than a politicized legislature, is the course that ought to be followed.

Maine Sunday Telegram editorial, 7/24/77

Rich Indians

It is the state's position, and one with which we agree, that the Indian claim is groundless. Their case hinges almost wholly on the absence of federal approval of a treaty of 1793 and subsequent agreements with Massachusetts and Maine. In fact, the tribes had given up or lost control of lands they occupied long before these dates and long before the United States became a nation. Baldly enough, it is also a fact that the French-Indian coalition had fought and lost their war against the English settlers. Maine can make a case on the basis of conquest.

Excerpt from Kennebec Journal editorial, 7/27/77

News Commentary:
Reasons to Bar the Indian Land Claims
by Don Larrabee

....Meeds said Congress should act to wipe out such "state claims" (those based on aboriginal possession) for all time.

To ensure that such legislation would extinguish claims such as the Passamaquoddys' now asserted but not yet reduced to judgment, wrote Meeds, "I would resolve all doubts by recommending to the Congress the enactment of a statute of limitations that all such claims not yet reduced to judgment shall be forever barred.

"This would bar the Passamaquoddy or similar claims and deny to the Passamaquoddy and other similar litigants any right to damages from any parties for trespass on possessory rights. Neither the Passamaquoddys whose possessory rights may have been interfered with, nor the people of the State of Maine or Massachusetts, who may have dealt with them in the absence of a federal treaty, are now alive."

And so, Meeds concluded there is "nothing unfair" about denying the descendants of the tribes a "windfall" and preventing the imposition of a "bizarre and unjust burden on the descendants of the people of the states of Maine and Massachusetts."

In his view, this is the correct solution because history shows that the tribes for almost 200 years acquiesced in their land transactions with Maine and that Congress ratified Maine's and Massachusetts' actions.

Meeds and Rep. Tom Foley D-Wash., a power in the Democratic leadership of the House, will take this position Monday when the House considers the bill to extend the time for the government to take actions on behalf of Indian tribes to recover monetary damages.

There is some confusion about the pending bill. It deals only with the United States. It does not apply to actions which seek to establish title to or the right to possession of property. It does not prohibit the tribes from continuing to assert claims on their own in the various states.

But there is every sign that the Maine case -- and others which have cropped up in a dozen states -- will be enough of an irritant to make Congress want to clamp down, once and for all, against the perpetual assertion of age-old claims by Indian tribes....

Maine Sunday Telegram, 6/26/77

The following two editorials were reprinted in the Maine Sunday Telegram, 2/26/78:

Ellsworth American

The Indian land claims settlement proposed by the Carter administration could be justified only on the assumption that the contentions of the tribal lawyer are sound and the basic demands of the tribes just.

This newspaper believes they are not, for the following reasons:

(1) That the Indians generally held no legal title to land, but only were acknowledged to have possessory or occupancy rights.

(2) That the Indian Non-intercourse Act of 1790 did not apply to any Indians living within the then-settled eastern states, but only to so-called "western" Indians on the borders.

(3) That the Penobscot tribe of the Abenaki lost whatever possessory rights they ever had in the Penobscot valley by their alliance with the French in the French and Indian Wars in which they were defeated.

(4) That "title" to the former tribal area was not conceded to the Indians for their support of the American Revolution either in the accord signed after Lexington or in the arrangements made with the Passamaquoddy by John Allen.

(5) That much of the land that Washington would convey to the Indians was acquired by good and valid grants of title from the State of Massachusetts to General Knox and others, and that such grants cannot be set aside subsequently by any arbitrary act.

If the federal government, since 1790, should have supported and acknowledged the Maine Indians, the state ought to be fully reimbursed for the support it has given the Indians since 1790 and assuredly should not be compelled to give them any further support. They either have been or have not been charges of the Federal government.

The payment of $25 million to the Indians to drop their claims against owners of parcels of less than 50,000 acres would have the virtue of quieting the controversy over the property of small holders and permit the normal land transactions of private persons to proceed. It is doubtful that even this piece of polite bribery could forestall in perpetuity the possibility of recurrent claims by (a) Penobscot or Passamaquoddy individuals contending that the existing tribal governments did not represent them; (b) by the Malecites and the Micmacs who are not included in the settlement offer and seem just as well entitled by indigenous and historic claims as the Penobscots and the Passamaquoddies; (c) by other remnants of the Abenaki tribes who fled to Canada. Perhaps Congress, or the

Legislature, could quit title to the contested lands (but either or both can do that without payment of a dime).

The surrender of land of large land owners, many of the titles of which are as good as those of small holders, smells of sheer demagoguery and constitutes an outrageous discrimination based solely upon arbitrary distinctions of wealth that may conform to some theories of social justice but that have nothing to do with historic property rights.

Maine's small Indian tribes ought to be dealt with justly and generously, upon the basis of their formidable claims upon the humane impulses of our people, but not upon legal fantasy that cannot be supported by either history or law. The place to determine such legal claims is not in the closets of vote-seeking politicians but in the chambers of the United States Supreme Court.

Kennebec Journal

It doesn't heighten respect for Indian land claims or their advisors that they accede so readily to a fractional out-of-court settlement. What used to be $25 billion in the original action is down to $25 million.

The fact that the Indians are willing to accept a cash settlement that is one thousandth of their original claim is a tacit admission that the claim is specious. The financial community, by its purchase of Maine state and municipal bonds, has already indicated its confidence that the Indian suit will not stand up in court.

The government task force has come up with a political solution to what is basically a political issue. But it is not even a sound political solution, because it would open the way to Indian and other grabs at the national treasury. It would be an invitation to every aggrieved group in the country to try to pick Uncle Sam's pocket.

The Spanish-American War was no credit to American ideals of fair play. If the Indians can sue to redress the wrongs of history, then why not the Spanish Government? Were the Russians cheated out of Alaska when we got it for $6,000,000? How about the Louisiana Purchase from the French?

It all smacks of juvenile idealism carried over into young middle age by a new breed of Don Quixotes. As usual, the taxpayers get it in the neck.

To the editor

To write (KJ editorial, Feb. 15) that the land claim is specious because Maine's native Americans have reduced their original claim shows, in my opinion, a limited understanding of the claim.

Could not the reduction and willingness to settle out of court also mean a wish to compromise and spare the state and big landowners the pain of long litigation and greater losses of land?

Sure, the financial community is confident. State and municipal bonds are for sewerage treatment plants, big bridges, college dormitories, etc. and not for big projects in the disputed woodlands.

I find the $5.00 an acre quite generous considering the huge profits the big landowners have made off land they may not legally own. A lease-back deal could be made.

Perhaps native Americans would be better stewards of the land. Taxpayers pay millions of dollars for spruce budworm spraying -- a result of poor woodlands management. And what about the paper companies' history of environmental pollution and pulpwood peonage system?

Two distinguished judges, two U.S. senators, and I'll wager most of the legal community, and even a gubernatorial candidate have found merit in the native American's claim.

And now, ironically, Governor Longley, champion of the people, and Joe Brennan, the pride of Munjoy Hill, are on the side of the big landowners and paper companies against an oppressed, nonviolent, and proud minority.

The KJ ought to take another look at the case.

Kennebec Journal, 3/3/78

John's Column

There appears to be no apparent conclusion to the long and complex legal saga that began about the time this publication first appeared when attorneys for Maine's Indians initiated efforts that led to the present monumental and now notorious court contest over the legality of Indian claims to Maine land. Some weeks ago, I offered a tentative design for settlement: the return of a million uninhabited Maine acres, more or less, which would enable the Indians of this state, and others, to establish the first true Indian nation since those that were here were conquered and expropriated several centuries ago. In light of recent events in Washington, it now seems relatively unlikely that the Indians will get actual land in any significant amounts.

I say unlikely, not impossible. I merely count the weight of the white man and his institutions on one side of the balance against the Indians and theirs on the other. The Indian case lacks the mass to equalize the established power structure.

In my view, this is unfortunate. Given the particular and unique opportunities a separate and independent nation within United States borders could afford, I believe its denial is not only a loss to the Indians, but to every U.S. citizen, and the planet as well.

Yes, the Indians could move to their new holdings and proceed to hastily subdivide, develop and sell. They could bulldoze, pave and pound down the trees to make room for shopping centers, motels and cut-rate drug stores that stay open 24 hours a day. They could import Cadillacs (originally an Indian name, by the way) and electric hair dryers to indicate to all and sundry that they had become wealthy, contemporary Americans rather than landed citizens of an ancient culture.

They could, but there are solid reasons to believe they might not. There is, for one, the national interest in cultural heritage -- the accelerating trend among racial and ethnic groups not to assimilate, but to separate, to maintain older cultural and social traditions, and to be proud of it. There is also the growing influence of young Indian radicals, men like Russell Means who do spiritual and physical battle to restore Indian customs and pride.

"Time future," as the poet wrote, "is time past, and time past is time future." As most of you know by now, I argue that it is a combination of the best of the past with the best of technology that will allow us to lead fulfilling and peaceful lives in the post-industrial age, now fast approaching. Yet very little work is being done to illuminate the low-energy, equilibrium, decentralized, community oriented cultures of the past that lived in such harmony with their natural surroundings. Many Americans view a post-industrial future with shrill anxiety only because they have no image of what it might be like. It's the not knowing that curdles confidence.

I see a new Indian nation as potentially one of the best models for the American future. Ironically, the people that we immigrants most abused still hold many of the secrets to the conduct of life in this United States after the year 2000. As a relatively pure cultural group whose comprehension of the natural world is more eccentric than that of most other people's, whose art and music and literature can still reflect the values of a thousand years ago, and as a people whose pride would be ignited by the chance to show the rest of the nation how proudly and bravely Indians can live, the tribes of Maine and any others admitted to the Indian nation could -- if they so chose -- set standards for post-industrial living that would stand as landmarks for many years to come.

And the Maine woods are a good place to begin. The renewable resources are there (albeit, significantly abused after two centuries of exploitation), the four seasons make for a climate range that does not forgive poor planning, and the relative remoteness of the territory gives it a degree of privacy that would not be available in many other parts of the country. Whatever economic systems can be devised, whatever community and cultural patterns take shape, whatever resource ratios evolve, and whatever religious and governmental designs are created by a relatively few, proud, capable and motivated Indians in a relatively small and pure community, they will be the blueprints which all of us will soon need to study as we move into our forthcoming world of limited resources and the new values that must come with it.

Along with the eminent justice of a land grant, these reasons and more are good cause for all of us to be depressed by the growing pressure of federal and state officials to deny the Indians the right to even argue their land case. "We'll do it with money" (and no matter how much it takes), is what the officials seem to be saying. How American, how industrial age, and how unfortunate for all of us alive now and those who will have to learn to live post-industrially without the benefit of what the Indians could show us in their own nation.

Maine Times, 2/18/77

How Should We, as Christians, Deal with the Indian Land Claims?

Here in Maine we Christians are being faced with a very practical application of Jesus' teaching. Lands in this area belonging to two Indian tribes have been taken from them over the past two centuries, breaking a 1790 federal law which states unequivocally that Indian lands may not be taken without consent of the United States Congress. The tribes have asked the United States to regain their land and to compensate them for damages. Federal Courts have upheld the validity of the Indian Claims. Where is justice in this matter? What does the Gospel tell us? How should we Christians, followers of Jesus, react to this social and economic problem?

This is where it becomes very difficult to see justice clearly. It is a fact that, as Jesus said in the Gospel, the more we possess the more difficulty it is to be a Christian. Those who stand to lose most think that the Indians' claim is invalid; those who stand to lose little or nothing think the Indians' claim is valid. What about the non-Indian families who have bought land in the disputed area and have done it over the decades in all good faith? What about the Indian Tribes who have lost their land over the past two centuries while there was, in effect, a law to prevent this from happening? Are those non-Indians' deeds to be considered more valid than the 1790 law?

Although the Tribes have a legal right, according to our law, to all those lands taken since 1790, the Tribes have said that they don't wish to displace private homes and families. They are willing to negotiate and settle out of Court rather than disrupt the whole State's economy. We in the majority have said "No" to two offers by the Tribes. We don't want to give the Tribes lands now held by individuals, lands held by the State, or even lands held by corporations. We have refused every offer for settlement and we cry that the Tribes are being unfair.

We say that we are not responsible for what our ancestors did to the Indians. But what of justice? Does justice die after so many years? Does justice not count if you don't have enough votes? If you are poor? Others say that Reservations should be closed down and Indians should be forced to move out into the mainstream of society. We say that our ancestors came over here and had to tough it out for all they got; Indians should do the same. The problem is that our ancestors (either of decades ago or a few years ago) came here freely (unless we are black), and chose to live in this land and make their lot better than what it was in "the old country." But you see, Indians were already here and had been here for centuries; they aren't immigrants as we are! They shouldn't have to "get with it"; they already are and have been! Their culture revolves around the Land; they need it.

Some say that too much is being done already for the Indians. They have homes, education, government grants, etc. So what? The fact of the matter is that no one of us would want to change places with the Indian, despite our claim that he has too much! The fact of the matter is that whatever we non-Indians have and enjoy in this country, we have and enjoy at the expense of the Native Americans. We have done the Indians no favors; whatever good we have done toward them has been an infinitesimal return of their investment!

Others want to know why the Tribes waited so long. One reason is that we never let them know that they could do anything about it. Another reason is that it has been only in recent times that the Tribes have had recourse to legal counsel. Besides, if we non-Indians are honest, we have always known that we stole the Tribes' Lands. We have libraries of histories and decades of movies to prove it! The time of reckoning is here!

Indian Land, by our law, is to be treated much differently than other land and real estate. The federal law does not allow Indian Land to be sold or leased as other land can be. The law of our country requires the federal government to right this wrong in behalf of the Tribes. Now that the Tribes are winning, some of our leaders are suggesting that the law be changed and that an act of Congress extinguish the Indians' rights to land. How unjust to change the rules after the game has begun! We have taken their lands illegally; now will we try even to take their protection by the law away?

There are roughly 400,000 acres of "public lots" owned by the State of Maine. Why not give these to the Tribes in compensation for their lands taken illegally? No homes would be disturbed. No corporations would be hurt. Couldn't these be part of a settlement?

Why can't we deed back to the Tribes at least the land we hold on the Reservations? Why can't we deed back to the Tribes land that we are not using and that is in the area of the Indian Land Claims? Why can't we deed back to the Tribes all our holdings in the disputed areas and then ask the Tribes for permission to use their land?

The Gospel tells us that the rich young man found Jesus' teaching too much, and so he walked away. Will we Christians, followers of this same Jesus, find social justice too much and turn our backs on Jesus and his Passamaquoddy and Penobscot People, and walk away?

Excerpt from Church World, 2/23/78

Maine Owes No Moral Debt to Indians

Apart from the transitory issues raised by the Maine (Indian land claims) case, there is lurking a deeper issue. I think that issue is whether or not this country has a responsibility to pay reparations, either in land or money, to the American Indian for the events of 150 to 200 years ago. Some people have suggested that since the United States owes the American Indian a moral debt, Maine ought to negotiate this claim and agree to give some amount of land or money to the Tribes. I disagree. I do not believe that the State of Maine owes such a moral debt.

I believe that our society and government has an obligation to be just to all its citizens, and to provide to each person an equal opportunity to improve his or her life. But I do not believe that our society or government has an obligation through the payment of reparations to right all past wrongs that may have been committed by prior generations. I do not believe it is possible to create a system of perfect historical moral accounting that requires monetary payment for asserted ancient wrongs. I do not suggest that this view justifies treatment of the American Indian by former generations. This country's record of dealings with its native Americans may not be a proud one, but to argue whether the actions of our ancestors [were] right or wrong begs the question. The issue is not the morality of the actions, but whether this generation must be held accountable for them. My answer is that it should not be.

The Maine Indians are surely not alone in claiming a moral debt from society. Other religious, racial and ethnic minorities have been wronged by our society and government. Little more than a hundred years ago the United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott decision said that blacks were not people. Even today we are still fighting the battle for equal rights for women. If one argues that reparations are due for past wrongs, why not begin with these more recent wrongs. Beyond that, where do we stop? Should we go about creating a moral balance sheet that tallies up for each racial ethnic and minority group, the wrongs committed by and upon that group to determine whether they had been more sinned against than sinned? I think not. I think that task is impossible to perform and is a morally unnecessary one.

One of the peculiarities of this claim is that there is absolutely no statute of limitations on any Tribe bringing a claim either for land or money against any citizen of the United States regardless of how old that claim is. The omission of a general statute of limitations for Indian claims is unique in Anglo-American jurisprudence. Indians appear to be the only group in this country that can bring a suit against other citizens for damages, to recover use or ownership of land or to control water rights based on ancient legal claims without any limitation of time for bringing of such suits. I think this raises some very fundamental questions about our legal system. I do not believe that a claim, regardless of its nature, or the group or individuals asserting it, should have an indefinite life. It is a basic tenet of our system of justice that at some point in time a claim must expire. The concept of a limitation of time to assert a claim, whether statutory or in common law pervades our legal system. This concept is presumably predicated upon the belief that a stable society and system of justice ought not and cannot remedy old wrongs. I believe that a principle of law which has such widespread acceptance and such uniform application ought to apply to all of our citizens, Indian and non-Indian alike....

Excerpt from Church World, 3/30/78

Letter to the Editor

In response to your editorial of Feb. 19, "Indians and Fairness," if I were an Abenaki I would find it difficult to read the words Indians and fairness on the same page. The settlement proposed by Judge Gunther is good for everyone.

Maine and its citizens confiscated some 20 million acres of land from the Abenakis and didn't pay a penny for most of it, yet the Telegram is complaining about the state's largest land owners having to sell back a mere 300,000 acres, roughly 10 per cent of their holdings, for $5 an acre.

If my figures are correct this acreage is less than 1 percent of the original Abenaki lands, yet they will have to pay $1.5 million to get it back. That's like taking food from a baby then selling some of it back for a whacking good amount.

Very fair to the Indians? Hardly. But better than losing their scalps at 100 pounds per person, which was what the legislature offered bounty hunters when the state decided to depopulate Penobscot lands centuries ago. That was the price we paid for their land! Should we speak more of fairness?

As to Maine's own share of the proposed settlement. Baxter State Park alone would be a steal for the $25 million the state has been advised to pay the Indians.

The Abenaki losses were staggering. Consider the following:

The loss of 20 million acres of Abenaki homeland, except for Indian Island and the Passamaquoddy reservation;

The destruction of the Abenaki tribes along the coast and great rivers which included the Sokokis or Pigwacketts, the Anasagunticooks and the Canibas and the subtribes of each of these;

The reduction of the Penobscot and Passamaquoddies (sic) tribes to being wards of the state;

The loss to the world of the Wabanaki culture and civilization.

Are we as citizens to quibble about the recommendations of the presidential commission? If so, the words fairness and justice should be stricken from the English language.

Maine Sunday Telegram, 3/5/78

Letter to the Editor

In regard to your editorial, "Indians and fairness," I wonder if you have looked at a map of Maine and noticed just how much land the paper companies own. I also wonder how much they paid for this land, to whom and what the companies are now worth.

If you are able to answer these questions and still maintain that Scott Paper and Great Northern, etc., are "exposed and unprotected," then perhaps the American Bar Association should be asked to provide help for them in the form of public defender lawyers.

Maine Sunday Telegram, 3/5/78

Letter to the Editor

All this talk about the Indians having been done an injustice and needing recompense -- it's the non-Indians who are the victims if anybody is.

It's now costing the U.S. taxpayers $10,000 per year per Indian family.

The Indians get free medical, hospital, dental and optical care. They can hunt or fish anywhere, no bag limit or license.

They get wells drilled and sanitary facilities installed on ranches, farms and homes away from municipal facilities, all free. They even may get job preference -- some ads read, "Tribal members only need apply."

So rejoice, the Indians are doing O.K. I only wish we had it so good.

Maine Sunday Telegram, 3/5/78

Indian Claims

To the editor:

The Federal government's proposed settlement for the Maine Indian land claim is as outrageous as the claim itself. The present generation of Indians is no more entitled to such largess than are the present Maine residents liable for the actions of their predecessors.

This would be an unwarranted windfall to a minority already heavily favored by the State and Federal law at the expense of the taxpayer.

The treaty in dispute was no more illegal than the proposed appropriation of privately owned land at a fraction of its market value. Land which the owners purchased and used to provide employment to thousands of Maine residents and on which they pay taxes annually. Land, incidentally, on which they build access roads and generously open to the public for recreational use.

Let us hope that reason will prevail and that our elected leaders and judiciary will become more cognizant of the rights of the majority and the common good.

Kennebec Journal, 2/16/78

Candidate on Indian Issue

To the editor:

As a candidate for the Legislature I would like to express my thoughts on the Indian land claim issue.

I'm coming out against this issue because I feel that Maine will suffer economic consequences from such a claim.

At one time, however, I felt that an out-of-court settlement would have been justifiable but now I've become quite concerned about such a claim whether it will or will not benefit Maine's economy. I feel that it will disrupt Maine's economy to continue such a claim.

I doubt it will be settled until President Carter has fulfilled his duties as president.

Letter to the editor, Kennebec Journal, 4/26/78

God-given deeds?

I was amazed and shocked to read a letter in the Telegram which said, "Maine and its citizens confiscated and stole 20 million acres of land from the Abenakis and didn't pay a penny for most of it."

In doing just a small amount of genealogical research, I find the early white settlers received land grants in payment for military service while others paid in English money for their grants.

In succeeding years of occupation we have paid dearly to hold our homes and real estate. Have the Indians paid likewise?

That raises the question, if the Abenakis owned 20 million acres in Maine, where are their title deeds? From whom did they acquire the land and how much did they pay for it? Or did they confiscate and steal it?

Most civilized people would agree that with ownership of land and property goes responsibility, the payment of taxes, building roads, schools, churches and other improvements for the betterment of society. Did the Indians assume any of these duties? Obviously not, being an indigenous and migratory race.

As to title deeds, I would suggest these were passed on to our forefathers from a higher authority than man, with a divine commission to be fruitful and multiply and become a great nation.

The original deeds are in the Bible. The land of America, including Maine, was bequeathed to the white colonizers that they might be a blessing to other families on the earth.

We have colonized and built, been greatly blessed and in turn have been a blessing to other races. Therefore for the sake of brevity and in compliance with our heritage from above, let's not give up our birthright to the Indians or anyone else.

Letter to the editor, Kennebec Journal, 3/26/78

Indian claim

The concern of this letter (since it was the major concern of your editorial page on March 12) is the Indian land claim case.

I for one understand that the war against Native Americans all over this land of theirs did not end 200 years ago as Maine's attorney general suggests. It has been carried on right up to the present in the name of every American taxpayer. The attorney general needs a history lesson of the most serious and ethical sort.

The governor's rhetoric deserves little in the way of response. One cannot respond in any sensible way to a demagogue who is only interested in projecting (and protecting) his own political future. It is merely sad that in a time where we could use a calm and considerate voice we have only a strident, unreasoned one to speak for us.

And to the Native Americans who have pursued their valid claim in the midst of the white man's wildness and Rooseveltian saber-rattling, little can be said. They have been examples to all, filled with calmness, restraint, generosity, resolution and a belief in their cause. At this point, I would certainly prefer their stewardship to that of those who now pretend to speak for us all or manage our land and affairs.

Letter to the Editor, Kennebec Journal, 3/26/87

Editorial

...Why has the issue of Indians' rights, with all its emotional freight and legal and historical complexities, suddenly come back East? Because a federal court in Boston rules that everyone -- the national government, the states, the tribes themselves -- had been wrong in assuming, for over 180 years, that eastern-seaboard Indians could be dealt with by the states. The ruling upset the treaties which the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes had signed with Massachusetts and Maine between 1794 and 1833. The court also required the federal government to act as the tribes' trustee and perhaps their advocate.

So ancient agreements have suddenly been reopened, casting doubt on all the property rights and investments built up in good faith over nearly two centuries. It is hard to see where the justice lies in this. Even at this distant remove, the Indians may be entitled to a day in court, and to damages if they can prove that their ancestors were cheated or conned. But if our hearts bleed for anyone, they bleed more for the states and citizens who face enormous losses now. They did not set the doctrine of state jurisdiction which has been overturned; they should not be forced to suffer years of economic loss while incredibly tangled lawsuits go on. Because the error, if any, was national, the national government now has to come to the rescue of everyone.

Unless the current negotiations can bring an accord by June 1, the government will have to start the excruciating process of suing Maine and its large landowners, mostly paper companies. Congress has no time to waste. The Maine delegation has proposed legislation which would extinguish the tribes' claims to land and allow them to seek damages in the Court of Claims. Congress should take this up seriously and quickly. It seems to be a reasonable approach to cases in which no perfect justice can be found.

Washington Post, March 8, 1878

Another Argument for Settlement

The State of Maine should settle the Indian land claims case. Enough acrimony, accusations and postures have been seen and heard.

Twice this case has been before United States Federal Courts. Twice the Indians have won. All the issues have not been decided, but what the courts have said is fundamental.

The courts have said, and it is now the law, that the Indian Non-Intercourse Act, originally passed in 1790, applies to the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Indians in Maine and creates a trust relationship between them and the federal government of the United States.

As a trustee, the federal government, under both Presidents Ford and Carter, has felt compelled to sue the State of Maine and various landholders in Maine for the return of land taken illegally from the Indians at any time after 1790. Exactly how much land that is remains in question. Whether courts would in fact order its return remains in doubt.

So why settle?

Our president and his representatives, and our senators, recommend settlement. Too many attorneys, both federal and private, believe the Indians have a strong case for their claims to be dismissed out of hand. Each new Indian victory in court raises the cost of a settlement and increases the possible economic disruption of a final judgment.

Maine bonds are selling again after a break in the market following the Indians' second court victory. A new court victory by the Indians could easily disrupt that important market again. The current settlement offer would allow the state to keep all of its public lands, whereas further litigation could cost the state more than 300,000 acres. The state is not responsible for the large landholders. They may defend themselves or settle as they see fit.

Some political figures apparently wanted to change the law and destroy the Indians' claim, apparently feeling that if the government could not win in court, it would simply exert its power to destroy the annoyance caused by these claims.

Even if the Constitution would permit changing the law in the middle of a lawsuit because the government was losing (and I do not concede that it would), the President has not (sic) said that he would veto such a bill. The State must look elsewhere, therefore, for succor.

In addition to justice, humanity, policy, and common sense, which should be reasons enough to settle, the state faces undeniable painful and extended litigation with many of the public lots and all of Baxter State Park at risk. That risk is not worth it.

The state has the chance to settle for a money payment only. It should accept the offer or make an offer of its own. No one benefits from more delay.

Guest editorial, Kennebec Journal, 5/6/78

Not for Sale or Trade

The State of Maine appears to be moving inexorably toward litigation of the Indian Land Claims case.

Last week, the state, through Attorney General Joseph Brennan, submitted to the Maine Congressional Delegation its proposed legislation which would put the entire matter before the U.S. Court of Claims. Under that proposal, the Indians would be able to sue only the federal government, and only for money, not for land. Monetary recovery would be limited to the value of the land at the time it was taken and simple interest on that amount. A final clause stipulates that any land owned by Indians, presumably purchased with money awarded by the federal government, would be subject to all Maine laws.

That final clause links Brennan with Governor James B. Longley on the nation-within-a-nation issue. The governor has opposed allowing tribal lands -- reservations -- to be subject to federal rather than state law.

While the Republicans on the delegation -- Congressmen William Cohen and David Emery -- are supporting the proposed legislation, the Democrats -- Senators Edmund Muskie and William Hathaway -- are saying it is an exercise in futility.

Already the White House and the leader of the Congressional committee before which all such legislation would go have expressed opposition to the plan.

If no negotiated settlement is reached by mid-June, the case will probably go to court July 1. Litigation could last for years.

Maine Times, 6/2/78

Bravo to MCLU

Bravo to Maine Civil Liberties Union President Richard J. Maiman for his and the MCLU's stance on the Indian land claims case. It is certainly about time that someone stood up firmly to the racist and discriminatory proposal of Governor Longley and his sidekick in this affair, Attorney General Brennan.

In the early days of the claim, the state was only too eager to see it settled in court. That was prior to the legal research and motions which increasingly validate the Indian claims. Now that the tide seems to be turning to a favorable court decision for the Indians, the state, under the guidance of these two officials, wishes to prevent the Indians from their day in court. If that is not bad enough, the state has ceased negotiations with the tribes. Frankly, I am embarrassed to say that these two men are the governor and attorney general of this state. They do not represent my interests, which are fairness and due process for all.

Letter to the Editor, Maine Sunday Telegram, 6/11/78

A Case of Cultural Destruction

Maine's Indians seem to be agreed on one point: They do not want to see their culture obliterated.

Governor Longley, with his adamant stance that the tribes give up any separate identity, has succeeded in bringing the Indians together on this issue.

But it is less clear to many Indians that a sudden infusion of money, which is possible should they win the land claims case, could be just as deadly to their culture.

Already, many Indians are aware of the negative effects of coming under federal control a few years ago, a changed status which meant much more money came to Maine reservations than had when they were under the jurisdiction of the state.

It appears that the federal money, coming in for building new homes and for special programs, has created a totally false economy. About the only jobs which exist are building the federally financed homes or serving as director of one of the federally funded programs.

On the other hand, some Indian leaders feel that once they have accepted the federal money, they must keep their mouths shut about the defects in the housing or the programs.

How Maine's Indians have arrived at this situation over the last 300 years is a question that may never be fully answered; it is just too complicated. But part of the answer lies in the fact that the white man essentially invaded the Indians' land and took away the Indians' ability to live according to the culture they had developed.

We would hope that in 1978 there would be a broad awareness of this grave wrong, perpetrated not by any one man against another, but by one society, one culture, against another.

But throughout the one-sided debate on the Indian land claims case, there has been very little consideration of the fact that in the name of justice, we should now be trying to salvage what can be salvaged. We should have been able, in good faith, to try to give the Indians enough land to attempt to save their culture, whether or not that attempt would have succeeded.

Maine Times, 9/8/78

...This group of dissident Indians, called by the others "traditional people," accuse the federal government of systematically eliminating their native identity by a combination of funds and regulations which encourage them to adopt white ways.

The traditional people see the Indian land claims case, with the possibility of great sums of money or huge chunks of land as perhaps another accelerating factor, hastening the rush to assimilate. They foresee the tribes acquiring stockbrokers and forming land development corporations, and taking the final steps away from the spirituality and communal sharing which was the Indian heritage.

Some traditional people, of course, covet the idea of gaining new land, for then they could settle down away from the others and practice their beliefs outside the grip of federal influence.

Maine Times, 9/8/78

They Were Here First

There isn't any doubt but that most of us resist the idea that the Indians have any claim on Maine lands to which others now have title.

That the antecedents of today's Indians "met the boat," as Will Rogers used to say, when white settlers first dropped anchor on this continent's shores is something we prefer to forget.

What right, we ask, do the Indians have to lands that belong to other citizens? What right, indeed? If our forefathers took it from the ancestors of the Indians back in the 1600s what does that have to do with us? Should the deeds of our fathers visit upon all the generations?

Certainly the Indian land claims issue should be settled in accordance with the law -- albeit the law the white man brought with him from Europe and has developed during his conquest of the continent.

And it's true that the Indians probably are also immigrants, having come to this continent from Asia sometime in the distant past.

Nevertheless, we can't duck the fact they were here before the rest of us.

Central Maine Morning Sentinel editorial, 9/16/78

Gahagan and Indians

A new and interesting element has been injected into the Indian land claims by one of the independent candidates for the U.S. Senate, Hayes Gahagan. In a special position paper, the candidate called for an end to the trust relationship between the government and Indian tribes, substituting full citizenship.

"Indian policy in this country has been double-minded and confused since the founding because we have not applied the constitutional standard of citizenship to Indians," he said, contending that Congress should provide an overall solution in a new Indian policy.

As for the current case against Maine, Gahagan took the position that "land is not the real issue. Money is not the real issue. The real issue is full citizenship for Indians."

Gahagan favors legislation at the federal level to end the trustee relationship in the U.S.; give Indians full title to their own land on reservations; incorporate Indian areas into existing towns and counties; return money held in trust by the federal government to the Indians, dividing it equally; and abrogate special laws that exempt Indians from paying taxes.

The Gahagan call for a federal solution to the Maine Indian claims parallels the position taken by Gov. James B. Longley and the state's chief legal officer, Attorney General Joseph E. Brennan. Both have contended that the federal government is responsible for the claims against the state and therefore Congress should take the necessary action to resolve them.

Candidate Gahagan makes some good points. It will be interesting to see whether the Indians would be willing to drop their claims in return for full citizenship, something they have never had.

Lewiston Daily Sun editorial, 9/4/78

Letter to the Editor

Our civilization is built on the graves of Indian nations, from sea to shining sea. The land was taken by brute force, by clever treachery, and by every deceitful and devious device known to the civilized world.

Compared to the historically oppressive treatment of Indian people, the Maine land claims "settlement" could possibly be conceived of as "generous," but I must disagree.

First of all, it doesn't quite seem generous to pay the tribes $2.70 an acre for land that was taken by force to begin with. Then they are supposed to purchase 100,000 acres from huge corporations at "fair market value."

I also find that "the land sold to the Indians will be subject to all Maine criminal and civil laws." If Indian people should freely choose to be American citizens, and live according to the laws and customs of American society, I can support that. To deny Indian people the right to make that choice is to continue to make a mockery of human rights.

Portland Press Herald, 10/30/78

Reasonable Solution

Whatever the merits of the original land claim case filed against the State of Maine by the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indian tribes, the compromise settlement filed this week reads like a reasonable solution and one that can be readily implemented. The proposal, though representing far less than the damages originally sought, provides a comparatively immediate $27 million cash settlement plus an additional $10 million to the tribes for the express purpose of purchasing 100,000 acres of timberland at the current fair market value. The most acceptable feature of the plan from the State's viewpoint was the provision that the $37 million would be supplied by federal appropriation. There was not a dissenting voice from Maine's Congressional delegation, the Governor or Attorney General. The understanding carries the backing of the tribal negotiating committee, certain Maine landowners, federal officials and bears President Carter's personal endorsement, according to the news releases. Tribal members have not voted on the proposal, but their leaders believed the terms to be acceptable.

There has been strong feeling by some that the state could win the claim in court, but the compromise seems to be a much more judicious decision. On the basis of the magnitude of the tribes' initial claims (12.5 million acres) land titles for two-thirds of the state might have been contested for the duration of what would be a prolonged legal battle.

There also existed the possibility of losing.

Bridgton News editorial, 10/26/78

Guest Column: "Indian Policy"

Now that the election battle is over, many have suddenly become so elated with the results that they think the war is over on our land claims case.

The BDN [Bangor Daily News] wants another Indian policy formed by the U.S. government immediately and the governor wants to tie up the loose ends such as jurisdiction and taxation, on a proposal accepted by everyone except us, the Indians. Griffin Bell simply wants us to crawl back into our history of Oblivia, never to return.

First, it's another "Indian policy" which the BDN believes to be overdue. From this end of the spectrum Indian people are wondering exactly what kind of Indian policy the BDN speaks of since it never writes of such issues in definitive terms, only vague generalities with connotations which spell bad news again for the Indians.

This time the so-called Indian policy evolves around Indian land claims. The BDN feels these claims must be halted but stops short of saying how.

As an Indian I see the BDN advocating the continuation of the days when an Indian was Indian and the U.S. system of justice was for other Americans. In essence this is what the BDN and others are suggesting. Remove us from the court system for bringing such a claim regardless of its legal merit and furthermore the same for any other Indian nation who seeks justice from a system which we did not create but one we must live by.

It is with all honesty that I can say Indian people expect a net result of denial to access of the U.S. legal system if a negotiated settlement cannot be reached. It is history and it will repeat itself again. It was Andrew Jackson who spoke of the famous Cherokee decision by U.S. Supreme Court Justice Marshall in the 1830s, which stated the Cherokee removal to Oklahoma was illegal. Jackson said of Justice Marshall, "He has made his decision, now let him enforce it." Today, Indians across this land are still dealing with numerous politicians and citizens who have the same mentality.

It's understandable why Griffin Bell has become the savior to the BDN and others. We can spend billions in the Middle East because of a commitment but it's always been so hard to keep a commitment to Indian people.

It was amusing to read the BDN editorial, "Cuban Ambiguity," about the Russians breaking their word and allowing offensive weapons into Cuba. From two years past the BDN has been advocating a breach of the U.S. Constitution protecting Indian lands, yet today points the finger. Nothing like the pot calling the kettle black.

People know that we will continue as we have for the past two years to seek an honorable negotiated settlement, regardless of the accusations by the BDN and politicians who claim we are negotiating on a faulty claim, or we are revengeful and enjoy holding the state in a precarious situation. We have no fear of the federal courts -- after all, that is where our claim was created.

Perhaps the BDN would have preferred we filed our suits and brought the State of Maine to a grinding halt. And what then, BDN? Isn't that what your idea of an Indian policy really is? Keep us without and we will never be anything more than what we are today -- wards of government grants. You and others criticize it so damn much, yet ironically you and those others are the biggest obstacles to us achieving economic freedom releasing us out from under Uncle Sam's thumb.

It is a long way from settlement of our claims whether through the courts or negotiations and you and others like you will be our living reminder of exactly what kind of system of justice we are stacked up against.

We have waited 200 years for this equality you so highly tout, so I'm sure we can wait another few years.

Bangor Daily News, 12/11/78

...One of those who voted against the proposal was Gerard Pardilla, a tribal paralegal whose specialty is real estate and demography. He said the state, which would continue to collect taxes and prosecute major crimes on the new Indian land, didn't compromise enough.

"They're the ones who are the culprits," Pardilla said, referring to various treaties with the states of Maine and Massachusetts which form the basis for the tribes' claim to 12.5 million acres. "They're the ones who have perpetrated all the damage, and the federal government is left holding the bag," he said.

Kennebec Journal excerpt, 3/25/86

The End's in Sight

In ratifying a negotiated settlement between Maine and the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes the Legislature has taken a long step toward a full and final settlement of the Indian land claims case against the state.

Even those dissatisfied with the agreement -- and that includes some Indians and non-Indians alike -- should breathe a measured sigh of relief. The Legislature's action lifts the cloud of ownership over approximately 12 million acres of land in northern and eastern Maine. That cloud will be dispelled completely if Congress approves an $81 million payment to the Indians.

The rapid action by the Legislature in approving the agreement -- a little too rapid, perhaps -- reflects the desire of the state to put the matter to rest once and for all. That's understandable. Nonetheless, we would have preferred a longer period for discussion and study of such a historic and far-reaching document.

The bill obviously is not perfect. It grants Indians protection against land-taking by eminent domain in ways in which all other citizens are not protected; it unwisely prevents state taxation of trust fund income which may be distributed to individual Indians; and the procedures for any future amendments to the settlement act are cumbersome. A more detailed study by legislators might have revealed other potential flaws.

Still it is important to remember that the agreement has come a long way from initial federal proposals which would have required the state to participate in the settlement by parting with the public lots and by sharing in the financial cost. And it guarantees that all state taxes, including income and sales, will apply to all Indian income, aside from that flowing from the federal trust fund. That's often not the case with Western Indians and has been one of the major friction points between Indians and non-Indians in states west of the Mississippi. Finally, save for some minor offenses occurring between Indians, the tribes and their members will be subject to the jurisdiction of all state laws.

Those are important concessions made by the Indians and ought not to be overlooked in any assessment of the settlement.

Overall, even though we would have wished the Legislature to dissect the agreement with greater care, we're gratified that the turmoil and unrest created by the case is coming -- finally -- to an acceptable conclusion.

Maine Sunday Telegram editorial, 4/6/80

Indians Yes, Police and Fire, No

In the past weeks we have witnessed a series of frankly frightening reductions in police, fire and rescue squad funding across Maine. Schools like the Central Maine Medical Center have also been heavily affected by the current state lack of funds.

Meanwhile, the KJ has gleefully regaled us with the "great victory" of the Maine Indian land claims settlement. Why is it that the state government feels free to request what is by Maine state financial standards a lot of money to settle a series of Indian claims very generously, and at the same time tells its constituents to "bite the bullet," and accept absolutely grotesque, exaggerated reductions in what is sometimes called the quality of life? By this I mean available emergency help and educational facilities.

Would it be out of line to ask the Federal Government to get us out of this bind? Why should a million dollars be "nothing" if given to a foreign country, but "a proof of inability to pay" if requested by the state of Maine.

Letter to the editor, Kennebec Journal, 4/18/80

The Land Settlement = Termination

Proposed settlement bills have been presented to the Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Maliseet Indians which, if implemented, will effectively terminate the

Penobscots and Passamaquoddies, opening their lands to state and local taxation. The bills will also subject them entirely to state jurisdiction. Their governments will be reduced to the status of municipal governments. The proposed settlement, which is being described in the press as a windfall to the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Nations, is actually a disastrous setback to Native rights in general and practically wipes out aboriginal rights in Maine. The Native people of Maine are being herded into accepting a land claims settlement which not only does not return lands to their control, but actually implements most of the aspects of the termination bills of the 1950s. Practically every right that Native people have is expressly given up within the settlement....

The Passamaquoddies approached the Interior Department about their claim in early 1972 with a request that Interior enter into a lawsuit on their behalf against the State of Maine to recover their lands. Interior refused. A similar request to the Justice Department concerning a proposed suit challenging a 1796 treaty also met with refusal from the government's representatives.

But the Passamaquoddies didn't give up. In the summer of 1972 they filed suit in federal court against the Interior Department and the Justice Department for refusing to protect their rights.... National attention focused on the Maine land claims on February 11, 1975 when the District Federal Court in Portland, Maine, ruled that the Passamaquoddies are in fact entitled to protection under the law and that the Interior Department has a responsibility to take at least some steps to protect their interests. That ruling impacted the State of Maine in September of 1976 when the Boston firm of Ropes and Ray failed to give legal clearance for a $1 million sewer bond issue for the town of Millinocket because of the land claim. That occurrence also received wide coverage in the national press.

[The] attorney...sounded confident after the 1975 Passamaquoddy decision. "No legal issues are left to be decided," he said. "All we have to do now is prove the extent of the aboriginal holdings. Precedent covered everything else. The hardest part of the case is over."

That statement may have been premature. In January 1977, the Interior Department asked the Justice Department to file a lawsuit on behalf of the Penobscots (who had earlier joined the case) and the Passamaquoddies. The Justice Department then let it be known that they didn't want to go to court in this matter. The federal government then announced their strategy in this matter -- they wanted a negotiated settlement.

. Early in 1977, President Carter announced the appointment of a "special representative" to negotiate a settlement which would go to Congress for approval. His choice for this post was Judge William B. Gunter, a retired Georgia Supreme Court Judge.

To make a long story short, negotiations have continued over the ensuing three years. Judge Gunter's effort produced a proposed negotiation settlement which was rejected by the Native people, and negotiation committees were directed to come up with a new package.

This year, the Native communities were advised of a new proposed settlement. Meetings were held in the Passamaquoddy communities. The settlement was shown to people, a vote of hands was taken of the people at the meeting, and that quickly the matter was considered to have been agreed upon by the Passamaquoddies.

In the Penobscot land, people learned that a referendum was to be held on March 15 to allow them a chance to vote on the settlement. The Penobscots were given less than six days notice, a development which prompted some of them to comment that the proposal was being "rammed" through....

A large group of Penobscots who were dissatisfied with the handling of the claim organized in opposition to the settlement. They sought the assistance of Robert T. Coulter of the Indian Law Resource Center in Washington, D.C., to help analyze the bills. On March 13 Coulter issued a memorandum summarizing his reading of the proposed legislation. His memo read in part:...

The bills will place the Penobscot Nation and its lands entirely under the jurisdiction of the State, except for certain internal matters. The Department of the Interior will have vastly increased bureaucratic control over the Penobscot lands. The sovereignty of the Nation will be effectively terminated and the Nation changed into a form of municipal government....

All Penobscot lands and personal property will become effectively subject to State and local taxation. Furthermore, there will be no exemption from State sales and income taxes, and other State and local taxes as is enjoyed today here and on other Indian lands....

In exchange for extinguishing the Penobscot land claim and extinguishing Penobscot title to all claimed lands and resources outside the present reservation, the bills would authorize a Settlement Fund and a Land Acquisition Fund to be held and administered by the Secretary of the Interior. If money is made available for the funds, the Secretary of the Interior will have the final say over the use of the funds, not the Nations. No money will be paid to the Nation except the income from one half of the settlement fund....

The lands to be purchased are not described or identified in any way. No particular lands and no specific amount or type of lands are assured by the bills....

Land purchased by the Secretary of the Interior using the Land Acquisition Fund will not have the same legal protection as Indian lands elsewhere:

-- The land will apparently be owned "in trust" by the United States, not owned by the Nation.

-- The lands will be subject to eminent domain taking.

-- The federal Non-intercourse Act and other federal legal safeguards will not apply.

-- The Secretary of the Interior will have the final say over how the lands will be used.

-- All transfers of Penobscot lands, even between Penobscots, will require the approval of the Secretary of the Interior and the Nation....

The bills would remove the Nation's sovereign immunity from suit, except to the limited extent that a municipal government has such immunity. Judgments won against the Nation could be paid by the Secretary of the Interior out of the income that would otherwise be paid to the Nation....

The bills provide that all of the federal laws which protect Indian people and lands elsewhere in the United States will not apply in the State of Maine....

The State of Maine will be freed from all claims resulting from its handling of Nation funds without any requirement of a proper accounting....

The Nation's reservation could not be enlarged without approval by the State and approval of a special commission to be established by the proposed bills. The commission would have a majority of non-Indian members.

Excerpts from Akwesasne Notes, Early Spring, 1980

Promises to Keep

Part I, 1/2/87

....The Penobscots are keenly aware of the price they paid for the settlement, on three fronts. One is a perceived loss of sovereignty. Under the settlement, the Indians agreed that serious crimes would be tried in state courts, and basic regulatory laws would apply on the reservation. Confusion over the tribe's new status as a quasi-municipality has caused problems with state government and law enforcement.

Second, many people feel a loss of control over their lives, as tribal leaders and lawyers increasingly make decisions about highly complex financial investments without their involvement. Third, cultural values have been threatened. The settlement, say tribal officials and critics alike, brought out greed and competition -- behavior antithetical to traditional Indian values of unity and cooperation....

The settlement had a more direct local impact on the Penobscots than on the Passamaquoddies, who initially invested more off-reservation. Penobscot local projects include the $1.5 million Sockalexis ice hockey arena (widely regarded as a white elephant economically, but a boon to public relations, since it draws teams from throughout Maine to the island); and Olamon Industries, a tape cassette manufacturing plant built as a joint venture by the Penobscot Nation and Shape Inc. The $2.5 million factory is making a profit after one year of operation and will undergo a $5 million expansion this year. Employing Indians in a majority of its assembly jobs (although at salaries only slightly above minimum wage), the factory is the kind of non-polluting, hi-tech enterprise many Indian reservations would give their eye teeth for. As a local employer, it also provides jobs for white displaced shoe workers. The ice arena and Olamon were built with federal funds and loans backed by mortgages on Penobscot land holdings.

Two years ago, the tribe set up the $3-million Penobscot Guaranty Fund to offer loan guarantees to prospective and expanding businesses. (So far, no Indian-owned businesses have been considered sound enough to qualify -- a sore point among critics.) The tribe is swamped with proposals, which it forwards to Tribal Assets Management in Portland for review before the tribal council votes on them.

The Penobscots have found a place of honor in the investment community and won new respect as a development force in Maine's economy. Still heavily dependent on federal support -- at least $3 million in federal funds went to the island last year -- Indian Island enjoys a reputation as one of the top four or five best-managed Eastern Indian reservations, according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs....

Then why is the tribal government still in the hole financially? Down from $4 million a few years ago, its deficit now runs around $500,000. There are three answers: very little land claim money has gone into the operational budget of the tribe, since most of the money is held in trust; timberland and a few failed projects (blamed on lack of management skills) tied up cash early on; and court rulings halted the high-stakes bingo on Indian Island that was once a major source of revenue.

Part II, 1/9/87

....The annual operating budgets of both the Pleasant Point reservation and the Indian Township reservation are currently in the neighborhood of $1 million. Funding for these budgets comes largely from tribal investments and enterprises. Sale of timber from the 115,000 acres the Passamaquoddy have purchased with their land claims money comes to about $120,000 a year. There are the earnings from the Dragon Cement Company in Thomaston (the Passamaquoddies' most publicized and substantial investment to date, purchased in 1983 for a reported $8 million), the 6000-acre Northeastern Blueberry Company in Columbia Falls, a 1000-acre Humphries Farms dairy in Perry, two

Rockland radio stations (WRKD-AM and WMCM-FM), the Wabanaki Mall shopping center in Perry, and the Sipayik Supersaver market. In addition, Pleasant Point is presently investing $5 million to develop Passamaquoddy Housing Inc., a pre-fab housing manufacturing business in partnership with Makroscan of Finland, and is awaiting a certificate of need from the state in order to build a 60-unit nursing home facility just down the road from the reservation on Carlow Island....

To provide space for new home construction and planned commercial development, the Passamaquoddy this summer annexed 425 acres adjacent to the reservation from the town of Perry for $250,000...

Part III, 1/16/87

...Today, finally, the 458 members of the Houlton Band of Maliseets can cheer for themselves. In the last 15 years they have made enormous strides as a community. Their hard-won inclusion in the 1980 Maine Indian Land Claims Settlement awarded them $900,000 in land acquisition trolfunds [sic]. It also earned federal recognition (formal status as a tribe) for the Band, opening up the possibility of gaining economic development and services contracts from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Over the past five years, the Band has become Houlton's third largest employer -- just behind Staley's (a starch manufacturing company) and the town itself. Tribal chairman Clair Sabattis coordinates a $1.5-million annual budget, one-third of which goes toward salaries of the Band's 30 employees. Says Sabattis, "I don't see that loser scene any more. We're gaining momentum every day in our ability to strive for sovereignty." ...

On October 10, 1980, when President Carter signed the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act, [former chairman Terry] Polchies was in Washington for the ceremony. The act established the Houlton Band of Maliseets as a federally recognized tribe and provided that all federal benefits and services and all federal Indian laws applied to the Band. In addition, a $900,000 land acquisition trust fund to purchase 5,000 acres of land was established for the group. Maliseets were by far the most modest winners in the settlement, but nonetheless they were winners....

Indeed, thanks to this new status, the Houlton Band has been able to contract for services and development grants through the BIA. Ten contracts, including health, land acquisition, home improvement and vocational education programs, are currently administered by the Band. The man overseeing the operation is Clair Sabattis, the third tribal chairman since the settlement. His predecessors, Terry Polchies and Jim Tomah, each served two years....

A major gain, worked on by all three tribal chairmen, is what Sabattis calls the "land acquisition bill" (formerly titled The Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians Supplementary Claims Settlement Act of 1986). Signed into law by President Reagan last October, it confirms the trust status of the land the Band purchases and it establishes a fund in the U.S. Treasury known as the Houlton Band Tax Fund. From this fund, taxes, fees and payments in lieu of property taxes owed by the Band to the state will be paid. According to attorney Reid Chambers, who worked with the Band to draw up the bill, the legislation "was necessary because the Band couldn't identify acres until there was first an agreement among the state, tribe and federal government about payment in lieu of taxes." Says Sabattis, "It took 12 drafts to come up with something that would satisfy all parties...$200,000 will be taken out of the interest of our land acquisition trust fund to form the tax fund." This will make a relatively small dent in the purchasing power of the acquisition fund, for over the past six years that fund has grown from $900,000 $1.9 million. "It's been in cd's [certificates of deposit]," grins Sabattis, "and interest in '80-'81 was up to 21 percent."

"Now that legislation has passed, we can go out and buy land and have a place of our own," says the Band's real estate chairman, Aubrey Tomah. At the November general membership meeting, Band members voted to purchase land within the municipality of Houlton, no more than three miles out of town. The land acquisition trust fund was set aside for 5,000 acres, yet according to Sabattis, the Band is not limited to that acreage. "But above 5,000 acres," he says, "we must petition to have extra acreage in trust ... if not in trust, it's taxable, subject to all liability of private holding."

Once the Band has land, it is eligible for Department of Housing and Urban Development [HUD] funding for housing development.... When told that all of this sounds like an Indian reservation in the making, Chairman Sabattis retorts, "I don't call it a reserve -- that has a negative sound to me. I call it trust land.... My concept is that the housing area not be congested, each house provided with two to three acres, a country look. I don't want to look out my window and see what they're doing in the next house." On this point almost everyone is in agreement....

Danya Boyce has deep feelings about the meaning of gaining a land base in Aroostook: "Getting land is going to give us a home base, roots that everyone will recognize. It will be ours. We can built on it, plant on it, grow on it in all ways -- spiritually and materially. And, of course, we can live on it.... I think we'll steer away from clustered housing...."

Part IV, 1/23/87

About 400 Maine Indians were left out of the 1980 Indian Claims Settlement. They are members of the Aroostook Band of Micmacs, an off-reservation Indian community in Northern Maine. Because they were not yet prepared at the time of the settlement to provide historical data documenting their aboriginal existence as a tribal group within Maine, they were fully excluded. The settlement represented a political and economic boost for Penobscots, Passamaquoddy and Maliseets. But for Maine's Micmacs, it was a step backwards.

Many Micmacs are personally affronted by their exclusion from the settlement and view it as a denial of their Indian heritage itself. "It took me a long time to become proud of being an Indian," says David Sanipass, who at 28 years of age is the youngest member of the Band's tribal council. "Then the government says, 'We don't recognize you as Indian.' That hits right where it hurts."

But there is more than an emotional stab here. The settlement shifted to federal shoulders all state responsibility for the three tribes it embraced. Maine's Department of Indian Affairs closed up shop and Micmacs lost most of their state rights and all benefits. Perhaps more significantly, the Settlement Act was written to be "the last word" on Indian claims in Maine, extinguishing all future claims by any native group in the state.

The Micmacs were placed in a difficult position for political bargaining. But since 1981, the Band has managed to garner the legal and academic support needed to seek redress. Washington, D.C. attorney Jerry Straus recently joined their effort. A man with nearly a quarter-century experience in Indian law, Straus believes "The Micmacs got cheated. Their exclusion from the settlement is the dirtiest deal I've ever witnessed." Micmacs agree -- and they are now on the lawpath to do something about it....

Today there are some 12,000 Micmacs, making them one of the largest Eastern Indian Nations in North America. Some 800 Micmacs reside in Maine, half of them belonging to the Aroostook Band of Micmacs. They are part of a larger family comprised of some 2,000 urban Micmacs based in the Boston area, and about 8,000 reservation Micmacs living on 28 band reserves in Canada's Maritime Provinces.

One must use terms such as "live" and "reside" cautiously when referring to Micmacs, for no matter where they are based, they are a people on the move. They are traditionally and contemporarily a migratory people -- "the freedom people," as some of them put it.

Some present-day Aroostook Micmacs were born in Canada. But these people, like their ancestors, have crossed back and forth over the U.S.- Canada border in search of a satisfactory livelihood for as long as they have been old enough to work. (Thanks to the 1793 Jay Treaty between England and the U.S., North American border tribes have the legal right to cross and recross the border to live and work on both sides.) As Paul Phillips, president of the Aroostook Micmac Band, puts it, "To the North American Indian, there is no border." ...

"Things were rolling very fast.... We weren't able to discover a basis for arguing that [the Micmacs] be included," Maliseet Terry Polchies, president of AAI at the time, concurs. "Our first thought was for federal recognition of both tribes, but there wasn't time; the Maliseets ended up going in on the coattails of the Penobscots and Passamaquoddy."

Tilly West was the only Micmac on the AAI board at the time. This outspoken grandmother, who was on the road selling baskets by the time she was five years old, laments: "We assumed we'd be recognized with the Maliseets -- or at least shortly thereafter. It was quite a shock when we got left out in the cold." ...

The Houlton Band of Maliseets, after gaining federal recognition through the settlement, broke away from the generic AAI in 1981 and incorporated as a specific tribal group. In 1982, the Micmacs followed suit and incorporated as the Aroostook Micmac Council (AMC). After nearly a year of operating with a small volunteer force, AMC won two grants from the Administration for Native Americans -- one to establish a basket cooperative, and one to support its federal recognition effort. The Council then set up an office in Presque Isle....

Tribes wishing to gain recognition are required to file a Federal Acknowledgement Petition (FAP) -- an elaborate ethnohistorical document that demonstrates that they meet the official criteria for designation as a "tribe." Criteria include an ability to demonstrate existence as an American Indian group from historical times to the present, proof that members are descendants of a tribe historically inhabiting a certain area, and evidence that the tribal group has maintained political influence over its members on a continuous basis....

At her clients' request, [Pine Tree Legal Assistance lawyer Nan] Heald has worked to broaden their [AMC] chances of success by investigating alternative and supplementary routes. During the summer, she contacted attorney Jerry Straus in Washington and asked him to study the possibility of having the 1980 settlement declared unconstitutional. The Micmacs ultimately tabled this suggestion because it had the potential of alienating and possibly hurting the three other tribes.

Straus suggested a unique alternative process known as a "legislative reference." This procedure begins with a Maine senator or representative introducing a bill in Congress stating that the Aroostook Band of Micmacs was treated unfairly in 1980 and declaring the claims that the Band now has against the United States.

The presenter then introduces a second bill asking Congress to "refer" the first bill to the Claims Court for a hearing. If a majority of senators or representatives agree, the bill then goes to the Claims Court, where a single judge hears extensive evidence on both sides, then issues a decision. Says Heald, "Congress usually adopts the final judicial decision."

According to Straus, this is the only way to get something more than recognition for the Micmacs and to "correct the mistake" made six years ago when they were left out of the settlement. "I don't think the Micmacs have inflated expectations," he says. "Their effort is not a threat to the people of Maine...they would be very happy with a small land base and federal recognition, bringing with it federal benefits to replace the state benefits they lost."

Heald says that the legislative reference will be in addition to, not instead of the Federal Acknowledgement Petition: "FAP is still the most appropriate and direct way for a tribe to get federal recognition of its status as a tribe. But federal recognition is not a sufficient remedy for the Micmacs, for it doesn't address problems that resulted from Micmac exclusion from the settlement. A legislative reference is the appropriate vehicle to approach those problems."

Excerpts from the Maine Times

Penobscot Treaties and Land Rights[1]

Because many of the newspaper excerpts refer to rights of conquest, as well as treaties and deeds of the Penobscots (and Passamaquoddies) to which students may not have access, the following information is included.[2] *This material comes from the legal defense team of Penobscots and Passamaquoddies, and was submitted along with a letter and other background documents to the Honorable William B. Gunter in 1977 by Archibald Cox, Harvard Law School.*

The Penobscots' aboriginal lands were protected in the Tribe's colonial treaties. The Treaty of Portsmouth in 1713, for example, guaranteed the Penobscot "their own Grounds" and defined that territory as lands held as of 1693. In all her dealings with the Abenaki peoples in general, and with the Penobscots in particular, Massachusetts held to the practice of purchase or cession to establish English title. Indeed, throughout the early colonial period, land conflicts between the Penobscots and Massachusetts revolved only around the issue of the legality of several seventeenth-century land deeds covering but a tiny fraction of the Tribe's aboriginal territory....

[In 1726, Penobscots signed] Dummer's Treaty, [which] confirmed Massachusetts' "Rights of Lands and former Settlements." At the same time, however, the treaty reserved to the Penobscots "...all their lands, Liberties and Properties, not by them conveyed or Sold to or Possessed by any of the English subjects as aforesaid, as also the Privilege of Fishing, Hunting, and Fowling as formerly."...

In February, 1735, ...[Governor Belcher]... promised that the land article of Dummer's Treaty would be "punctually observ'd on the part of this Government, who will not push on the settlement of those Lands, 'till they are satisfy'd, that those, who at present pretend to be the Proprietors, have obtain'd the native right from the true Owners."...

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[1] Suggested for use with "Land Claims Case and Aboriginal Rights," grade 8, lesson 1, B-137.

[2] The information is about Penobscots because they had more interaction with the English settlers in the colonial period than the Passamaquoddies. In fact, Passamaquoddies relinquished no land in deeds or treaties until 1794, when they signed a treaty with Massachusetts. (See historical overview, A-17 and 18.)

The land article of Dummer's Treaty was reenacted in the 1749 treaty which ended King George's War. Land was not an issue in that conflict and was not discussed during the conference. Although land was discussed during the 1752 treaty negotiations, the 1749 treaty was ratified unaltered. Wishing to prevent a Penobscot-French alliance, Massachusetts carefully recognized Penobscot title....

Before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War between France and Great Britain, the Penobscots worked carefully to preserve peace with Massachusetts. When Massachusetts declared war against the Abenaki tribes on June 10, 1755, the Penobscots were excepted on condition that they join the English against hostile Abenaki as Dummer's Treaty required. The Penobscots accepted this condition but refused to move their families near the English settlements for the duration of the war as Governor William Shirley requested. Massachusetts persisted in the demand that the Penobscots settle among the English and, after claiming without evidence that the Penobscots participated in an attack on Fort St. Georges, declared war against them on November 3, 1755. The war involved no real military engagements with the Penobscots, and the Penobscots occupied the same land after the war as they had before.

After the war, Governor Bernard saw the need for a treaty with the Penobscots, but was thwarted in his efforts to obtain one. In September, 1762, the Massachusetts House and Council opposed Bernard's proposal to travel to Maine to conclude a peace on the grounds that the Indians had not formally asked for a treaty conference. Three Penobscots arrived a month later and discussed renewing the Tribe's former treaties with Massachusetts; however, no agreement was reached, and no date for a conference was set. In a message delivered on June 5, 1764, Bernard stressed the strength of the Penobscots and again urged that a treaty be concluded with the Tribe. Still no action was taken.

This, then, was the state of affairs in the closing years of the colonial era. The Indians continued to occupy their principal hunting grounds. Governor Bernard continually agitated for a treaty with the Tribe....

At the opening of the American Revolution, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress quickly recognized the military importance of the Penobscots. On June 21, 1775, a delegation of Penobscots (who had been brought to Watertown for the purpose) addressed the Provincial Congress. Land problems were clearly the Indians' primary concern. Their comments, as reported by the Committee which was appointed to confer with the Tribe, were as follows:

> They have a large Tract of Land, which they have a right to call their own, and have possess'd accordingly for many Years.
>
> These Lands have been encroached upon by the English, who have for Miles on end cut much of their good Timber.
>
> They ask that the English would interpose, and prevent such Encroachments for the future; and they will assist us with all their Power in the common defense of our Country; and they hope if the Almighty be on our side the Enemy will not be able to deprive us of our Lands.

Thus, as of the time of the Revolution, the Penobscots still occupied and claimed their lands. More importantly, the Provincial Congress recognized their claims, also. On the same day that the above report was read, the Provincial Congress passed a resolution which:

> ...strictly forbid any person or persons whatsoever from trespassing or making waste upon any lands and territories or possessions beginning at the head of the tide on Penobscot River, extending six miles on each side of said river now claimed by our brethren the Indians of the Penobscot tribe, as they would avoid the highest displeasure of this Congress.

The records of the Provincial Congress do not explain why the resolution was limited to the head of the tide. Nor is the reason for the six-mile corridor clear... In all events, it is important to note that in adopting its resolution the Provincial Congress did not say that the Penobscots did not own any land outside of the twelve-mile corridor; it only forbade trespass within the corridor....

[In 1796 the Penobscots signed a treaty ceding lands.]...The treaty called for the delivery of "...one hundred and forty nine and a half yards of blue cloth for blankets, four hundred pounds of shot, one hundred pounds of Powder, thirty six hats, thirteen bushels of Salt being one large Hogshead, one barrel of New England Rum, and one hundred bushels of Corn...," upon signing the treaty.

The treaty also called for an "annual annuity consisting of three hundred Bushels of good Indian Corn, fifty pounds of powder, two hundred pounds of shot, and seventy five yards of good blue cloth for Blankets...." In return, the Penobscot Tribe was to cede all its "right, Interest and claim to all the lands on both sides of the River Penobscot, beginning near Colonel Jonathan Eddy's dwelling house, at Nichel's rick, so called, and extending up the said River Thirty miles on a direct line, according to the General Course of said River, on each side thereof...." Excepted from the transaction and reserved to the Tribe were "...all the Islands in said River, above old town, including Old-town Island, within the limits of the said thirty miles." A deed encompassing the terms of the treaty was signed by the Penobscot Nation on August 8, 1796....

Indians, Treaties, and the U.S. Government[3]

Native Americans' claim to ownership and use of natural resources and land are based on aboriginal title. Aboriginal title means that the Indians were here first and had already established claims upon the resources before the first Europeans arrived. Aboriginal title in effect means original title.

European settlers, and later the U.S. government, recognized these claims and the sovereignty of the different Indian nations by negotiating treaties with them.

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[3] In U.S. "Indian Law" courts have consistently upheld that rights not expressly given away in treaties are still held by Indian tribes or nations unless Congress passes an act which takes them away.

What is a treaty? Under international law, a treaty is a formal agreement between two or more self-governing states or nations. Treaties may be made to settle a war, form an alliance, regulate trade, or for any other purposes of international relationships.

The treaties of the U.S. government made with the Indian nations (more than 1,000 before the treaty system was abolished in 1871) were contracts that recorded the transfer of aboriginal title and its accompanying rights from Indian nations to the American government. The treaties also record the retention of special rights by the tribes on the lands that remained "Indian country."[4] Indians today view the treaties as part of an "honorable relationship of mutually recognized rights and responsibility between the tribes and the United States government." To some Native Americans they are the most important thing in life; many people carry copies around with them. "It's our guarantee by the U.S. of a separate identity."

The principles of international law govern treaties. *Rebus Sic Stantibus, Pacta Sunt Servanda:* all things being what they are, treaties must be served -- that is, they must be kept.

Article 6, Section 2, of the U.S. Constitution says that "all Treaties made...shall be the Supreme Law of the Land."

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[4] From Who Owes What to Native Americans?, Pilot Experimental Edition, Education Development Center, Inc., n.d.

ABORIGINAL RIGHTS EXCERPTS[1]

False Assumptions

To the Editor:

We wish to comment on the article published recently about the "Magical deer." That article was submitted on October 31 and written by a [woman].

We feel she is not aware of the full details of the land claims. The implication that the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots will be wealthy, or are wealthy now and own a lot of land, is totally false. She, as many others, have made many false assumptions especially when they show an ignorance of the land settlement details. No one is sure of what the money (if any) will be used for. This would be a bit of justice about 200 years overdue.

Everyone has certain rights and one of ours is to be able to have free hunting licenses. These go back to the aboriginal rights. The fairy tale-like disguise of that article was not only misleading but also ambiguous.

Grade 8 Beatrice Rafferty School
Pleasant Point Reservation

Bangor Daily News, 11/10/78

Indians should pay

One of the most straightforward and sensible bills now before the State Legislature is L.D. 1729, which is intended to discontinue the longstanding practice of issuing free fishing, hunting and trapping licenses to Maine's tribal Indians.

The proposed law is now being studied by the legislative Committee on Inland Fisheries and Wildlife. As explained in the bill, members of Maine's Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Maliseet and Micmac tribes were granted free licenses as a matter of state policy because of the the fiduciary relationship existent between the tribes and state government.

As a result of the Indian land claims settlement act, that fiduciary relationship no longer exists. Maine's tribal Indians are now large landowners and recipients of regular dividend payments from trust income. When they accepted more than $85 million in tax money as a result of the land claims settlement, Maine's 4,000 tribal Indians stepped across a historical, socio-economic divide and into a new cultural realm that is more 20th century Americana than romantic aborigine.

Free hunting, fishing and trapping licenses, symbolic privileges rooted in old treaties and ancestral precedent, are no longer appropriate.

Word is that this legislation will encounter tough sledding, that it is seen as unpolitic. That is nonsense.

Maine's non-Indian population must buy a license to hunt, fish and trap and, in order to hunt, fish or trap on newly acquired tribal land, an additional permit must be purchased from the respective tribe.

The committee studying L.D. 1729 might also want to consider revising the language in a way that created a policy based on reciprocity. That is, all tribal Indians would pay for their state hunting, fishing and trapping licenses a fee comparable to that charged to non-Indians wishing to hunt, fish or trap on tribal lands.

Bangor Daily News, 1/14/82

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[1] Suggested for use with "Land Claims Case and Aboriginal Rights," Lesson 1, Grade 8, B-137.

"THE ABORIGINES"[1] -- A TEXTBOOK EXCERPT[2]

The Europeans who came to the shores of North America regarded it as a vacant continent, which lay completely open to settlement from the Old World. In the final analysis this assumption was justified. It is true that the continent was already inhabited by tribes who claimed the land as their own. But in the whole of Canada there were probably no more than 220,000 Indians, and in neither numbers nor culture nor political organization were they strong enough to hold their vast hunting grounds against the pressure of land-hungry Europeans.

The aborigines made no major contribution to the culture that developed in the settled communities of Canada. They did contribute certain conveniences, such as the canoe and the snowshoe, and certain products, such as maize, which were useful to the early settlers. But in all essentials the new communities remained European in their outlook and habits and general standards of life. On the other hand, while contact with the Europeans had revolutionary effects on the Indian economy, it did little to influence them culturally or to alter their basic way of living. Even when the advance of settlement pushed them out of their accustomed hunting grounds, the Indian failed to adapt themselves to the new situation and resisted absorption into the new society. They remained a primitive remnant clinging to their tribal organization long after it had become obsolete.

Nonetheless, the Indian was of salient importance in the early development of Canada. While he was culturally alien to the newcomers, he was economically important to them and soon economically dependent upon them. In the United States, where agricultural settlement was the primary aim, the Indian was not only useless but an active menace whose speedy extermination would be an unqualified boon. The menace rose in New France as well and nearly resulted in the destruction of the colony. But while some Indians were the implacable enemies of the French, there were others whose friendship and cooperation were absolutely essential so long as the fur trade remained the mainstay of New France. The destruction of the Algonquins and other friendly tribes, or even the extinction of the Iroquois menace, which prevented the friendly tribes from transferring their allegiance to Albany as a trading center, would have been almost fatal to the colony's existence.

There were three features of Indian society that contributed to this community of interest based on mutual economic needs. In the first place, the Indians of Canada were almost totally ignorant of the art of agriculture. The Iroquois to the south had made some progress, which was shared by their kinsmen and enemies the Hurons. But Iroquois agriculture was limited by a number of factors, including the primitive nature of the available implements. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Indians of North America had not advanced beyond the stone age. The inefficiency of stone axes meant that the clearing of land for cultivation was a laborious process, accomplished largely by charring the trees by fire. Pointed sticks or hoes with blades of shell were the only implements of cultivation. Crops were limited to maize and beans, squashes and pumpkins and sunflowers. They provided a partial food supply, but in the absence of any domesticated animal except the dog it was necessary to find other sources of both food and clothing. Outside the Ontario Peninsula and the St. Lawrence Valley there was practically no Indian agriculture in Canada, and the tribes lived a nomadic life, dependent on the products of forest and stream and sea for their whole livelihood.

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[1] From Canada: A Political and Social History, Edgar McInnis, Rinehart and Co., 1958.

[2] Suggested for use with "Influences of Native Cultures," grade 8, lesson 2, B-139.

Partly as a result of those conditions the Indians of Canada were almost totally devoid of effective political organization. Their nomadic nature and the extent of the territory over which they roamed prevented any real coherence even among groups that shared the same language and customs. There were recognized tribal divisions based on these characteristics, but the tribe as such was rarely a political unit. The nearest approach to this was the band -- a group of kindred families that claimed a definite hunting ground and acted together in the chase or in war. Usually there was at least a nominal chief, but the extent of his authority depended almost entirely on his personality. He might gain a real ascendancy by oratorical talents or by his skill as a hunter or warrior, but he had no effective way of controlling his followers if they chose to reject his guidance and follow their own course of action. Various bands might join together in some enterprise, deciding on their course in a general council or through a conference of their leaders and perhaps even selecting one of these leaders as chief. But that was a still more tenuous arrangement, and there was rarely any supreme authority for the whole tribe as such. The Indian was a rampant individualist, and that quality was one of his weaknesses in the face of European encroachment.

The Iroquois, however, had evolved a more advanced organization, which had some faint parallels among other northern tribes. In the latter part of the sixteenth century five Iroquois tribes -- the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas -- formed a league for common action in external affairs. A sixth nation, the Tuscaroras, joined about 1722. The affairs of the league were directed by a council of about 50 chiefs or sachems, who dealt with disputes between the tribes, conducted negotiations, and decided on peace or war. A similar type of confederacy was adopted by such Iroquoian tribes of Ontario as the Hurons, and a faint approach toward it might be discerned among the Blackfeet of the plains. But while such organization gave to the Iroquois a degree of coherence that few of their neighbors could match, it was more impressive in theory than in practice. The actual authority of the sachems was highly questionable. Their appointment, limited by certain hereditary qualifications, rested with the matriarchs of the various tribes, and it was only by accident that they possessed qualities of leadership that would give their decisions real weight. Warlike and ambitious leaders often ignored their decisions, and the individual tribes, which claimed autonomy in domestic affairs, often exercised it also in matters of peace or war. It was difficult to unite the Five Nations in a concerted military effort, and almost impossible to arrange a peace that all of them would recognize as binding. When a band or a tribe was determined to go on the warpath, it paid little attention to the decisions of the official council.

AMERICANIZING THE WHITE MAN[1]

by Felix S. Cohen

Felix Cohen was Chief of the Indian Law Survey for the Dept. of Justice in 1939 and 1940, and associate solicitor of the Dept. of the Interior from 1933 to 1948. Later he was general counsel of the Assn. of American Indian Affairs and for many Indian nations. He was probably best known as author of the Handbook of Federal Indian Law. The article here is made up of excerpts from the original; subtitles have been added, and some changes in punctuation and hyphenation have been made to make it consistent with the rest of the book; deletions are indicated by asterisks.

"What can we do to Americanize the Indian?" The question was earnestly put by a man who was about to assume control over our country's Indian affairs. He was appalled by the fact that over a hundred native tribes within the United States still speak their own languages and make their own laws on the little fragments of land that Indians reserved for their own use.... The Commissioner-elect was a kind and generous soul, but his Anglo-Saxon pride was ruffled by the fact that so many Indians preferred their own way of life, poor as it was, to the benefits of civilization that Congress longed to confer on them. Perhaps, if Indians did not realize that they needed more Indian Bureau supervisors and bigger and better appropriations to make real Americans out of them, it might be necessary to use a little force.

A bronze-skinned figure in the audience arose. "You will forgive me," said a voice of quiet dignity, "if I tell you that my people were Americans for thousands of years before your people were. The question is not how you can Americanize us but how we can Americanize you. We have been working at that for a long time. Sometimes we are discouraged at the results. But we will keep trying. And the first thing we want to teach you is that, in the American way of life, each man has respect for his brother's vision. Because each of us respected his brother's dream, we enjoyed freedom here in America while your people were busy killing and enslaving each other across the water. The relatives you left behind are still trying to kill each other and enslave each other because they have not learned there that freedom is built on my respect for my brother's vision and his respect for mine. We have a hard trail ahead of us in trying to Americanize you and your white brothers. But we are not afraid of hard trails."...

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As yet, few Americans and fewer Europeans realize that America is not just a pale reflection of Europe -- that what is distinctive about America is Indian, through and through. American cigarettes, chewing gum, rubber balls, popcorn and corn flakes, flapjacks and maple syrup, still make European eyebrows crawl. American disrespect for the authority of parents, presidents and would-be dictators still shocks our European critics. And visitors from the Old World are still mystified when they find no peasants on American soil. But the expressions of pain, surprise and amused superiority that one finds in European accounts of the habits of the "crazy Americans" are not new. One finds them in European reports of American life that are 200 and even 400 years old. All these things, and many things more important in our life today, were distinctively American when the first European immigrants came to these shores....

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[1] From The American Scholar, Spring 1952, 21:177-91; reprinted (excerpts) with permission of Mrs. Felix Cohen. Suggested for use with "Influences of Native Cultures," grade 8, lesson 2, B-139.

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Through four centuries the Spanish, English, and American Indian Bureaus have tried to turn Indians into submissive peasants. So far they have failed. To that failure we owe much that is precious in our American way of life.

As yet, only a few scholars know that the changes wrought in white life by Indian teachers are far more impressive -- even if we measure them by the white man's dollar yardstick -- than any changes white teachers have yet brought to Indian life. How many white farmers know that four-sevenths of our national farm produce is of plants domesticated or created by Indian botanists of pre-Columbian times? Take from the agriculture of the New World the great Indian gifts of corn, tobacco, white and sweet potatoes, beans, peanuts, tomatoes, pumpkins, chocolate, American cotton, and rubber, and American life would lose more than half its color and joy as well as more than half its agricultural income. Without these Indian gifts to American agriculture, we might still be back at the level of permanent semi-starvation that kept Europeans for thousands of years ever-ready to sell their freedom for crusts of bread and royal circuses. And if we lost not only the Indian's material gifts, but the gifts of the Indian's spirit as well, perhaps we should be just as willing as Europeans have been to accept crusts of bread and royal circuses for the surrender of our freedom. For it is out of a rich Indian democratic tradition that the distinctive political ideals of American life emerged. Universal suffrage for women as well as for men, the pattern of states within a state that we call federalism, the habit of treating chiefs as servants of the people instead of as their masters, the insistence that the community must respect the diversity of men and the diversity of their dreams -- all these things were part of the American way of life before Columbus landed....

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When Roman legions conquered Greece, Roman historians wrote with as little imagination as did the European historians who have written of the white...conquest of America. What the Roman historians did not see was that captive Greece would take captive conquering Rome, and that Greek science, Greek philosophy, and a Greek book known as the Septuagint, translated into the Latin tongue, would guide the civilized world and bring the tramp of pilgrim feet to Rome a thousand years after the last Roman regiment was destroyed.

American historians, thinking, like their Roman forebears, of military victories and changing land boundaries, have failed to see that in agriculture, in government, in sport, in education, and in our views of nature and our fellow men, it is the First Americans who have taken captive their battlefield conquerors. Our historians, trained for the most part in Germany and England, have seen America only as an imitation of Europe. They have not seen that American Indians today -- who are, despite the prevailing myth of the Vanishing Indian, the most rapidly increasing race in our land -- are still teaching America to solve perplexing problems of land-use, education, government, and human relations, problems to which Europe never did find adequate answers.

Ideals

The real epic of America is the yet unfinished story of the Americanization of the White Man, the transformation of the hungry, fear-ridden, intolerant [people] that came to these shores with

Columbus and John Smith. Something happened to these immigrants. Some, to be sure, remained European, less hungry, perhaps, but equally intolerant and equally submissive to the authority of rulers and regulations. But some of these immigrants became Americans, tolerant and neighborly, as strong and self-reliant [people] may be, and for the same reason disrespectful of authority. To such Americans, a chief who forgets that he is a public servant and tries to tell other people what to do has always been an object of ridicule. American laughter has rippled down the centuries and upset many thrones....

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We need to remember that the Europe that lay behind Columbus as he sailed toward a New World was in many respects less civilized than the lands that spread before him. Politically, there was nothing in the kingdoms and empires of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to parallel the democratic constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy, with its provisions for initiative, referendum and recall, and its suffrage for women as well as men. Socially, there was in the Old World no system of old-age pensions, disability benefits, and unemployment insurance comparable to the system of the Incas.

Of what nation, European or Asiatic, in the sixteenth century could one have written as the historian Prescott wrote of the Incas:

> Their manifold provisions against poverty...were so perfect that in their wide extent of territory -- much of it smitten with the curse of barrenness -- no man, however humble, suffered for the want of food and clothing.

Out of America came the vision of a Utopia, where all [people] might be free, where government might rest upon the consent of the governed, rather than upon the divine right of kings, where no [one] could be dispossessed of the land he used for his sustenance. The vision that came to that great modern saint and legal philosopher, Thomas More, with the first reports he had from Amerigo Vespucci and other explorers of the New World -- the vision of a democratic society in which a forty-hour work week left time to enjoy life, in which even the humblest worker could afford to have windows in his home to let in the sunlight -- this vision lived on....

* * * * *

And even those who, like Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham, ridiculed all Utopias, ended up by formulating Utopias of their own. In these and many other ways, Indian America helped to civilize Europe.

To Francisco Vitoria, teacher of moral theology at the University of Salamanca, in 1532, reports from the New World showed the possibility of basing international dealings on reason and mutual accommodation, and thus provided the foundations for an international law not limited by a single religious faith. And when Hugo Grotius picked up the threads of Vitoria's thought to weave the fabric of modern international law, he too was deeply influenced by Indian examples of just government. To John Locke, the champion of tolerance and of the right of revolution, the state of nature and of natural equality to which [people] might appeal in rebellion against tyranny was set not in a remote dawn of history but beyond the Atlantic sunset. And so, too, Montaigne, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and their various contemporaries found in the democracy of native America, in the "liberty, equality, fraternity" of the Indians, a light for suffering humanity, a flame in which to burn away the dross of ancient despotisms. In the American Revolution, in the French Revolution, and in the revolt of the Spanish Colonies, the passion for liberty nourished by the Indian burst into consuming flame....

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Government

Were not the first common councils of the American Colonies, the Council of Lancaster in 1744 and the famous Albany Congress of 1754, councils called for the purpose of treating with the Iroquois Confederacy, whose leaders were unwilling to treat separately with the various quarreling Colonies? It was the great Iroquois Chief Canasategro who advised the Colonial governors meeting at Lancaster in 1744:

> Our Wise forefathers established Union and Amity between the Five Nations. This has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighboring Nations. We are a powerful Confederacy; and *by your observing the same Methods, our Wise Forefathers have taken, you will acquire such Strength and power. Therefore whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another.*

The advice of Canasategro was eagerly taken up by Benjamin Franklin.

> It would be a strange thing [he advised the Albany Congress] if Six Nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such an union and be able to execute it in such a manner that it has subsisted ages and appears indissoluble, and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies, to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous, and who cannot be supposed to want an equal understanding of their interest.

The author of the American Declaration of Independence and of our first bill of rights freely acknowledged his debt to Indian teachers. Comparing the freedom of Indian society with the oppression of European society, Thomas Jefferson struck the keynote of the great American experiment in democracy:

> Imperfect as this species of coercion may seem, crimes are very rare among them [the Indians of Virginia] so much that were it made a question, whether no law, as among the savage Americans, or too much law, as among the civilized Europeans, submits man to the greatest evil, one who has seen both conditions of existence would pronounce it to be the last; and that the sheep are happier of themselves, than under the care of the wolves. It will be said, that great societies cannot exist without government. The savages, therefore, break them into small ones.

Here Jefferson put his finger on the quality that distinguishes American attitudes toward government from continental attitudes. The caution against aggrandizement of governmental power, the preference for local self-government even though it seem less efficient, the trust in the ability of good neighbors to settle their own problems by mutual accommodation without totalitarian rule -- these are enduring elements of our American democracy.

The theory of American democracy is based upon the premise that self-government is better than expert government. The theory was simply stated by President Jefferson in his discussion with the Cherokees on forms of government. "The fool," he said, "has as great a right to express his opinion by vote as the wise, because he is equally free and equally master of himself." Here was an idea that, however it might have shocked Plato or Aristotle or Machiavelli, was not strange to the Cherokee chiefs. For they, like the chiefs of many other Indian tribes, would again and again refuse to make decisions for their people until the decision had been thoroughly thrashed out in the councils of the people and approved by majority, or, more commonly, by unanimous agreement. This characteristic of Indian leadership, often so annoying to white administrators who want swift decisions from Indian leaders, has been a sustaining source of strength to Indian democracy. Who shall say that this deference to the public will is not the greatest achievement of American political leadership, and the greatest lesson that the Americas may teach to lands less free beyond the seas?

Agriculture, Medicine, and Freedom

Measurement is difficult in the realm of political theories: those accustomed to the histories of the conqueror will hardly be convinced, though example be piled on example, that American democracy, freedom, and tolerance are more American than European and have deep aboriginal roots in our land. But measurement is easier in the field of agriculture. And here the disparagers of Indian life are up against the hard fact that the larger part of the agricultural output of the United States, and of all America, consists of plants domesticated by the Indian. Irish potatoes, Turkish tobacco, India rubber, Egyptian cotton -- what are all these but Indian products disguised with respectable Old World names?

Significantly enough, the products of Indian agriculture were resisted as bitterly in the Old World as were the ideas of democracy, liberty, and tolerance that floated back to Europe from the New World. The bitterness of this resistance is evidenced by the cut-off ears and noses of German peasants who for centuries refused, despite all punishments, to eat potatoes, and by the dire penalties inflicted from England to India upon smokers of tobacco. Down to recent decades the tomato, or love apple, was regarded by most Europeans as poisonous. Gradually a few of the agricultural achievements of Indian America have become accepted by the rest of the world. But is there any reason to think that this process of give-and-take is at an end? The rediscovery of an old Indian dish, toasted corn flakes, not many years ago revolutionized the breakfast habits of the United States. We have just increased America's corn crop by 40 per cent by rediscovering the Indian preference for hybrid corn.

In medicine, as in the production of food and textiles, the conventional picture of the Indian as an ignorant savage is very far from the truth. Until a few years ago most of America's contributions to medical science were of Indian origin. Quinine, cocaine, cascara, sagrada, ipecac, witch hazel, oil of wintergreen, petroleum jelly, arnica -- all these and many other native medicines were known and developed by the medical profession in America long before the first white physician landed on American shores. In fact each of these products was denounced by learned European doctors before it became accepted into the normal pharmacopoeia. And it is interesting to note that in the 400 years that European physicians and botanists have been examining and analyzing the flora of America, they have not yet discovered a medicinal herb not known to the Indians.

These are material things that can be counted and measured. They constitute tangible refutation of the slander that the Indian did not know how to make use of...land and its resources until the white conqueror taught him. But to limit one's gaze to these materials is not only to lose sight of the intangibles of American life but even to miss the human significance of these material things. For corn, as countless Indian generations have known, is not simply a thing. It is a way of life. Corn, reproducing itself three hundredfold, without benefit of horse or plow -- where plowed fields of wheat or rye produce only twentyfold or thirtyfold -- is a sturdy friend of freedom. The frontiersman who would not accept a burdensome government could take a sack of seed corn on his shoulders into the wilderness in the spring, and after three months he might be reasonably assured against hunger for the rest of his life. No such path to freedom, no such check upon the growth of tyranny, was ever open to growers of wheat or rye or rice....

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"Tomahawk Rights" and "Corn Titles" are the terms that were once applied to American frontier homesteads. But the tomahawk rights and corn titles are far older than the white...homestead laws. American pioneers were following an old Indian pattern when they went into the wilderness, chopped down trees or girdled them with their tomahawks, planted their corn among the stumps, and claimed possession by right of use and occupancy. The whole economic history of rural America has been a struggle between the feudal land tenures of Europe, glorifying the absentee owner...on the one hand, and on the other, the Indian land tenure, where land right is the fruit of use and occupancy.

What is the great American contribution to the law of property? Is it not the homestead system, the grant of land rights based on use and occupancy, and the protection of the homestead against levy, execution, and taxes?...

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Because the Indian attitude to land emphasized the duty of loving care, rather than the right to alienate or collect rents, which was the mark of property rights in feudal Europe, it seemed to Vespucci that here was no real property; and More, who incorporated whole phrases of Vespucci's account in his *Utopia,* wrote of his ideal commonwealth: "They count themselves rather the good husbands, than the owners of their lands." (Utopia, Bk. II)

Even the lowly Indian (Irish) potato revolutionized European history. First, it banished the fear of hunger from millions of European homes. For a farm family that would starve on four acres of wheat or rye could thrive and multiply on an acre of potatoes. The introduction of the white potato resulted in an unprecedented rise in the standard of living of Europe and the British Isles, and ultimately laid the basis for a great growth in population density and a vast expansion of commerce and industry.

Tobacco, too, carried with it a way of life. The pipe of peace is an enduring symbol of the invitation to relaxation and contentment that makes poor men rich.

Love of Nature and Sports

If American agriculture today is predominantly Indian in its origin, may not the same be true of less tangible aspects of the life that our agriculture sustains? Consider, for example, the love of nature that is institutionalized in our athletics, in our...scout movement, and in our vacation habits. In the Europe of Columbus, bathing was a sinful indulgence. One of Queen Isabella's first instructions to her agents who sought to civilize the Indians in 1503 was: "They are not to bathe as frequently as hitherto." Less than 200 years ago it was a misdemeanor in Boston to take a bath except when prescribed by a physician. In the Europe of Columbus' day, group athletic contests were practically unknown; and the color of white paste or swansdown was an essential part, according to the poets, of the European aristocratic ideal of feminine beauty. The millions of dollars spent every year by American vacationists, men and women, on resort beaches, acquiring the golden tan of an Indian skin, is the best tangible evidence of the way in which the Indian's love of sun and water, of bodily beauty, cleanliness and athletic prowess, in both sexes, has become a part of the American soul.

"During his second visit to South America," the *Encyclopedia Britannica* tells us, "Columbus was astonished to see the native Indians amusing themselves with a black, heavy ball made from a vegetable gum. Later explorers were equally impressed by these balls, and an historian of the time remarked that they rebounded so much that they appeared alive."

What has happened to these balls? You will find them all across the face of America, on tennis courts and football fields, in basketball courts no different from the basketball courts uncovered in ancient cities like Mitla, in Mexican Oaxaca. You will find them in baseball parks, on sandlots, and on the sidewalks of our teeming cities. You will find them tied with rubber strings to little girls' fingers.

The sports of pre-Columbian Europe revolved chiefly about killing -- killing of stags, bears, birds, fish, bulls, foxes, and human beings, with and without armor. Those sports that did not involve actual killing, such as archery, were at least concerned with practice for it. To this day a sportsman, in Europe, is one who kills for pleasure rather than for food or profit. Indian America substituted the rubber balls that "rebounded so much that they appeared alive." The Indian games out of which our national games have evolved are not always recognizable today, but the spirit of group sport and team play that was cultivated in pre-Columbian America still offers a peaceful outlet for combative instincts that in other lands find bloodier forms of expression. And millions of white tourists and vacationists -- whether or not they use such Indian inventions as teepees, moccasins, canoes, rubber balls, hammocks, pack baskets, tump lines, toboggans, and snowshoes, and whether or not they munch chocolate, peanuts or popcorn, chew gum or smoke tobacco -- are learning what the Indians knew centuries ago: the peace and adventure of the trail and the campfire.

* * * * *

Looking to the Future

It is easier to talk about the past than about the future. But it is the future that really interests us, and the point that most needs making is that we still have much to learn from the Indian. There is still much that we can take from the Indian to enrich ourselves without impoverishing the Indian. We have not by any means exhausted the great harvest of Indian inventions and discoveries in agriculture, government, medicine, sport, education, and craftsmanship. Can we be sure that we have nothing to learn from the Indian techniques in law that [some] leading American legal scholars...are finding so rich a source of insight for our own jurisprudence? Are we sure that we have nothing to learn from Indian techniques of government, techniques which in some tribes and pueblos have established political unanimity, a government truly based on the consent of the governed -- not for a moment, a month, or a year, but for unbroken centuries?

Beginning in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Indians bargaining over land sales won for themselves rights that white Americans would win many years or many decades afterwards -- the right to protection in homesteads against forced sales and taxes, the right to free schools and vocational training, to free public health facilities; and the rights of public credit, social security (in the form of food and clothing) against times of distress, and freedom from imprisonment for debt and other monstrosities of white...law. And year after year, assimilationists have cried out in horror, asking the abolition of these peculiarities that "set the Indian apart," while year after year [whites] were winning similar advantages for themselves. The more white [people] take on of Indian political customs, the more important becomes the role of the Indian as a teacher, and the more grotesque becomes the stereotype of Indian degradation with its threadbare corollary that we who have civilized the Indian have earned the right to take his lands, minerals, timber, and fisheries in payment.

Pure selfishness -- so rare a commodity -- would suggest that before we destroy the Indian and his way of life by seizing his last remaining resources, we should make sure that we have run through all the gifts of Indian agriculture, medicine, and sport. In the field of child care, for example, one of the great forward scientific movements at the present time takes off from the simple observation that Indian babies, brought up in traditional ways, rarely cry or stutter. Psychiatrists, pediatricians, and hospital administrators are now experimenting with substituting Indian methods of child training for the rigid schedules and formulas that have controlled the antiseptic babies of the last few decades.

Life after all is a pretty complicated business. There is a good deal about it that none of us understands. Customs as horrible, at first sight, as burning weeds and inhaling the smoke sometimes turn out to have a universal appeal. None of us knows enough about the other fellow's way of life to have a right to wipe it out. We are not gods to make other men in our own image. Is it not in our own best selfish interest to let our fellow [humans] plant their corn and cultivate it as they think best, while we watch and learn? When we have gathered the last golden grain of knowledge from the harvest of the Indian summer, then we can talk about Americanizing the Indian. Until then, we might do better to concentrate our attention on the real job of the New World, the job of Americanizing the white man.

GREAT LAW OF THE IROQUOIS[1]

Peacemaker and the Haudenosaunee

According to Rochester lawyer Lewis Henry Morgan, who wrote the first anthropological work about the Iroquois, League of the Iroquois, published in 1851, the tribes making up the Five Nations at one time lived in the vicinity of what is now Montreal, under subjugation to the Algonquian-speaking Adirondacks. Oppression forced the Haudenosaunee to migrate from the north and settle in what is now New York State, from the Hudson River and the Finger Lakes to Ontario. They eventually divided, spread out and became five bands or nations: the Mohawks, the "People of Flint Stone"; the Oneidas, the "People of Standing Stone"; the Onondagas, the "People of the Hills"; the Cayugas, the "People of the Mucky Land or Swamp"; and the Senecas, the "People of the Great Hills."

Cadwallader Colden, who wrote the first English account of the Iroquois in his History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New-York in America, published in 1727, states: "The Five Nations...consist of...Nations joyn'd together by a League or Confederacy...without any Superiority of any one over the other. This Union has continued so long that the Christians know nothing of the Original of it...." Though the Handbook on North American Indians suggests that the Confederacy was established between 1400 and 1600, any precise historical date is still uncertain.

The Haudenosaunee, who know themselves as "people who build," or "the people of the Long House," have a traditional story about the formation of their confederacy and the law that governed it long before the arrival of the Europeans.

A very long time ago, in a time of blood feuding, intertribal warfare, and terror, the Peacemaker went first to the Mohawks, and then to the other four nations, offering the idea that all human beings possessed the power of rational thought. Rational thought enabled people to negotiate with others and create the conditions for peace. Peace between nations was to be not only the absence of violence, but also the active presence of creative interactions which would build a better, more whole world in the future.

Peacemaker took his message from village to village and nation to nation throughout the lands of the Haudenosaunee. The first person to accept the Peacemaker's message was the "Peace Mother." Eventually, all five nations agreed to Peacemaker's vision of peace, and gathered in council at Onondaga, in the center of the Nations, to set down the principles of the Gayaneshakgowa or the Great Law of Peace.

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[1] Article reprinted from The FCNL [Friends Committee on National Legislation] Newsletter, August/September 1987. Suggested for use with "Influences of Native Culture," grade 8, lesson 2, B-139.

The Great Law of Peace established laws and a code of conduct for the Iroquois nations in order to make peace by addressing sources of conflict among the nations. The 117-section Great Law was first written down in the 19th century, recorded previously on wampum belts, and passed from generation to generation by oral tradition, as it is today. The Great Law of Peace contains many of the principles found in American government today, including the recognition of the rights to freedom of speech and religion, the right of women to participate in government, separation of powers, and checks and balances between branches of government.

The original Five Nations of the Iroquois became the Six Nations around 1713. At that time, the Iroquoian-speaking Tuscarora, the "Shirt Wearing People," who had been dispossessed from their homelands in what is now the Carolinas by white settlers, were adopted by the Five Nations, and given a portion of Oneida territory as their own. While some Western writers have viewed the League largely as a military alliance, contemporary Iroquois leaders suggest that it was not so much military might, or even skills of diplomacy, as a common vision of the principle of rational thought leading to peaceful co-existence which contributed to the development and the strength of the Iroquois Confederacy. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, some 60 other Indian nations, living in areas ranging from Vermont to Ohio, and Quebec to Tennessee, had become part of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, in order to seek protection against the westward advances of the colonies.

Governance under the Great Law

The Iroquois, these People of the Long House, likened their confederacy to a long house, with partitions and separate fires under a common roof. Each of the five nations was made up of eight tribes or clans, with kinship bonds weaving the Iroquois League together.

The authority of the League was vested in 49 sachems or chiefs. The sachemships were distributed unequally among the member nations, and were hereditary, held and bestowed by the clan mothers of the matrilineal society. Women appointed and instructed men as representatives to the various councils, and the men shared power by being the public speakers.

The sachems of the Five Nations formed the Council of the League, which met at Onondaga, the unofficial capital. The Council was the ruling body which held executive, legislative and judicial authority. As a Council, the sachems concerned themselves with external matters, declared war and made peace, sent and received emissaries, entered into treaties, regulated affairs of subject nations, and granted the League's protection. The Council did not interfere in the internal affairs of each tribe, which were each under the governance of their respective sachems.

According to Morgan, "The crowning feature of the League, as a political structure, was the perfect independence and individuality of the national sovereignties, in the midst of a central and embracing government.... The government sat lightly upon the people, who, in effect, were governed but little."

The power of the sachems was more advisory than executive, for the government of each nation and the Council itself rested upon the popular will and not upon the absolute power of their leaders. Especially important matters that came before the Council of the League were submitted to the people for their decision, which in turn affected the decision of the Council. If the people's will was not done, the sachems appointed to the Council could be impeached or even killed.

Authority was further shared between the Older and Younger Brothers. The Mohawks, Onondagas and Senecas were "brothers" to each other, but "fathers" to, or the "older brothers" of, the other nations. The Cayugas and Oneidas were the "younger brothers" (or "children"). Because the Tuscaroras joined the Confederacy later, they did not participate in the Council, but did have their own sachems to administer the affairs of their nation.

The Council of the Iroquois League followed a fundamental principle of unanimity in a seven-step decision-making process. The Mohawks would initiate a decision, agreed to by all the Mohawk sachems. Then the Senecas took up the decision in the same way. When the Senecas had considered the issue and agreed with the Mohawks, the Oneida and Cayugas took up the issue by the same process. The Oneida and Cayuga decision had to be confirmed by the Mohawks and Senecas, who would then present the issue to the Onondagas. The Onondaga sachems could disapprove and veto the decision, or present it to the Mohawks and Senecas to be announced as unanimous.

It is difficult not to place on a society like the Iroquois such terms as bicameral, checks and balances, and veto power, and thereby reconstruct or translate history in the language and light of today. It is perhaps more important to understand that those statesmen who crafted the U.S. system of government had studied and learned from the system of governance under the Great Law.

ROOTS OF CONSTITUTION IN IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY, SCHOLARS SAY

by Susan Stanich, Night-Ridder Newspapers

Bangor Daily News, November 14-15, 1987

Duluth, Minn. -- When Americans search for the roots of our form of government, we generally dig in European soil: the Mayflower Compact, John Locke, the Ancient Greeks, the Age of Enlightenment.

But, according to some scholars, the deepest, most nourishing roots are here at home. They're in the Great Law of Peace of the multination Iroquois Confederacy and in the democratic governments of other North American Indian tribes.

"There is considerable difference between the American form of democracy and others," said historian and Chippewa Carl Gawboy of the College of St. Scholastica in Duluth. "And people have been arguing and arguing about, 'Why is American democracy unique? Because of taming the wilderness, because these great ideas came forth from the plow breaking the virgin prairie sod?'

"Obviously, it's because there were unique ideas exchanged. As that American was breaking the prairie sod, he was probably chatting with an Indian about how to operate a society."

In colonial times, there was considerable interaction between colonists and Indians, said Bruce Burton, an Iroquois scholar who is chairman of the English Department at Vermont's Castleton College.

For 150 years, he said, the colonists lived in the shadow of the Iroquois Confederacy -- then the most powerful military and economic force in North America. They depended on these "Romans of the New World" for their defense against other tribes and against the French.

The newcomers learned consciously and subconsciously, by proximity and observation and participation, how a democratic republic worked, Burton said. They developed a taste not only for corn and turkey, but for individual liberty as well.

"You can't help, when you're dependent on anyone, to see how their comportment is generally, as human beings," he said. "The [colonists] began to assimilate very much the Indian idea of self-determination."

The Iroquois Great Law of Peace has governed them for at least 500 and possibly 1,500 years, making the confederacy -- according to Iroquois subchief Thomas Porter of the Mohawk Nation -- the longest-standing constitutional democracy on earth.

"It has always been the boast of the Iroquois that our written constitution...was derived from their unwritten one," wrote historian, literary critic and political scientist Edmund Wilson in 1959 in "Apologies to the Iroquois."

The Iroquois values of democratic government, universal suffrage, referendum, recall and initiative were new concepts to the 17th-century colonists, according to the late Yale law professor and Indian law scholar Felix Cohen.

"There was nothing in the kingdoms and empires of Europe...to parallel [them]," Cohen wrote in The Legal Conscience. "Indian America helped to civilize Europe."

Thomas Jefferson showed lively interest in Indian governments and wrote admiringly of Cherokee society, where "the fool has as great a right to express his opinion by vote as the

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[1] Suggested for use with "Influences of Native Cultures," grade 8, lesson 2, B-139.

wise, because he is equally free and equally master of himself."

George Washington and James Madison were personally involved in treaty negotiations with the Iroquois -- which always were conducted in accordance with Iroquois rules of order -- only a few years before the framing of the U.S. Constitution.

As ambassador to the Iroquois, Benjamin Franklin sat in on treaty conferences, attended Grand Council sessions and developed friendships with Iroquois. He also spoke Mohawk, an Iroquoian language, said Jose Barreiro of Cornell University's American Indian Program in Ithaca, N.Y., who also is a "runner," or aide, with the Mohawk delegation to the confederate council.

Iroquois Chief Canassatego, assuming the role of elder statesman at the Council of Lancaster in 1754, advised the colonists to unite: "We are a powerful confederacy, and by your observing the same methods our wise forefathers have taken you will acquire such strength and power. Therefore, whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another."

At the Albany Congress of 1754, Franklin urged the colonists to adopt that Iroquois model.

The Iroquois constitution is an oral document, requiring more than a week to recite, and codifies in detail two houses of government, referendum and recall, universal suffrage, the role of government representative as servant, power checks and balances, and equal rights among states.

"The saying in Council is, 'By the people, for the people, of the people and for those yet unborn,'" said Paul DeMain, editor of the Lac Courte Oreilles Journal near Hayward, Wis., former staff member of Wisconsin Gov. Anthony Earl and Oneida -- Iroquois -- Indian. "The whole system that the United States operates on is based on the Iroquois constitution."

But that's not a generally accepted notion. For example, eminent American historian Henry Steele Commager made no mention of Indian influence in an article on constitutional history published last May in the Philadelphia Inquirer.

On the contrary, he wrote that the colonial Founding Fathers had "managed to invent or create every major political and constitutional institution we boast today."

This is ethnocentrism, Gawboy said. "The Constitution is America's most beloved possession, and I don't think [white Americans] could ever reconcile that the race they were trying to eradicate they actually owed for their most prized possession."

In a recent telephone interview, Commager said he's unaware of any direct impact by the Iroquois, and anyone wondering about it should talk to Iroquois-colonial scholars.

Russell Menard, professor and chairman of history at the University of Minnesota, said one reason that some constitutional historians haven't found evidence of a broad Indian influence might be that they haven't looked for it.

In addition, the Founding Fathers might not have considered it politically wise to attribute their ideas to Indians, Menard said.

"We must approach the subject ready to be surprised, as our ancestors were surprised when they were new to America," said historian Bruce Johansen, in his 1986 book, "Forgotten Founders."

"We must be ready to acknowledge that American Indian societies were as thoughtfully constructed and historically significant to our present as the Romans, the Greeks, and other Old World peoples."

During this year of the Constitution, Indian leaders, scholars of Indian history and others are attempting to make that happen. Conferences on the Iroquois impact were held recently at Cornell University and at the Oneida Reservation near Green Bay, Wis.

"By the mere omission of Indian people in history, many people have stereotypes and racist attitudes built right into them," said Oneida Stan Webster, coordinator of the Green Bay conference.

The Earth Way

All ways that I walk over the earth
From the salty oceans rim
Over the misty mountain tip
Beyond the mossy highway path
Vibrating energy from the earth mother fills my soul and mind
I desire not to search out blood baths
Or archeological finds
Or historical oversights
I know that many gifts of creation need to be acknowledged and to be thanked
For within my heart's eye I see
The tiny bud struggling to give bloom to beauty
And the tiny egg waiting to give wing to wind
I yearn for truth and purity of earth life
And when I stumble over them I become shy at their love
My drum ceases to call their spirits for they are here and they are now
I mumble my thanks and whisper my acknowledgement
To creation which still fulfills its purpose
Sometimes I cry when within
The gray sidewalk coffin I see a tiny blade of grass
I greet the one who has struggled to be a part of the mass you and me — we
All together in the here and now struggling to be
And when we no longer walk the circle of life
Maybe other life will still feed on our skeleton remains
And know that in our struggle
Those tears that we dropped into the oceans
And those echoes we left on the mountains
And those footprints that fade on the paths
Someone has acknowledged our creation
And thanked us for still following our ways
The traditional ways the spiritual ways the earth ways
The ways our ancestors in humility and gratefulness
Sought to honor the sacredness of the earth mother
For it is she who gives birth
And it is her breasts which give us life
And we are taking care of her, because we care.

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READINGS

Introduction

The Readings are included in the Resource Book to give students some materials to help them better understand Wabanaki life during different periods of history.

The first section includes some of the **legends** that are such an important part of Wabanaki people's oral history. Although they have been collected in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most of the legends included here tell of **a time before Europeans came to North America**. Certainly the legends have changed over time, and reflect some of the changes that have occurred since the time the stories describe. But they are especially valuable because they record events, important values, and the original instructions as to how to live.

Most of the legends included here were recorded by Frank G. Speck and Charles G. Leland, both of whom studied Wabanaki cultures and who tried to preserve the legends as they were told to them. There are two exceptions. One is a Penobscot story written down by a Penobscot, Molly Spotted Elk, in her youth. The other, a story written by Kay Hill, combines several different legends. We use it as an introduction or overview of Gluskap's life to help readers put the other Gluskap stories into context. For more information about how to interpret the legends, see the lesson plan section on legends beginning on B-57.

Stories from the Past includes stories from or about different periods in history **from 1400 to the 1920s**. Two of the stories, "A Micmac Looks at the Ways of Europeans" and "A Passamaquoddy Speaks to the Maine Legislature: 1887," record Wabanaki people's thoughts about events that were happening at the time. "Maliyan" was written by a Passamaquoddy woman who interviewed many people about life in the 1920s and combined their stories into one. "Maliseets in the Revolutionary War" was adapted from a much longer story written for the Wabnaki Bilingual Program at Indian Township. The other four stories in this section are historical fiction, written for this resource book. For ideas about how to use the stories in this section, refer to the lesson plan sections from "Wabanaki Life 500 Years Ago" through "An Invisible People."

The **Interviews with Wabanaki People Today** include the thoughts of about 30 Wabanaki people from New England and the Maritimes. The people speaking tell what they think about **life in the 1980s**, as well as family memories from this century and the last. The people interviewed describe a variety of lifestyles and experiences, and express a variety of opinions about events. For ideas about how to use these interviews in the classroom, refer to the lesson plan sections "An Invisible People" and "Contemporary Life."

The **Children's Essays** are very short essays written by children telling what their lives are like. These are included mainly for fourth graders to use in discussing **contemporary Wabanaki life**. For a lesson plan on how to use them, see B-131.

LEGENDS

KOLUSKAP[1] AND HIS PEOPLE[2]

In reading the story of Koluskap [GLOOS-kahb] and his brother Malsom [MAHL-s'm], it must be remembered that the Wabanakis did not necessarily -- at least in ancient times -- think of "good" and "evil" as they are commonly understood today. As the story is told here, it is easy for modern readers to call Koluskap the good brother and Malsom the evil brother; but this may be misleading. For instance, consider the role designated by the Passmaquoddy-Maliseet word motewolon [m'DEH-w'-l'n] -- a person with supernatural powers. Ordinarily we might wonder whether such a person uses his or her powers "for good" or "for evil." A motewolon, however, is not good or evil at heart, but simply may use supernatural powers to help or obstruct others.

When Malsom creates Laks, the wolverine, his intent appears wholly evil -- in this version of the legend. Laks, however, has important lessons to teach the animals. In other legends too, his lessons, though painful, benefit men and women. It is by no means far-fetched to say that Koluskap and His People, and other legends like it, have been influenced by the Christian account of creation, and in particular by the role played by Satan (the Devil) in obstructing God's work.

Not all peoples in the world draw a distinction between good and evil actions, intents, and wishes. The Wabanakis believed that people are an integral part of the world and that their lives are inseparable from other events, that they neither control nor dominate the world. This seems to indicate that they accepted human (and supernatural) actions for what they were, without categorizing them according to independent moral and ethical standards. That is not to say that the Wabanakis did not recognize certain actions as good and others as evil -- after all, the Wabanaki languages have words for "good" and "evil". The Wabanakis did not, however, connect actions -- or people -- to an ultimate power of Good or Evil existing in the world.

In the beginning, there was just the forest and the sea -- no people and no animals. Then Koluskap came. He came from somewhere in the Sky with Malsom his twin brother to the part of North America nearest the rising sun. There, anchoring his canoe, he turned it into a granite island covered with spruce and pine. He called the island Oktokomkuk ['k-t'-G'M-koog], the land we know today as Newfoundland. This, in the beginning, was Koluskap's lodge.

The Great Chief looked and lived like an ordinary Indian except that he was twice as tall and twice as strong, and possessed great magic. He was never sick, never married, never grew old, and never died. He had a magic belt which gave him great power, and he used this power only for good. Malsom, his brother, also great of stature, had the head of a wolf and the body of an Indian. He knew magic too, but he used his power for evil.

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[1] The Passamaquoddy and Maliseet form of Gluskap. The Wabanaki words used here are all Maliseet-Passamaquoddy except for the very last word at the ending, which is Micmac. They were changed from the words in the original story, which were Anglicized. The Passamaquoddy-Maliseet words in this story are pronounced on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.

[2] This story comes from Legends of the Wabanaki Indians: Glooscap and His Magic, by Kay Hill, published by McClelland and Stewart Limited in 1963. A few sentences were omitted and a few words changed from Kay Hill's original. Details of the Gluskap story vary somewhat among the different Wabanaki groups.

It was the warm time when Koluskap came. As he set about his work, the air was fragrant with balsam and the tang of the sea. First, out of the rocks, he made the Little People -- the fairies, or mihkomuwehsisok [mee-k'm-WA-seez-'g], small creatures who dwelt among the rocks and made wonderful music on the flute, such music that all who heard it were bewitched. From amongst them, Koluskap chose someone to help him, Marten, who was like a younger brother to him.

Next Koluskap made the people. Taking up his great bow, he shot arrows into the trunks of ash trees. Out of the trees stepped men and women. They were a strong and graceful people with light brown skins and shining black hair, and Koluskap called them the Wabanaki, which means "those who live where the day breaks." In time, the Wabanakis left Oktokomkuk and divided into separate groups and are today a part of the great Algonquian nation -- but in the old days only the Micmacs, Maliseets, Penobscots, and Passamaquoddies, living in the eastern woodlands of Canada and the United States, were Koluskap's People.

Gazing upon his handiwork, Koluskap was pleased and his shout of triumph made the tall pines bend like grass.

He told the people he was their Great Chief and would rule them with love and justice. He taught them how to build birchbark wigwams and canoes, how to make weirs for catching fish, and how to identify plants useful in medicine. He taught them the names of all the Stars, who were his brothers.

Then, from among them, he chose an elderly woman whom he called Uhkomi [OO-k'-mee], or grandmother, which is a term of respect amongst Indians for any elderly woman. Nuhkomi was the Great Chief's teacher all her days.

Now, finally, out of rocks and clay, Koluskap made the animals -- Mihku [MEE-koo] the Squirrel, Mus [mooz] the Moose, Muwin [MOO-een] the Bear, and many, many others. Malsom looked on enviously, thinking he too should have had a hand in creation, but he had not been given that power. However, he whispered an evil charm, and the remainder of the clay in Koluskap's hands twisted and fell to the ground in the form of a strange animal -- not beaver, not badger, not wolverine, but something of all three, and capable of taking any of these forms he chose.

"His name is Laks [lahks]!" said Malsom triumphantly.

"So be it," said Koluskap. "Let Laks live amongst us in peace, so long as he remains a friend." Yet he resolved to watch Laks closely, for he could read the heart and knew that Laks had Malsom's evil in him.

Now Koluskap had made the animals all very large, most of them larger and stronger than people. Laks, the troublemaker, at once saw his chance to make mischief.

He went in his wolverine body to Mus the Moose and admired his fine antlers, which reached up to the top of the tallest pine tree. "If you should ever meet a man," said Laks, "you could toss him on your horns up to the top of the world."

Now Mus, who was just a little bit stupid, went at once to Koluskap and said, "Please, Master, give me a man, so I can toss him on my horns up to the top of the world!"

"I should say not!" cried Koluskap, touching Mus with his hand -- and the moose was suddenly the size he is today.

Then Laks went in his badger form to the squirrel and said, "With that magnificent tail of yours, Mihku, you could smash down every lodge in the village."

"So I could," said Mihku proudly, and with his great tail he swept the nearest wigwam right off the ground. But the Great Chief was near. He caught Mihku up in his hand and stroked the squirrel's back until he was as small as he is today.

"From now on," said his Master, "you will live in trees and keep your tail where it belongs." And since that time Mihku the Squirrel has carried his bushy tail on his back.

Next, the rascally Laks put on his beaver shape and went to Muwin the Bear, who was hardly any bigger than he is today, but had a much larger throat.

"Muwin," said Laks slyly, "supposing you met a man, what would you do to him?" The bear scratched his head thoughtfully. "Eat him," he said at last, with a grin. "Yes, that's what I'd do -- I'd swallow him whole!" And having said this, Muwin felt his throat begin to shrink.

"From now on," said Koluskap sternly, "you may swallow only very small creatures." And today the bear, big as he is, eats only small animals, fish, and wild berries.

Now the Great Chief was greatly annoyed at the way his animals were behaving, and wondered if he ought to have made them. He summoned them all and gave them a solemn warning:

"I have made you equal to people, but you wish to be their master. Take care -- or they may become yours!"

This did not worry the troublemaker Laks, who only resolved to be more cunning in the future. He knew very well that Malsom was jealous of Koluskap and wished to be lord of the Indians himself. He also knew that both brothers had magic powers and that neither could be killed except in one certain way. What that way was, each kept secret -- from all but the Stars, whom they trusted. Each sometimes talked in the starlight to the people of the Sky.

"Little does Malsom know," said Koluskap to the Stars, "that I can never be killed except by the blow of a flowering rush." And not far off, Malsom boasted to those same Stars -- "I am quite safe from Koluskap's power. I can do anything I like, for nothing can harm me but the roots of a flowering fern."

Now, alas, Laks was hidden close by and overheard both secrets. Seeing how he might turn this to his own advantage, he went to Malsom and said with a knowing smile, "What will you give me, Malsom, if I tell you Koluskap's secret?"

"Anything you like," cried Malsom. " Quick -- tell me!"

"Nothing can hurt Koluskap save a flowering rush," said the traitor. "Now give me a pair of wings, like the pigeon, so I can fly."

But Malsom laughed.

"What need has a beaver of wings?" And kicking the troublemaker aside, he sped to find a flowering rush. Laks picked himself up furiously and hurried to Koluskap.

"Master!" he cried, "Malsom knows your secret and is about to kill you. If you would save yourself, know that only a fern root can destroy him!"

Koluskap snatched up the nearest fern, root and all, just in time -- for his evil brother was upon him, shouting his war cry. And all the animals, who were angry at Koluskap for reducing their size and power, cheered Malsom; but the Indians were afraid for their Master.

Koluskap braced his feet against a cliff, and Malsom paused. For a moment, the two crouched face to face, waiting for the moment to strike. Then the wolf-like Malsom lunged at Koluskap's head. Twisting his body aside, the Great Chief flung his weapon. It went swift to its target, and Malsom leapt back -- too late. The fern root pierced his envious heart, and he died.

Now the Indians rejoiced, and the animals crept sullenly away. Only Laks came to Koluskap, impudently.

"I'll have my reward now, Master," he said, "a pair of wings, like the pigeon's."

"Faithless creature!" Koluskap thundered, knowing full well who had betrayed him, "I made no such bargain. Be gone!" And he hurled stone after stone at the fleeing Laks. Where the stones fell -- in Minas Basin -- they turned into islands and are there still. And the banished Laks roams the world to this day, appealing to the evil in men's hearts and making trouble wherever he goes.

Now Koluskap called his people around him and said, "I made the animals to be friends of the people, but the animals have acted with selfishness and treachery. Hereafter, they shall be your servants and provide you with food and clothing."

Then he showed the men how to make bows and arrows and stone-tipped spears, and how to use them. He also showed the women how to scrape hides and turn them into clothing.

"Now you have power over even the largest wild creatures," he said. "Yet I charge you to use this power gently. If you take more game than you need for food and clothing, or kill for the pleasure of killing, then you will be visited by a pitiless giant named Famine, and when he comes among people, they suffer hunger and die."

The Indians readily promised to obey Koluskap in this, as in all things. But now, to their dismay, they saw Marten launch the Master's canoe and Uhkomi entering it with Koluskap's household goods. Koluskap was leaving them!

"I must dwell now in a separate place," said the Great Chief, "so that you, my people, will learn to stand alone, and become brave and resourceful. Nevertheless, I shall never be far from you, and whoever seeks me diligently in time of trouble will find me."

Then, waving farewell to his sorrowful Wabanakis, Koluskap set off for the mainland. Rounding the southern tip of what is now Nova Scotia, the Great Chief paddled up the Bay of Fundy. In the distance, where the Bay narrows and the great tides of Fundy rush into Minas Basin, Koluskap saw a long purple headland, like a moose swimming, with clouds for antlers, and headed his canoe in that direction. Landing, he gazed at the slope of red sandstone, with its groves of green trees at the summit, and admired the amethysts encircling its base like a string of purple beads.

"Here I shall build my lodge," said Koluskap, and he named the place Blomidon.

Now Koluskap dwelt on Blomidon a very long time, and during that time did many wonderful things for his People. Of these things you will hear in the pages to follow.

But for the present, nitte psiw [NEET-tem-seew], which means "that's all."

THREE KəLOSKαPE[1] LEGENDS[2]

KəLOSKαPE'S CHILDHOOD

Here starts my story of Kəlóskαpe [K'LOS-kuh-beh]. He lived with his grandmother Woodchuck. She raised him and taught him everything; how to hunt, fish, and how to make his living. When he grew large enough to use a bow, he said to his grandmother, "Make me a bow and arrows, I want to hunt deer, I am already tired of rabbit's meat and fish." Then he roamed away and killed a deer and she was glad. She was very proud of him. The next day he roamed and killed a bear. "What creature is it?" he asked her when he brought it home. She was glad and began to dance. "You've killed a bear, a great piece of meat. Now we shall have plenty of fat. We shall live richly," said she and of her grandson, "He will be a great shaman. He will do great wonders for our descendants as he goes on," she thought to herself, "because various things will endanger our lives. Some animals will try to kill us. Some rivers will try to drown us. Change them so they will not be dangerous." Then Kəlóskαpe said to his grandmother, "I would like you to show me how to build a canoe so that I can hunt ducks." "Surely I will teach you grandson!" So she taught him how to build a canoe, and at last it was finished. She was glad when he paddled out to get ducks. He got a great many.

KəLOSKαPE RELEASES THE GAME ANIMALS

Then he lay down on his bed and began to sing, wishing for a magic game-bag so that he could get the animals easier. His grandmother Woodchuck then made him a game-bag of deer hair. When it was finished, she tossed it to Kəlóskαpe but he did not stop singing. Then again she made one of moose hair and tossed it to him, but he did not stop. Then pulling Woodchuck hairs from her belly she made one of those. Kəlóskαpe was glad, and he thanked her. Then he went into the woods and called all the animals. He said to them, "Come on, you animals, the world is coming to an end, and you animals will all die." Then animals of all kinds came, and he told them, "Get inside my bag, here. In there you will not see the world come to an end." Then they entered the bag, and he carried it to the wigwam. "Now, grandmother," said he, "I have brought game animals. From now on we will not have such a hard time searching for game." Then Woodchuck went and saw all the different kinds of animals which were in the bag. She went into the wigwam and said, "You have not done

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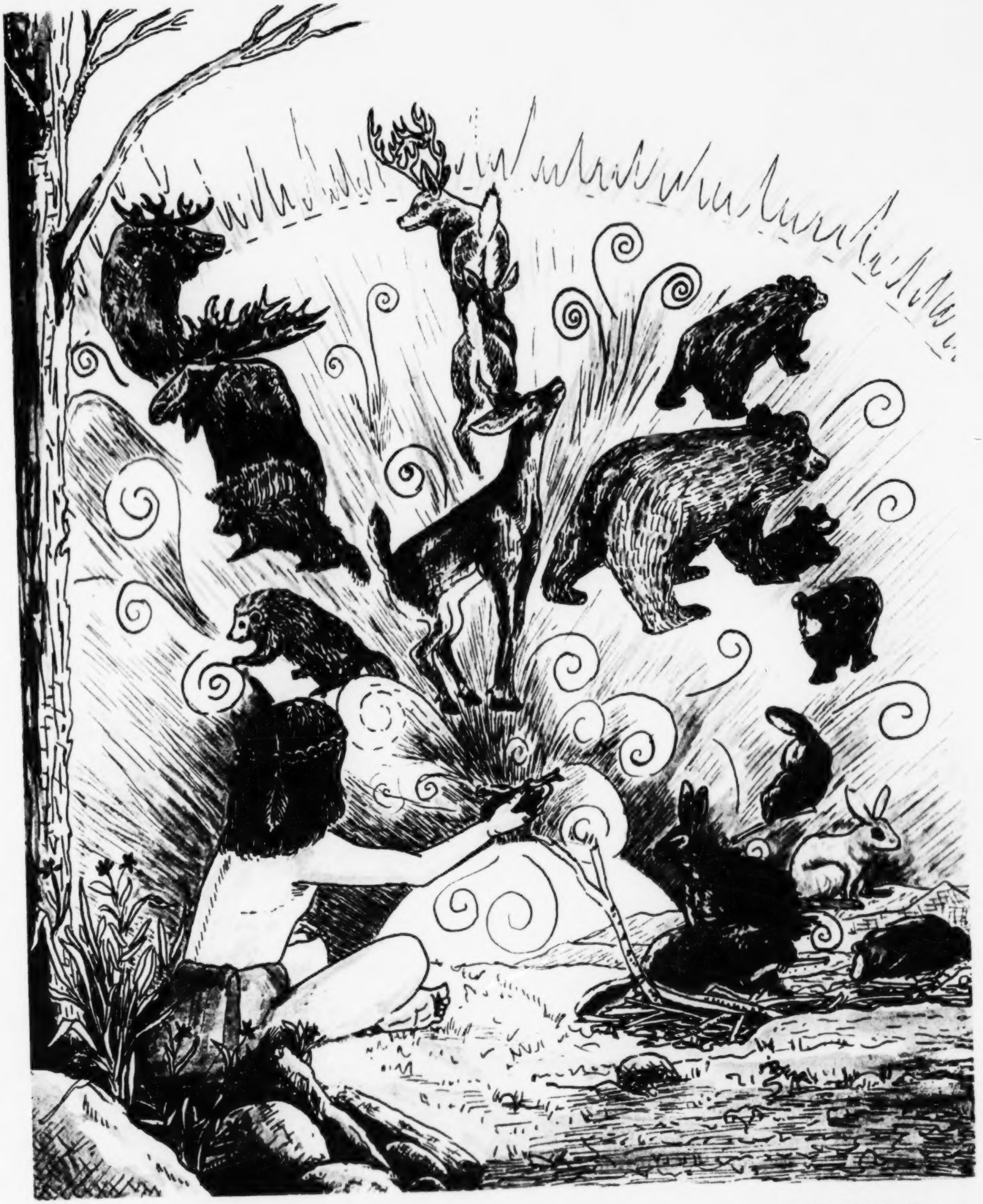
[1] The Penobscot form of Gluskap. The Penobscot pronunciation of this word is recorded on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.

[2] The source for these legends is "Penobscot Tales and Religious Beliefs," by Frank G. Speck, which appeared in Journal of American Folklore 48, no. 187 (1935). Wording of the stories has been changed slightly to make them easier for students to read. Kəlóskαpe is written in the standard Penobscot spelling system. The spelling used by Frank Speck in the original stories was Gluskabe.



Drawing © Shirley Bear

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well, grandson. In the future our descendants will die of starvation. I have placed great hopes in you for our descendants. Do not do what you have done. You must only do what will benefit them, our descendants." Kəlóskαpe heeded his grandmother. He went and opened the bag and told the animals, "Go out. The danger has already gone by. Go out!" And they scattered.

KƏLOSKαPE TRAPS ALL THE FISH

He continued going about. When he returned to his wigwam, he saw his grandmother fishing there. At last he thought how hard it was that she really caught so few fish. Then he thought to himself, "It would be better if I helped my grandmother, so that she would not have so hard a time fishing." Then he built a fish trap across the river at its mouth. When he had made it, he left an opening half way so that the fish could go in. Then he went out on the ocean and shouted as he moved about, saying to the fishes, "The ocean is going to dry. The end of the world is coming, all of you will die. Now I have arranged it so that you will live, all the fish who hear me. Come into my river, and you will live, because my river will be here. Now, all who hear me, come." Then all the fish came. At last the fish trap became full. He closed it. He went to his wigwam and said to his grandmother, "Awi! Grandma, from now on you will not have so hard a time fishing. You will only need to go and get whatever kind of fishes you want." Then Woodchuck went to observe what he had done. When she arrived, there was the fish trap brim full of all kinds of fish, so much so that they almost crowded each other out. Then Woodchuck went away, and when she came to her wigwam, she said, "Grandson, you have not done well. All the fish will be killed. So what will our descendants in the future do to live? Because we have plenty of fish now, as many as we want, go and let them out." So he got up and said, "You speak truth, Grandma; I will go and open it up now."

THE GREAT BULL-FROG[1]

In the old times, there was an Indian village far away among the mountains little known to other men. And the people there were very comfortable: the men hunted every day, the women did the work at home, and all went well. The village was next to a brook. Except for the brook, there was not a drop of water in all the country round, unless in a few rain puddles. No one there had ever even found a spring.

Now the people liked good water. The brook was very good, and they became very fond of it.

But after a time they noticed that the brook was beginning to run low, and not just in the summer, but in autumn, too, even after the rains. And day by day it diminished, until its bed was as dry as a dead bone in the ashes of a warm fire.

Now it was said that far away up in the land, where none had ever been, there was on this very stream another Indian village; but what sort of people lived there no one knew. And thinking that these people of the upper country might be in some way involved in the drought, they sent a messenger to go and see into the matter.

And after he had travelled three days he came to the place; and there he found that a dam had been raised across the stream so that no water could pass. It was all kept in a pond. He asked them why they had done this, since the dam was of no use to them. They told him to go and see their chief, by whose order the dam had been built.

And when he came to the chief, there lay lazily in the mud a creature who was more of a monster than a man, though he had a human form. For he was immense to measure, like a giant -- fat, bloated, and brutal to behold. His great yellow eyes stuck from his head like pine-knots, his mouth went almost from ear to ear, and he had broad, skinny feet with long toes that were amazing.

The messenger complained to this monster, who at first said nothing, and then croaked, and finally replied in a loud bellow:

"Do as you choose,
Do as you choose,
Do as you choose.

What do I care?
What do I care?
What do I care?

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[1] The source of this legend is The Algonquin Legends of New England, by Charles G. Leland, Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1884. The story was told by Tomah Josephs to Leland; Leland says the legend is Passamaquoddy and Micmac. The wording has been changed somewhat to make the story easier for students to read.

If you want water,
If you want water,
If you want water,
Go somewhere else."

Then the messenger described the suffering of the people, who were dying of thirst. And this seemed to please the monster, who grinned. At last he got up, and, making a single leap to the dam, took an arrow and bored a hole in it, so that a little water trickled out, and then he bellowed:

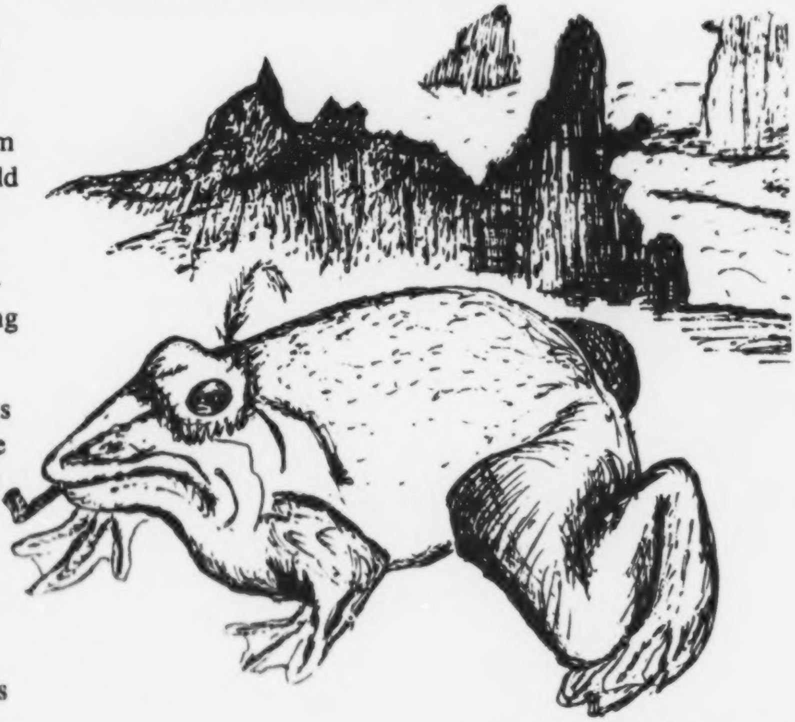
"Up and begone!
Up and begone!
Up and begone!"

So, the man left, little comforted. He came to his home, and for a few days there was a little water in the stream; but this soon stopped, and there was great suffering again.

Now these people, who were the most honest people in all the world, and never did harm to anyone except their enemies, were in a bad way. For it is a bad thing to have nothing but water to drink, but to want that is to be mightily dry. And the great Koluskap[1] [GLOOS-kahb], who knew all that was passing in the hearts of human animals, took note of this, and when he willed it he was among them; for he always came as the wind comes, and no one knew how.

And just before he came, all of these good people had decided in council that they would send the bravest man among them to almost certain death. He would go to the village which had built the dam. Either he would break the dam or do something desperate. He should go armed and sing his death-song as he went.

Then Koluskap, who was much pleased with all this, for he loved a brave deed, came among them looking terribly ferocious. In all the land there was not one who seemed half so frightening. For he appeared ten feet high, with a hundred red and black feathers in his hair. His face was



Drawing © Marline Sanipass Morey

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[1] The Passamaquoddy-Maliseet form of Gluskap. The pronunciation of this word is recorded on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.

painted like fresh blood with green rings around his eyes, a large clam-shell hanging from each ear, a spread eagle, very awful to behold, flapping its wings from the back of his neck, so that as he walked into the village, all hearts quaked. They admired him greatly.

Then Koluskap, having heard the whole story, told them to cheer up. He would soon set all to rights. He went up the bed of the brook, and coming to the town, sat down and asked a boy to bring him water to drink. The boy said that no water could be had in that town unless it was given out by the chief. "Go then to your chief," said the Master, "and bid him hurry, or, verily, I will know the reason why." And this being told, Koluskap received no reply for more than an hour, during which time he sat on a log and smoked his pipe. Then the boy returned with a small cup, and this not half full, of very dirty water.

So he stood up and said to the boy, "I will go and see your chief, and I think he will soon give me better water than this." And having come to the monster, he said, "Give me water to drink, and the best, at once, you Thing of Mud!" But the chief said, "Get out of here. Go find water where you can." Then Koluskap thrust a spear into his belly, and lo! there gushed forth a mighty river; even all the water which should have run before, for he had put it into himself. And Koluskap, rising high as a giant pine, caught the chief in his hand and crumpled his back with a mighty grip. And it was Bull-Frog. So he threw him with contempt into the stream, to follow the current.

And ever since that time the Bull-Frog's back has wrinkles in the lower part, showing the prints of Koluskap's awful squeeze.

Then he returned to the village; but there he found no people -- no, not one. For a marvelous thing had come to pass during his absence. These villagers had said, "Suppose you had all the nice cold, fresh, sparkling, delicious water there is in the world, what would you do?

And one said that he would live in the soft mud, and always be wet and cool.

And another, that he would plunge from the rocks, and take headers, diving into the deep, cold water, drinking as he dived.

And the third, that he would be washed up and down with the rippling waves, living on the land, yet ever in the water.

Then the fourth said, "Truly, you know not how to wish, and I will teach you. I would live in the water all the time, and swim about in it forever."

Now it chanced that these things were said in the hour which, when it passed over the world, all the wishes uttered by people are granted. And so it was with these people. For the first became a Leech, the second, a Spotted Frog, the third, a Crab, which is washed up and down with the tide, and the fourth, a Fish. Before this there had been in all the world none of the creatures which live in the water, and now they were there, and all kinds. And the river came rushing and roaring on, and they all went headlong down to the sea, to be washed into many lands over all the world.

ADVENTURES OF MAHTƏKᵂEHSO[1]

How The Rabbit Lost His Tail[2]

It was long ago when the old people lived. The Two-Legged people and the Animal people understood each other, and the Máhtəkʷehsəwak [MAH-t'-gwah-s'-wahg], the family of Rabbits, were large, beautiful, furry people.

One day máhtəkʷehso [MAH-t'-gwa-so] stood outside of his grandmother's wigwam, brushing his long, bushy tail. He was so proud of it that he would brush it for hours every day. His brush was made of fine twigs tied together with threads of sinew.

As he stood admiring his tail in the gleaming sunlight, his grandmother watched from her wigwam. She wondered if her lazy grandson could do nothing else but bathe and brush his tail all the day long.

"You are vain, Máhtəkʷehso, surely there are other things to do, but to brush your tail and fur all day long while we have nothing to eat."

Máhtəkʷehso hung his head in shame. He felt ashamed that his grandmother had seen him. So he hid his brush and found his bow and arrows and went hunting.

He had not gone far down the trail along the river when he saw Heron (kásko [GAHS-ko]) fishing in the water. She stopped to admire him and thought what a fine thing it was to be so handsome. Proudly Máhtəkʷehso waved his bushy tail and walked on. But the large pile of fish on the bank beside Heron gave him an idea. He hid in the bushes and watched her for a long time. Then running through the bushes, he made a strange noise which startled her.

She was so frightened that she flew away, leaving her catch behind. As soon as she was gone, he jumped out of the bushes and grabbed her fish. Sticking the fish on a long forked pole, he carried them home to his grandmother. As he walked proudly through the woods, he thought to himself what a stupid bird Heron was, to be so easily tricked. She was the homeliest creature he had ever seen, with her wrinkled legs and faded coat.

When his grandmother saw the fish, she was very proud of her grandson and said, "Indeed you are a fine fisherman."

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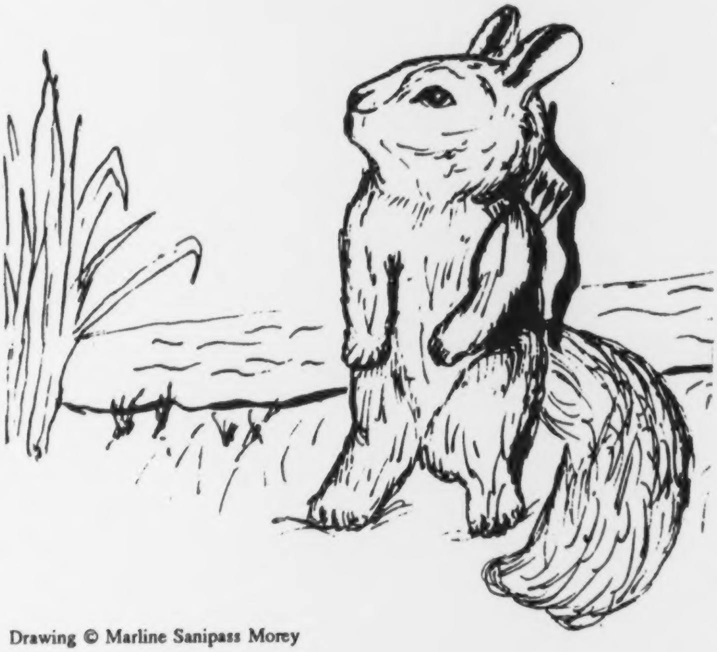
[1] For the main character of her story, the snowshoe hare, the author used the spelling Ma-te-guess, which has been replaced here by the standard Penobscot spelling. The Penobscot words in this story are pronounced on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.

[2] This story was collected by Molly Spotted Elk, Penobscot, in the first quarter of this century, and was obtained from the archives at the University of Maine at Orono. The wording has been changed somewhat to make it easier for students to read.

Hurrying to the river, she quickly cleaned the fish and returned to the wigwam and cooked them. While they ate, she flattered him so that he became boastful and said that now they would have plenty of fish and meat.

The next day Máhtəkʷehso decided he would fish again. So he took his bow and arrows and a piece of sinew thread and went down to the river.



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He followed the shore until he came to the rapids.

"Aha!" he said to himself. "I will catch many salmon today and my friends will call me a good fisherman."

He sat down on the bank and planned how he would catch the fish in the easiest way possible. He remembered he had watched the family of Bears (awéhsohsak [ah-WA-soh-sak]) fish for salmon, and it looked so simple that he decided to try it.

He waded into the water and up to the little rapids where there were many salmon leaping, jumping, and playing about. It would be easy to grab them as they swam past his legs or leaped in the air.

But it was not so easy as he thought. For every time he would snatch at them, their slippery bodies would slide out of his hands and drop back into the water.

He tried all morning and had no luck. Wearily he grabbed at them as they swam past, but they were too quick for him. At last he despaired and thought of another plan.

"Aha!" he said as he smacked his lips. "This is a much better plan. I will make a salmon trap like those used by the Two-Legged people who live in the distance on the river bank."

So he waded back to the shore and broke branches off the strong maple trees. And with these he wove a salmon basket, which was long with a wide mouth and a bottom. Then, when he had finished, he waded back to the rapids and held the mouth toward the first fish jumping in his direction. But this did not work. Then he scooped the mouth of the basket in the water to catch some lazy salmon that were swimming near him, but they were too quick for him.

Finally, after many tries, a big strong salmon jumped right into the mouth of the basket trap, and he was very happy. But he rejoiced too soon, for the big fellow jumped through the basket and disappeared into the water.

Suddenly, he heard someone laughing at him from the shore. And, looking, he saw Heron, who had been watching him for a long time.

This made him very angry, so, lifting his bow, he shot toward her, but she flew away and escaped him.

Then another plan came to him. He would shoot the fish with his arrows, like the Two-Legged people did at times. Wading down the river where the water was deeper and the salmon were not so quick, he drew tight his bow and shot his arrows at the leaping, swimming fish.

By this time the sun was high in the sky, and it shone directly on the water and dazzled him. He blinked his eyes and had to turn away. Desperately, he shot at the water and speared everywhere about him. At last his arrow struck a huge salmon and soon after that a small one. This made him very happy, so he decided he had done enough fishing for one day.

As he walked home with the two fish on a pole over his shoulder, he looked around him, lest anyone see him with just two fish as his day's catch.

His grandmother scolded him when he reached home with two fish.

"Such a lazy fellow! Can't you do better than that in a day's fishing?"

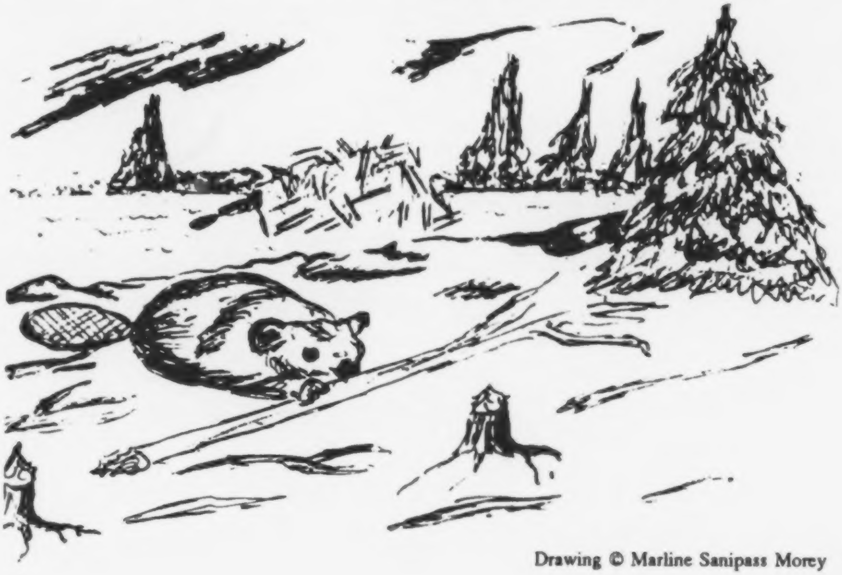
"Wait, my grandmother, until you have heard my story," he cried. "I was fishing all day in the river by the rapids and had caught many fish, when some thief came by and stole all that I had thrown on the bank."

His grandmother believed him, and she let him eat his supper in peace.

For many days after that, Máhtəkʷehso went hunting instead of fishing and brought back many animals. His grandmother flattered him, and he would brush his tail proudly by the fire at night.

One day, she asked him to get her some poplar branches she needed to smoke the skins of the game he had caught.

So he set off for the pond where he knew a family of Beaver (təmahkʷak [D'mah-kwahg]) lived in their huts in the water.



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As he neared the pond, he saw many of them hard at work, gnawing and felling poplar trees with their sharp teeth. "Why should he work to cut down the trees when he could get them here?" he asked himself.

Again, he made a strange noise running through the bushes, and they became frightened and scattered in every direction. Quickly, he gathered all the poplar twigs and sticks he could and made ready to go home.

Old one, the sὰkəmα[1] [SUH-g'-muh] of the Beaver, was braver than the rest. Timidly he came out of his hut in the water and said to Máhtəkʷehso:

"Brother Máhtəkʷehso, be kind to my people and leave some poplar sticks, for we have worked hard since the sun rose. We need them. The winter will soon be here, and our homes need to be patched and roofed well against the ice and the cold."

Máhtəkʷehso paid no attention to him and went on gathering more sticks and tying them in big bunches. When he had collected enough to carry on his strong back, he strapped them tight and went his way.

He reached home late that night, for he had gone a long way, and the pack was so heavy that he had rested many times.

His grandmother was very happy when she saw what a big bunch he carried. This cheered him, and he felt his efforts had not been for nothing.

Soon after this, the first snow came and the river froze. Now Máhtəkʷehso had little luck hunting or fishing. He complained to his grandmother that there were no animals about, but he did not tell her the real reason. For with the snow on the ground, he could not steal from his friends for fear they would track him home.

At last his grandmother said to him. "I will try my luck hunting. You can cook my dinner and have it ready when I come home."

This was just what Máhtəkʷehso wanted, as he was tired of hunting, and the cold chilled his nose. Happily, he watched his grandmother trudge off with her bow and arrows, and he thought what a fine time he could have, with nothing to do all day but brush his tail.

At last he became hungry and, sticking a piece of meat on a forked branch, he held it over the fire. The heat burned his eyes until he had to turn his face away from the flames and smoke. Almost at once he heard something sizzle and, turning around, he found his fine piece of meat in the fire. Quickly, he snatched at it, but he only burned his fingers. Finally he nibbled at some wild potatoes that his grandmother had dried for winter.

Then he felt better and decided to brush his tail the rest of the afternoon. All of a sudden he began to get chilly. He remembered that he had forgotten to feed the fire, and it had died low.

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[1] Penobscot word for leader.

Dropping his brush, he hurried about and soon had a glowing fire started. Then he put the birch-bark pot near the fire, and when it was hot, he dropped heated pebbles into it to keep the water hot. Later he dropped strips of dried meat and added more hot stones.

When he heard his grandmother coming, he ran to greet her. She carried on her back the biggest deer he had ever seen, and he praised her. She was happy too, for she thought her grandson had been busy all day, for the wigwam was warm, and the meat was ready to eat.

The next day and many days afterward, his grandmother set out to hunt, and she would return at nightfall to a warm home and a hot supper. And she was content.

Máhtək^{w}ehso was pleased too, for he did not do much each day but brush his tail, and build a new fire when he thought his grandmother would come home.

But one day he spent more time brushing his tail than he usually did. He was thinking of Spring, which would soon come, and of the many fine things he would do. As he dreamed of all the pretty girls who would admire him and his beautiful tail, he forgot to build the fire and put the meat in the pot for supper. He remembered a young graceful girl who lived beyond the mountain. He had seen her one day in the Falling Leaf moon, and he had admired her very much. So as he dreamed of what he would do and how he would dress to see her when the season of the Ice Break came, time slipped by.

He did not hear his grandmother coming, and he was startled to see her standing before him.

"You are of no use to anyone, Máhtək^{w}ehso," she cried angrily. "You sit all day and brush your tail. But beware, for someday something will happen to you, and then you will remember that every person has work to do."

Meekly, Máhtək^{w}ehso answered her. "I know you are right, Grandmother. That is why I have been thinking all day that I must get married. A wife will be good for me. She will make me work. I know a beautiful girl who lives on the other side of the mountain. She is lovely with big limpid clear eyes, and so sweet. It will be well for me if you ask her people for me, don't you think?"

His grandmother was not easily persuaded.

"You are stupid, Grandson. For the one with the sweet, limpid eyes is as lazy as you, no doubt. And it is better that one starve than two," she scolded. "Besides, tomorrow I have a lot of work to do in the wigwam. You can call on the one with the big eyes, if you are not too lazy to walk that far."

So early the next morning, after he had brushed his tail, he took leave of his grandmother and set out over the mountain. When he reached the top, he looked into the valley, which spread before him, and he saw a village.

Slowly making his way down the mountain, he came to the wigwam of the One-with-the-Limpid-Eyes. She was out gathering brushwood for her family, and when she saw Máhtək^{w}ehso standing before her so tall and handsome, she lowered her eyes and pretended she did not see him.

Happily, Máhtəkʷehso took the brushwood and walked with her. He thought he had never seen anyone quite so lovely. Her family was very happy to meet him. They fed him well and asked him to come back, for they thought he must surely have a fine wigwam all his own, full of furs and dried things to eat.

That night Máhtəkʷehso told his grandmother about the lovely One-with-the-Limpid-Eyes. He fell asleep dreaming of her. As the grandmother sat dozing by the fire, she smiled to herself to think how Máhtəkʷehso would do with a wife to feed and clothe.

Every day after that, máhtəkʷehso combed his long tail and went visiting the family of the Lovely One across the mountain. At last they began to treat him as their son-in-law. They asked him to hunt with them and help them. Soon he grew tired of this, he decided he would not return to the One-with-the-Limpid-Eyes until after the warm weather started.

As he left for the last time, he told her that soon his grandmother would come to visit her family. And she was happy, for she admired Máhtəkʷehso very much and dreamed of the fine husband he would make.

A lot of snow had fallen, and the river had frozen thick, when Máhtəkʷehso decided to try his luck at hunting again. He had not gone far when he saw something he had never seen before.

On the shore he found a slippery chute of ice running from the top of the bank to an ice-hole in the river. And as he watched, he saw several of the Otter (kíwənikak [GEE-w'-nee-kahg]) people come from the woods and slide down the ice-chute on their shiny stomachs and into the ice-hole. Then he saw them come out of the water, one at a time, with their mouths full of fish.

What great sport, he thought, what fun it would be to slide down the ice-chute, into the hole, and come out with some fish. Surely it was a simple way to fish and have fun at the same time.

After a long time the Otters finished their fishing and went home. Máhtəkʷehso ran to the top of the bank, and flattening his stomach against the ice-chute, shoved off.

Faster and faster he slid. He closed his eyes and held his breath, until he felt himself plunge into the cold water of the ice-hole with a big splash. Then he hit something soft and oozy, and he opened his eyes. He was so stunned, he forgot to catch the fish that swam around him curiously. It was so dark, he could barely see their bodies as they whirled around. He tried to get his breath, but every time he breathed in, the water choked him, and he felt that he was being strangled. He looked around, and he realized he was sitting on the muddy bottom of the river.

He knew that he must do something and do it quickly, as the water was getting colder and colder, and his body was getting numb.

He tried to swim to the top, but he could not make much progress. He could not find the hole, for the current had carried him beyond the opening.

At last, after what seemed hours to Máhtəkʷehso, he saw the light from the ice-hole. With a strong shove, he reached the opening and stuck his head out.

Once more in the open air, he was able to get his breath. He yelled for help.

Again the current pulled him back and carried him down river under the ice. This time, with all the strength he had, he dragged himself to the hole again and yelled with all his might. He yelled so loudly and so long that he lost his voice, but his grandmother heard his cry and rushed out of her wigwam to look for him.

When he continued to yell, she knew that the sound came from the fishing spot of the Otters. Everyone in the village had heard the cries by this time, so they all set off for the river.

By the time they reached the spot, the current had carried Máhtəkʷehso back under the ice the third time. They could not see him, for the water had become very muddy by now. It seemed useless to search for him.

Just then one of the strong young Otters came from the woods. He was curious to know what was happening at the fishing hole of his people. When Máhtəkʷehso's relatives told him that their cousin was drowning somewhere under the ice, he dove into the hole and quickly found him.

Grabbing the almost unconscious Máhtəkʷehso, he swam to the top and shouted to the people to help get him out of the water. So all the relatives grabbed his ears and pulled with all their might. They managed to get him half-way out, but there he stuck. The hole had become smaller in the cold winter afternoon, and it seemed impossible to get Máhtəkʷehso's body through it.

So they pulled and pulled, until his ears became longer and longer, and still they could not budge him. At last they persuaded the Otter to see what was the matter. He yelled back that Máhtəkʷehso's long bushy tail had become frozen in the edge of the ice-hole. So he, too, began to pull with all his might, until he heard the tail snap. Then he shoved Máhtəkʷehso through the opening, and his relatives hauled him out.

They carried him home, and there his grandmother poured a hot drink through his chattering teeth. She wrapped him up in heavy, warm furs and laid him beside the fire.

Máhtəkʷehso was very sick for a long time and became very thin and sad. It made him very unhappy to brush his fur and see only the little white stub where his long, beautiful tail had been.

Day after day, he moped about the wigwam, trying to help his grandmother as much as he could. As soon as spring came, he hurried down to the river and looked at himself. Instead of the handsome big fellow he used to see in the water, he saw only a strange creature with long, pointed ears and no tail. Quickly, he ran back to the wigwam to hide himself.

When he went hunting, he would stop to listen, and, if he heard anyone, he would run away and hide until they had passed. In time he grew very humble and timid. And as for the One-with-the-Limpid-Eyes, he did not dare to send his grandmother to propose marriage for him.

One day as he sat thinking by himself he heard a rustle, and, looking up, he saw Heron standing there. She was surprised to see the change in such a handsome creature.

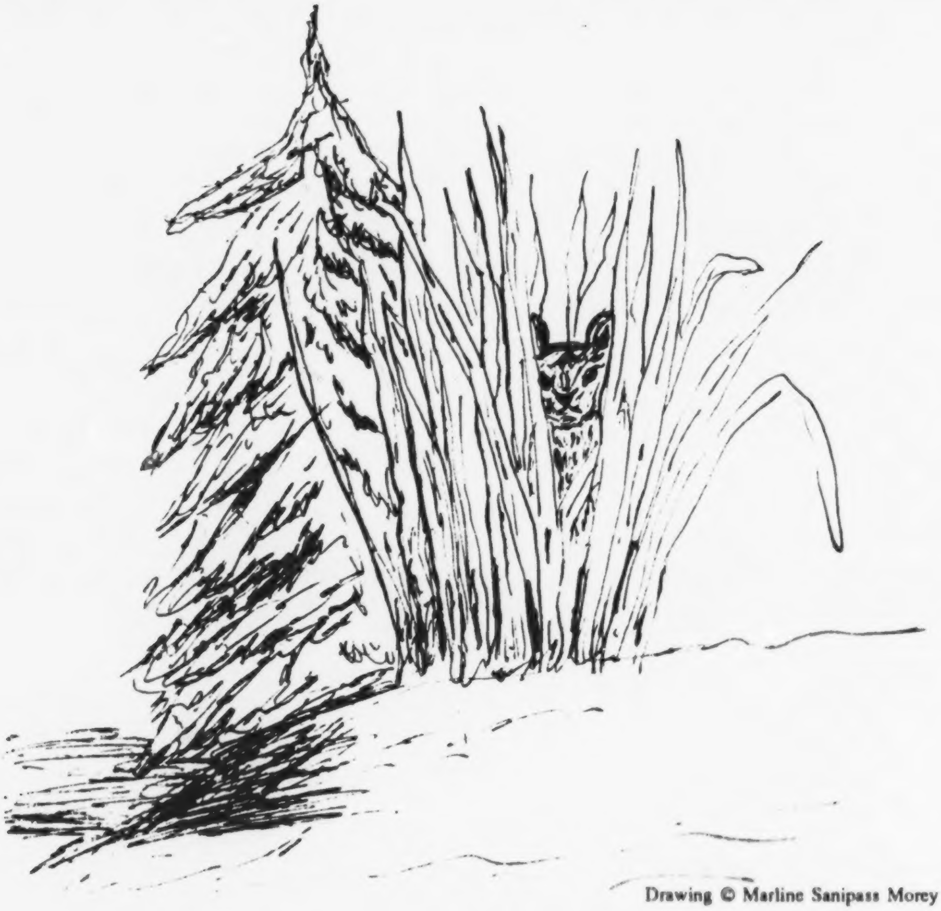
"Aha, my friend, now you will not steal from your friends anymore. For you can scarcely carry a mouse in your mouth now, or a wren on your thin back. Besides, the One-with-the-Limpid-Eyes has heard of your bad luck, and her family is preparing a wedding feast for her and one of your cousins." Meekly he listened to her mock him, for he could not answer since he had lost his voice, too.

"Now, I will punish you for all the fish you stole from me last summer," and she chased him as he scampered away in the woods, unable to defend himself.

That is how Máhtəkʷehso and his family, in the days of the old people, lost their long tails and got their long thin bodies. That is how they lost their voices too. Today all they can give you is a frightened look with their large soft eyes, as they run to hide in the thickets.

That is why they are now the most timid of all the small furred animals of the forest, and why they scamper away into the underbrush at the first sign of danger.

They work hard for their living too, and instead of hunting as Máhtəkʷehso did in his youth, all of his descendants are the natural prey of the bigger animals in the forest, who now hunt them.



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ADVENTURES OF MASTER RABBIT

Relating How the Rabbit Became Wise by Being Original[1]

There are men who are bad at copying, yet are good originals, and of this kind was Master Rabbit[2] (mahtoqehs [MAH-t'-gwess]), who, when he gave up trying to do as others did, succeeded very well. And, having found out his weakness, he tried hard to learn skills and studied motewolon [m'-DEH-w'-l'n], or magic, so much that in time he grew to be a great shaman, so that he could raise ghosts, crops, storms, or devils whenever he wanted them. For he had perseverance, and out of this may come anything, if it be only brought into the right road.

Now the Rabbit is the natural prey of the Canada lynx (apiqosikon [ah-BEE-gw'-zee-g'n]), which is a kind of wild cat, none being more stubborn. And this Wild Cat once went hunting with a gang of wolves, and they got nothing. Then Wild Cat, who had made them great promises and acted as chief, became angry, and, thinking of the Rabbit, promised them that this time they should indeed get their dinner. So he took them to Rabbit's wigwam; but he was out, and the Wolves, being vexed and starved, reviled Wild Cat, and then rushed off howling through the woods.

Now I think that the Rabbit is motewolon[3]. Yes, he must be, for when Wild Cat started to hunt him alone, he determined with all his soul not to be caught, and made himself as magical as he could. So he picked up a handful of chips, and threw one as far as possible, then jumped to it -- for he had a charm for a long jump; and then threw another, and so on, for a great distance. This was to make no tracks, and when he thought he had got out of scent and sight and sound, he scampered away like the wind.

Now, as I said, when the Wolves got to Master Rabbit's house and found nothing, they sniffed around and left Wild Cat, who swore by his tail that he would catch Rabbit, if he had to hunt forever and run himself to death. So, taking the house for a center, he kept going round and round it, all the time a little further, and so more around and still further. Then at last having found the track, he hurried after Mr. Rabbit. And both ran hard, till, night coming on, Rabbit, to protect himself, had only just time to trample down the snow a little, and stick up a spruce twig on end and sit on it. But when Wild Cat came up he found there a fine wigwam, and put his head in. All that he saw was an old man of very grave and dignified appearance, whose hair was gray, and whose chiefly appearance was heightened by a pair of long and venerable ears. And of him Wild Cat asked in a gasping hurry if he had seen a Rabbit running that way.

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[1] The source of this legend is The Algonquin Legends of New England by Charles G. Leland, Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1884. This particular "Master Rabbit" legend is Passamaquoddy and was told to Leland by Tomah Josephs. The wording has been changed somewhat to make the story easier for students to read.

[2] Snowshoe hare. The Wabanaki words in this story are all Maliseet-Passamaquoddy. They are pronounced on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.

[3] That is, he possesses extraordinary power.

"Rabbits!" replied the old man. "Why, of course I have seen many. They abound in the woods about here. I see dozens of them every day." With this he said kindly to Wild Cat that he had better stay with him for a time. "I am an old man," he remarked with solemnity -- "an old man, living alone, and a respectable guest, like you sir, comes to me like a blessing." And the Cat, greatly impressed, stayed. After a good supper he lay down by the fire, and, having run all day, was at once asleep, and made but one nap of it till morning. But how astonished, and oh, how miserable he was, when he awoke to find himself on the open ground in the snow and almost starved! The wind blew as if it had a keen will to kill him; it seemed to go all through his body. Then he saw that he had been a fool and cheated by magic, and in a rage swore again by his teeth, as well as his tail, that the Rabbit should die. There was no wigwam now, only the trampled snow and a spruce twig, and yet out of this little, Rabbit had made a great trick.

Then he ran again all day. And when night came, Master Rabbit, having a little more time than before, again trampled down the snow, but for a greater space, and spread many branches all about, for now a huge effort was to be made. And when Wild Cat got there, he found a great Indian village, with crowds of people going everywhere. The first building he saw was a church, in which service was being held. And he, entering, said hastily to the first person he saw, "Ha! ho! have you seen a Rabbit running by here?"

"Hush -- sh, sh!" replied the man. "You must wait till meeting is over before asking such questions." Then a young man asked him to come in, and he listened till the end to a long sermon on the wickedness of being nasty and greedy; and the preacher was a gray ancient, and his ears stood up over his little cap like the two handles of a pitcher, yet for all that the Wild Cat's heart was not moved one bit. And when it was all at an end, he said to the nice young man, "But *have* you seen a Rabbit running by?"

"Rabbits! Rabbits!" replied the young man. "Why, there are hundreds racing about in the cedar swamps near this place, and you can have as many as you want." "Ah!" replied Wild Cat, "but they are not what I am after. Mine is an entirely different kind." The other said that he knew of no sort save the wild wood-rabbits, but that perhaps their Sakom[1] [ZAH-g'm], who was very wise, could tell him all about them. Then the Sakom came up. Like the preacher, he was very remarkable and gray, with the long locks standing up, one on either side of his head. And he invited the stranger to his house, where his two very beautiful daughters cooked him a fine supper. And when the Wild Cat wished to lie down, they brought out blankets and a beautiful white bear's skin, and made up a bed for him by the fire. His eyes were closed as soon as he lay down, but when he awoke there had been a great change. For now he was in a wet cedar swamp, the wind blowing ten times worse than ever, and his supper and sleep had done him little good, for they were all a trick. All around him were rabbits' tracks and broken twigs, but nothing more.

Yet he sprang up, madder than ever, and swearing more terribly by his tail, teeth, and claws that he would be revenged. So he ran on all day, and at night, when he came to another large village, he was so tired that he could just gasp, "Have -- you -- seen a Rabbit run this way?" With much concern and kindness they all asked him what was the matter. So he told them all this story, and they were very sorry for him; one gray old man -- and this was the Sakom -- with two beautiful daughters cried and comforted him, and told him to stay with them. So they took him to a large wigwam where there was a great fire burning. And over it hung two pots with soup and meat, and two women stood by and gave food to all the people. And he had his share with the rest, and all feasted gaily.

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[1] "One who stands out from the others" -- Wabanaki leader.

Now, when they had done eating, the old Sakom, who was very gray, and from either side of whose head rose two very venerable, long white feathers, rose to welcome the stranger, and in a long speech said it was, indeed, the custom of their village to entertain guests, but that they expected from them a song. Then Wild Cat, who was vain of his voice, uplifted it in vengeance against the Rabbits:

"Oh, how I hate them
How I despise them!
How I laugh at them!
May I kill them all!"

Then he said that he thought the Sakom should sing. And to this the Sakom agreed but said that everyone should bow their heads while seated, and shut their eyes, which they did. Then Rabbit, at one bound, cleared the heads of his guests, and drawing his tomhikon [D'M-hee-g'n], or tomahawk, as he jumped, gave Wild Cat a wound which cut deeply into his head, and only fell short of killing him by entirely stunning him. When he recovered, he was again in snow, slush, and filth, more starved than ever, his head bleeding from a dreadful blow, and he himself almost dead. Yet, with all that, anger was stronger in him than ever, for every new disgrace brought more resolve to be revenged, and he swore it by his tail, claws, teeth, and eyes.

So he tottered along, though he could hardly walk; nor could he, indeed, go very far that day. And when almost broken down with pain and weariness, he came about noon to two good wigwams. Looking into one, he saw a gray-haired old man, and in the other a young girl, apparently his daughter. And they received him kindly, and listened to his story, saying it was very sad, the old man declaring that he must really stay there, and that he would get him a doctor, since, unless he was well cared for at once, he would die. Then he went out as if in great concern, leaving his daughter to nurse the weary, wounded stranger.

Now, when the Doctor came, he, too, was an old gray man, with hair strangely divided like two horns. But the Wild Cat had become a little suspicious, having been tricked so often. And, looking grimly at the Doctor, he said: "I was asking if any Rabbits are here, and truly you look very much like one yourself. How did you get that split nose?" "Oh, that is very simple," replied the old man. "Once I was hammering wampum beads, and the stone on which I beat them broke in half, and one piece flew up, and, as you see, split my nose." "But," persisted the Wild Cat, "why are the soles of your feet so yellow, even like a Rabbit's?" "Ah, that is because I have been preparing some tobacco, and I had to hold it down with my feet, for I needed both my hands to work with. So the tobacco stained them yellow." Then the Wild Cat suspected no more, and the Doctor put salve on his wound, so that he felt much better, and before he left, put by him a plate of very delicate little round biscuits, or rolls, and a beautiful pitcher full of nice wine, and told him to refresh himself from these during the night, and so, leaving softly, he departed.

But oh, the wretchedness of the awaking in the morning! For then Wild Cat found himself indeed in the extreme of misery. His head was swollen and aching to an incredible degree, and the horrible wound, which was gaping wide, had been stuffed with hemlock needles and pine splinters, and this was the cool salve which the Doctor had applied. And as a last touch to his rage and shame, thinking in his deadly thirst of the wine, he saw on the ground, still left in the snow a pitcher-plant from last summer, half full of what might indeed pass for wine by the looks though hardly to the taste. While looking for the biscuits on a plate, he found only certain small pellets, such as found about a rabbit house. And then he swore by all his body and soul that he would kill the next being he met, Rabbit or Indian. This time he would be utterly revenged.

Now Mahtoqehs the Rabbit, had almost come to an end of his motewolon or magic, for that time, yet he had still enough left for one more great effort. And, coming to a lake, he picked up a very large chip and threw it into the water, where it at once seemed to be a great ship. And when the Wild Cat came up he saw it, with sails spread and flags flying, and the captain stood so stately on the deck, with folded arms, and he was a fine, gray-haired, dignified man, with a cocked hat, the two points of which were like grand and stately horns. But the Wild Cat had sworn, and he was mindful of his great oath; so he cried, "You cannot escape me this time, Rabbit! I have you now!" Saying this he jumped in, and tried to swim to the ship. And the captain, seeing a Wild Cat in the water, ordered his men to fire their guns at it, which they did with a bang! Now this was caused by a flock of night-hawks overhead, who swooped down with a sudden cry like a shot; at least it seemed so to Wild Cat, who seeing that he had made a mistake this time, turned tail and swam ashore into the dark old forest, where, if he is not dead, he is running still.

THE KCINU[1]

The Story of a Cannibal with an Icy Heart[2]

In the old time, an Indian man, with his wife and their little boy, went one autumn far away to hunt in the northwest. And having found a good place to pass the winter, they built a wigwam. The man brought home the animals, the woman dressed and dried the meat, the small boy played about shooting birds with bow and arrow; all went well.

One afternoon, when the man was away and his wife was gathering wood, she heard a rustling in the bushes, as though some beast were brushing through them, and looking up, she saw with horror something worse than the worst she had feared. It was an awful face glaring at her -- a something made of monster, man, and animal in their most dreadful forms. It was like a haggard old man, with wolfish eyes; he was stark naked; his shoulders and lips were gnawed away, as if, when mad with hunger, he had eaten his own flesh. He carried a bundle on his back. The woman had heard of the terrible Kcinu [KCHEE-noo], the being who comes from the far, icy north, a creature who is a man grown to be both devil and cannibal, and saw at once that this was one of them.

Truly she was in trouble; instead of showing fear, she ran up and addressed him with fair words. She said, "My dear father," pretending surprise and joy, and, telling him how glad her heart was, asked where he had been so long. The Kcinu was amazed at such a greeting where he expected yells and prayers, and in mute wonder let himself be led into the wigwam.

She was a wise and good woman. She took him in; she said she was sorry to see him so woe-begone; she pitied his sad state; she brought a suit of her husband's clothes; she told him to dress himself and be cleaned. He did as she asked. He sat by the side of the wigwam, and looked angry and sad, but kept quiet. It was all a new thing to him.

She stood up and went out. She kept gathering sticks. The Kcinu stood up and followed her. She was in great fear. "Now," she thought, "my death is near; now he will kill and devour me."

The Kcinu came to her. He said, "Give me the axe!" She gave it to him and he began to cut down the trees. You never saw such chopping! The great pines fell right and left, like summer saplings; the boughs were hewed and split as if by a hurricane. She cried out, "My father, there is *enough* firewood!" He laid down the axe; he walked into the wigwam and sat down, always in grim silence. The woman gathered her wood, and remained as silent on the opposite side.

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[1] The spelling in the original story was Chenoo. In this story it is written in Passamaquoddy-Maliseet. The pronunciation of this word is recorded on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.

[2] This story is an excerpt from a story by the same name in The Algonquin Legends of New England, by Charles G. Leland, Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1884. It has been edited and simplified to make it easier for students to read. Leland lists this story as Micmac and Passmaquoddy.

She heard her husband coming. She ran out and told him everything. She asked him to do as she was doing. He thought it well. He went in and spoke kindly. He said, "My father-in-law," and asked where he had been so long. The Kcinu stared in amazement, but when he heard the man talk of all that had happened for years his fierce face grew gentler.

They had their meal; they offered him food, but he hardly touched it. He lay down to sleep. The man and his wife kept awake in terror. When the fire burned up, and it became warm, the Kcinu asked that a screen should be placed before him. He was from the ice; he could not stand heat.

For three days he stayed in the wigwam; for three days he was sullen and grim and he hardly ate. Then he seemed to change. He spoke to the woman; he asked her if she had any tallow. She told him they had a lot. He filled a large kettle; there was a gallon of it. He put it on the fire. When it was scalding hot, he drank it all in one gulp.

He became sick; he grew pale. He threw up all the horrors and abominations of earth, things terrible to every sense. When all was over, he seemed changed. He lay down and slept. When he awoke he asked for food and ate a lot. From that time he was kind and good. They feared him no more.

STORIES FROM THE PAST

A MICMAC WOMAN SPEAKS TO HER GRANDDAUGHTER: 1400

Granddaughter, the bloodroot dye has turned orange. Bring your quills, and we can begin to dye them. I think I know why you have been so quiet. Do you mind if I talk about it? Because I was quiet once, too. It must be hard to believe -- your grandmother, who likes to talk so much! It makes me laugh. I see you can smile too, that is good. Put more quills in the dye. I will tell you why I became so quiet when I was your age.

Our wigwam was often next to the wigwam of my mother's sister, and I spent much of my time with her daughter, who was a year older than I was. It was only for a few weeks in the winter that my cousin and I were not together, when our families separated to go upriver to hunt caribou and moose and bear and beaver. We were excited when we saw each other again in the spring, and we talked and talked. But I had learned to listen, too. During the winter, I listened to the stories of Kluskap[1] [GLOOS-kahb] that my father told at night around the fire -- things that happened long ago; but when he told them they seemed to happen again, as if for the first time. I felt safer when I heard the stories. Kluskap had helped us; if necessary he could help us again.

In the spring and summer I listened to the stories of the hunters. One man had stomped on the ground so hard that his feet sank down into the rock. I have seen that place, where his footprints are in the rock. Others could turn themselves into animals. My father saw one fly through the air like an owl. My father's brother described two men who fought underwater. They could stay there for as long as they wanted, like fish. People such as these did not live in our village. They lived further along the coast. My cousin and I agreed that we would be afraid to marry anyone like that or even to be near him. But perhaps secretly we hoped at least to cast eyes upon such a person.

The stories of the men fascinated me, but the things my mother and her sister could do interested me more. I learned to make medicines from water arum, goldenrod, ginseng, balsam, butternut, black cherry, lady's slipper, moosewood, and sweetflag, and from beaver and seal. We could save lives with these medicines. I watched my mother do this, and I listened to her explain to me why she preferred one, sometimes, to another. I wanted to have the strength of my mother, too, to go to the moose kill in the woods with other women and flay it and cut it and carry the heavy slabs of flesh and bone to our wigwam. Then to know how to prepare a large feast. There have been so many feasts. Feasts to celebrate a birth, a first tooth or a first step, a boy's first kill, marriage or death, feasts for war and feasts for alliances made in peace. There is one I remember especially.

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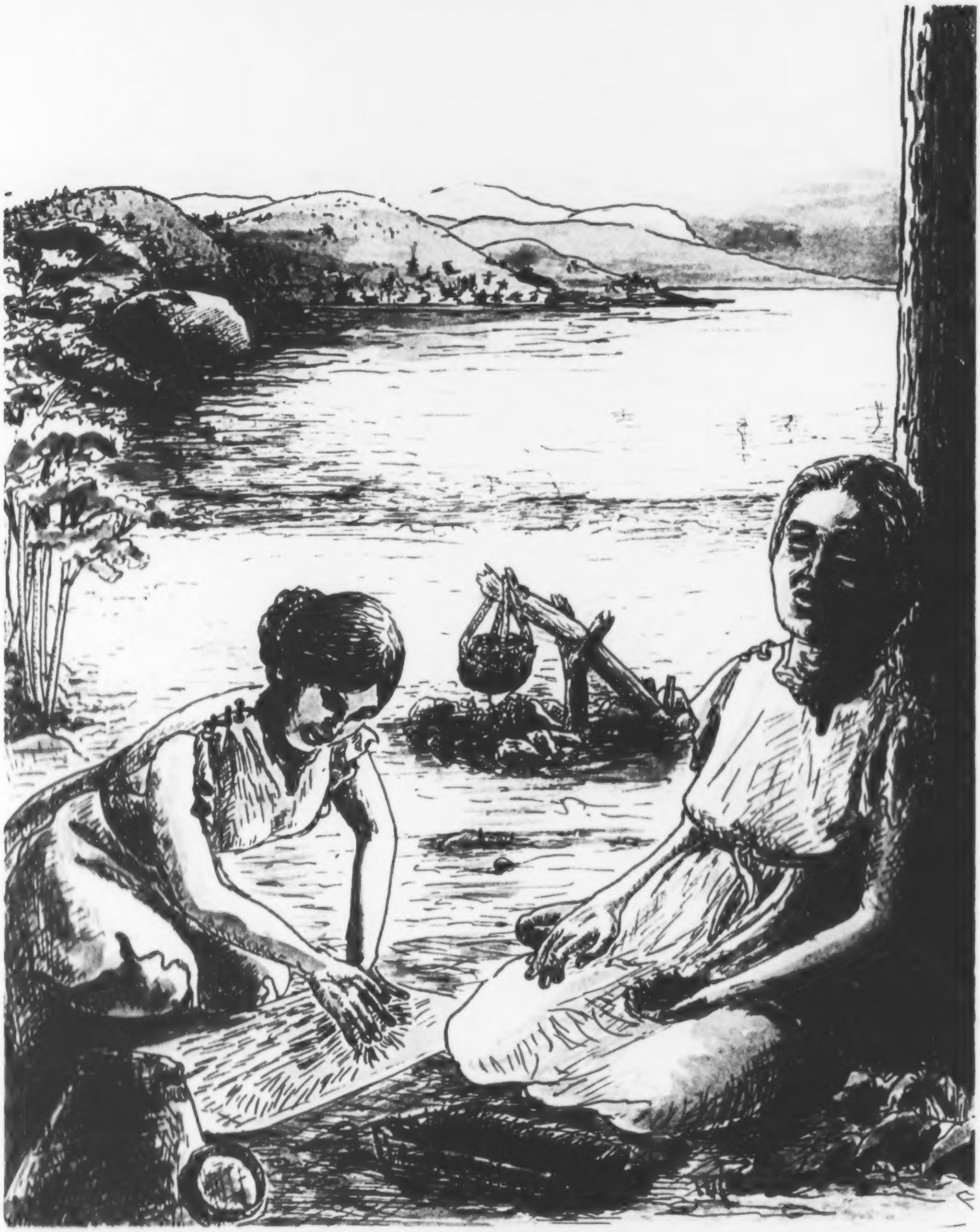
[1] The Micmac name for Gluskap. The Micmac words in this story are pronounced on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.

It was at the end of the winter hunt. My father said that we should break camp and go downriver. The ice had gone out. The ground was bare, so we did not need our toboggans and sleds or our snowshoes. My father built a canoe frame and covered it with moosehide and caulked the seams



Artist's depiction of the Micmac woman with her granddaughter. The birchbark vessel over the fire would likely have been shaped like the one in the bottom left corner of the drawing. Drawing © Shirley Bear.

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with fir resin. We would use this temporarily, until we came to the place downstream where we had left our birchbark canoe in the fall. My mother took down the wigwam. She told me to pack our things. When we were ready to leave, my mother carried our fire. She placed a hot coal in a bed of powdery rotten wood, covered it with moss, closed a clam shell over it, and placed it in the leather bag at her waist. My father waited for us at the canoe, and we moved out onto the water. The sun was bright on the water. It was a warm spring, I remember.

When we came to the village on the coast, there were already many wigwams there, and the bank of the river was lined with canoes. My father chose a place for our wigwam near the edge of the woods. He cleared the ground and dug a hollow in it. Then he went into the woods to cut poles. He planted them in a circle around the hollow and leaned them into the center and tied them together at the top. Then he left. My mother told me to go with my younger sister to gather fir branches. When we returned, she had placed some pieces of birchbark on the poles of the wigwam and was sewing them together. She directed us to get water and wood for a fire. She lit the fire with the coal that she carried in her bag. She put rocks in the flames, and when they were hot, I placed them in water in the birchbark pots, to bring the water to a boil. My mother told me to weave a bed of the softest fir branches, inside the wigwam near the edge where we lie down. Near the fire, she spread the bear and moose and seal and beaver skins, and later she chose the places where family and guests would sit. She placed my father on the right. She put herself near the door. That is how I taught your mother, and that is how your mother has taught you.

I remember these things. My father and mother laughed as they worked. My sister and I were excited. I was eager to see my cousin. When her family came later in the day, they set up their wigwam near ours. I helped them, and my cousin's mother told us what to do.

The saqmaw[1] [ZAH-h'm-ow] of the village was preparing a big feast. The big wooden kettles, which stayed there year round, were full of boiling water and meat. Steam rose into the bright clear air. The dogs barked. Children laughed. My mother and I went to gather mussels, scallops, clams. Others caught lobsters. My father brought a sturgeon he had harpooned. The men talked of porpoise, seal, whale. We ate turtle's legs. Mother asked us to prepare moose butter. We crushed moose bones, boiled them in the kettle and skimmed the fat off the top. My cousin and I sat quietly for a while and painted each other's faces. We braided each other's hair. To my hair, my cousin fastened a piece of eelskin that had been dyed red. She liked it with the copper ornaments that my grandfather had given me, when I had decorated moosehide with quills for the first time. My father oiled his skin. He shone like a great hunter. My mother dressed in her decorated furs of seal and otter and beaver. She walked with true pride.

When it was time to eat, the men went into the large wigwam of the saqmaw. When they had eaten their portions, their bowls were passed outside to the women and children. We ate what our father had left for us, which was more than enough. We heard the stories of the men, as one by one they told them around the wigwam. They smoked the pipe. As the afternoon went by, the air turned cooler, a breeze blew in from the ocean, and fires flickered in the gathering dusk.

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[1] Micmac leader.

The dancing started. My cousin and I noticed young men whom we had not seen before. My mother said they were from another village. As they moved in the ring of dancers, we watched them carefully. One of them was your grandfather. He had come to stay with the saqmaw for the summer. He was a nephew on the wife's side of the family. It was during that summer that we first came to know each other. At the dance on that day, as the feast ended, I saw him for the first time.

In the fall, when the wind blew hard and cold, your grandfather arranged with my parents to accompany us on the winter hunt. I had told him that I wanted this. When we left the village and went upriver, he stayed in our wigwam. He was young, but my father paid him the same respect that he paid to other men, because your grandfather had already killed his first moose the previous winter. He stayed in our wigwam for two years, working to help my family live well. I also worked for him as well as for my family. I tanned hides and sewed and decorated them, so that he would have fine clothes to wear. I corded his snowshoes. When he was sick, I prepared medicines for him and he was well again. I caught rabbits and birds with snares. I found birds' eggs and tortoise eggs. I collected nuts and berries and wild grapes and gave them to him. I accompanied other women and children in canoes at night and, as the children held torches, we knocked geese down as they rose in confusion from the fiery water. I helped my mother prepare birchbark for my parents' new summer wigwam. We heated the pieces of bark cut by my father the summer before, soaked them, so that they would be pliable, and put them on in overlapping layers and stitched them together with spruce roots. Then we decorated them carefully and beautifully.

So, granddaughter. We are done with the dye. You need more quills than these, but not today. I enjoy sitting here, basking like an old seal in the sun. I see canoes on the ocean. I wonder if they have found swordfish or whale. It is hard for me to see that far. My story is almost done, granddaughter.

Those two years were a long time ago. I remember I felt I had plenty of time to learn about your grandfather. He was a good hunter, and he shared easily what he brought home. I noticed that he was fair with everyone. He was not quick to anger. He was serious, and others liked him. Of course, he also had time to learn about me. He saw that I had learned many things from my mother. Like her, I had become strong, and I was quick with my mind and hands. Like her, I was proud. I wondered, because of my pride in what I could do, if he would find me bossy or vain or stubborn, and maybe he did. I laugh about it now.

In the second spring of his stay with us, my mother and her sister told me that he would be a good husband and a good father. My cousin urged me to marry him. By now there was a young man who had arranged to stay in her wigwam, and I could see that she anticipated my marriage as if it were her own. My father told me that I could go with him, if I liked him. It was then I became quiet, granddaughter. I had much to think about. I knew that if we were married, we would live in his village with his brother and his brother's family. I would miss everyone, and I thought about this. And so I was quiet. But I wanted to go.

A MICMAC LOOKS AT THE WAYS OF EUROPEANS

About three hundred and fifty years ago, when Acadian French traders, fishermen, and settlers began to inhabit what are now the Maritime provinces, some of them decided it would be a good idea to persuade the Micmac people to build houses like those of the Europeans. So a group of them went to speak with the regional chief of the Micmacs. First, they explained what they saw as the advantages of the European way of life; then they carefully outlined all the advantages of building houses in the European manner. They spoke for a long time, and when they had finished, they congratulated themselves for offering the best of their society to a man whom they considered an ignorant savage. But the wise chief of the Micmacs did not care for their advice. He turned to his guests, and here is what he said:

"Gentlemen, what you have told me about your houses is all very interesting, but why, now, do you Frenchmen, who are only five or six feet high, need houses that are as high as sixty or eighty feet? You know very well, my brothers, that we Micmacs find in our own wigwams all the conveniences that you find in your houses, such as resting, drinking, eating, sleeping, and amusing ourselves with friends whenever we wish.

"And that's not all -- you French do not have the ingenuity and cleverness of the Micmac people, who can carry their houses with them. We can stay wherever we like, regardless of rent and landlords; you are not as bold or as stout as we, because when you travel, you can't carry your buildings upon your shoulders, as we can. As a result, you must either build as many houses as you make changes of residence, or you must rent a house wherever you go, whereupon your house is not your own. As for us, why, we Micmacs are truly at home everywhere, because we can set up our wigwams wherever and as often as we please, without anyone's permission.

"As for your criticizing our country and our way of life for being poor in comparison to France and French life, I really think you don't know what you're talking about. You say your France yields you every kind of provision in abundance, while you count the Micmacs as the most miserable and unhappy of all peoples. You say that we live without religion, without manners, without honour, without social order, indeed, without any of your rules, like the beasts in our forests, lacking bread, wine, and a thousand other comforts which you can get plentifully in France.

"Well, my brothers, if you don't yet realize how we look on you, I'd better explain at once. As miserable as we may seem in your eyes, I can assure you that all Micmacs consider themselves far happier than you are, for we are very content with the little we have. You're deceiving yourselves if you think you can persuade us to live as Frenchmen.

"If France is, as you tell us, heaven on earth, why did you leave it in the first place? Why abandon wives, children, relatives, and friends to risk your lives and property in a dangerous sea voyage, only to come here, the place you keep telling us is the most barbarous, poor, and unfortunate in the world? The very fact that you bother at all convinces us of the opposite. Certainly, we have no wish to visit your France when in our own experience those who are native there must leave it every year in order to enrich themselves on our shores. We could only do poorly in such an impoverished country. Indeed, you must be incomparably poorer than the Micmacs, since you will give anything to get scraps of fur and miserable, worn-out beaver clothing which are no longer of much use to us, and since you consider the mere cod fishery as a sufficient source of income. Frankly, we Micmacs pity you.

"We find all our riches and conveniences among ourselves, without trouble and without exposing ourselves to the dangers of the open ocean and its storms. We are amazed at the way you worry yourselves, night and day, to fill your fishing boats; what's your hurry? We see also that you people live, as a rule, only on the cod which you catch hereabouts. It's cod in the morning, cod at noon, cod at night and cod forever more, until you can't stand it any more. Then you come begging to us and asking us to go hunting, so that you can have a little variety in your meals.

"Now, tell me this one little thing, if you've any sense at all: who is the wiser and happier -- one who works hard all the time, but only obtains with great difficulty a bare living, or one who rests in comfort and finds all he needs in the pleasures of hunting and fishing?

"It's true, I know, that the Micmac people didn't have bread or wine before you Frenchmen arrived, but before you came here, the Micmacs lived longer than they do now. If we no longer have wise elders in our midst who are a hundred years old or more, it's because we are gradually adopting too much of your European way of life. Those Micmacs live longest who will not eat your bread or drink your wine, but who instead drink water and eat beaver, moose, waterfowl and fish in accordance with the old customs of our Micmac ancestors. There is no Micmac who does not consider himself infinitely happier and more powerful than the French. We are a thousand times freer and more content in our woods and in our wigwams than we would be in the palaces and at the tables of the greatest kings on earth."

So saying, the chief finished his speech. The Europeans who had heard him were so taken by the justice of his remarks that they were momentarily embarrassed by their presumption and resolved to give up the idea of making the Micmacs build houses instead of wigwams.

The story which the Micmac speaker tells comes from New Relations of Gaspesia, With the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians ... by Chrestien LeClercq. Translated and Edited, With a Reporting of the Original, by William F. Ganong. Publications of the Champlain Society, Vol. V, The Champlain Society, Toronto (1910). Material not in quotations comes from School Television Teachers Guides 1983/84 for grade levels P-6, Nova Scotia Department of Education, Education Media Services, Halifax.

A KENNEBEC MOTHER'S THOUGHTS: 1650

Sleep, child, You must not die. I do not feel good either, but I am not as sick as you are. I have to think clearly.

A while ago the French man in the black robe came to our village. Your father was sick. But he could stand. He went to the black robe and told him, "You Europeans have brought this sickness. Wherever you go, our people die. Why did you come here? Why did you not stay in your own country? You have come to kill us all." Your father held a hatchet in his hand, but he did not raise it, and when he came back to the wigwam he collapsed on the ground, bleeding from his mouth and nose, his skin spotted and blue. Within a few hours he was dead. Then my son died. Now, daughter, it is you.

The village is deserted. Everyone is gone who could go, except for the sick, who moan in their wigwams, and the dead, who lie where they died, because there is no one to bury them. Only the black robe still walks around. He is strong, and nothing bothers him. He is coming now, walking slowly through the dying village.

What should I do?

Daughter, when I was your age, if you were sick, family came to be with you. They made medicines. They sat by your side. But with these new diseases they leave to try to save themselves. A mother stays. If you die too, I am as good as dead, and by tomorrow I may be dead anyway. It seems not to matter to me anymore whether I survive or not.

I asked my uncle, who is a mətéwələno[1] [m'DEH-w'-l'n-o]. I asked him to cure your father, but he left as soon as the others. He was sὰkəmα[2] [SUH-g'-muh] once, and when he went down river or hunted in the woods, others went with him. This time, they packed their things before he did, and then he packed, and he followed them. When I found him, his gun and pack were next to the door, but his medicine bag and his drum and rattle were next to the fire. He was ashamed. I told him your father was sick. I could see he did not want to come.

I can hear his voice, "Once my dreams came true." It was a strange voice I did not recognize, but it was the voice of my uncle. "I dreamed that we would find moose and beaver, and we found them. I dreamed that the enemy was near, and when he came we would be ready for him. But my dreams are no longer true, and because of that I will surely die." He stared at the fire, waiting for me to go.

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[1] Someone who has extraordinary powers. The words in this story are written in the Penobscot language, which is very closely related to the Kennebec language. The Penobscot words in this story are pronounced on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.

[2] Leader.

He had cured your father once. My uncle was a strong man then, and your father was very sick. The black robe was not here. Your father coughed and lay in a fever. We gave him teas that we had made from goldenrod and ginseng and the barks of the butternut and black cherry. I ground powder from the water arums and smoked the roots over the fire. My mother urged me to give him sweetflag. She brought some and he drank it. Then my uncle came. He sang over your father with his drum and rattle. He sucked a small object from his chest. He said this was the spirit that had caused the illness. The cough went away. Your father was able to stand. Soon he went into the woods to hunt, and we gave furs to my uncle. My mother said quietly, "It is fine to give him furs, that is good. But it was the sweetflag." We laughed. We laughed often then.

This time your father was hardly alive long enough for us to do anything for him. The mətéwəleno in the village downriver said our medicines do not work against this new sickness because the black robe is here. He threatened to kill the black robe if he does not leave. We could go to the mətéwəleno in his own village, since he will not come here. I could stand and get us to the canoe. It is possible I could do that, and the current would carry us. Are you still asleep? Good. Child, something has to be done.

The black robe is at the next wigwam. Now he comes.

He speaks to me in my language. "Do you want a cross?" he asks.

"Where does it go?" I say.

He does not answer, child, but places it over your heart. Now he bends to the ground on his knees and clasps his hands. He says words I do not understand.

Child, I have to choose. Do I permit the cross to rest on your heart, or do I carry you to the canoe?

A PENOBSCOT BOY'S THOUGHTS: 1685

My grandfather said that we should not go to Pemaquid to trade with the English.

It was dark outside our wigwam. I felt sleepy next to the fire but sat upright and listened carefully. I wanted to learn, so that I could grow up to be a wise and respected man among my people.

"We should only go as far as Pentagoet at the mouth of our own river," said my grandfather. "We should trade there with Saint-Castin, who is French and our brother. We have adopted him as one of us. He has married the daughter of Madokawando, sɑ̀kəmɑ[1] [SUH-g'-muh] on the Penobscot River. This French man lives as we do."

As my grandfather spoke, I kept my eyes on my father, who listened in silence. Then my grandfather looked directly at me.

"The English want our land," he told me. "They take our furs and then they take our land. When Wabanakis share land with the English, the English ruin it. They have trapped out the lower Kennebec. The beaver are gone from there. Now English farmers are coming to the Kennebec and cutting down the forest. Someday they will want to come here. Where will you and your children live? What will you have to pass on to your grandchildren and their grandchildren?" he asked. I did not know what to answer. He turned back to my father. "Even if English prices are better," he said to my father, "we should not give them our beaver." Then he fell silent. He watched the fire. I felt the cool spring air blow through the open door of the wigwam. It was fresh and good. My father respected my grandfather's opinions and what the other old people told him; but the decision was his. He would do what he considered best for us. I wondered what that would be.

Early in the morning, my father and I pushed out into the river in the canoe. The beaver pelts were tied and piled high between us. Surrounded by mist, we paddled on the smooth swift surface of the river, and soon the sun rose through the trees into the clear sky. The mist thinned, the air grew warmer. In a few hours we reached Pentagoet. There were many canoes on the river bank. There was a large Indian village that I knew from other visits, and the log house of Saint-Castin and his wife, Pidianske. We walked to the wigwam of my father's cousin, and my father talked with him for a while. He asked about the price for beaver.

The news was not good. An English warship had captured a French vessel that was bringing supplies for the fur trade. Saint-Castin's storehouse was almost empty. He could not offer much for beaver pelts. He had sailed to Nova Scotia to speak with the French governor and to arrange for another supply ship to come, but no one knew when this would be. Perhaps in a month or two months,

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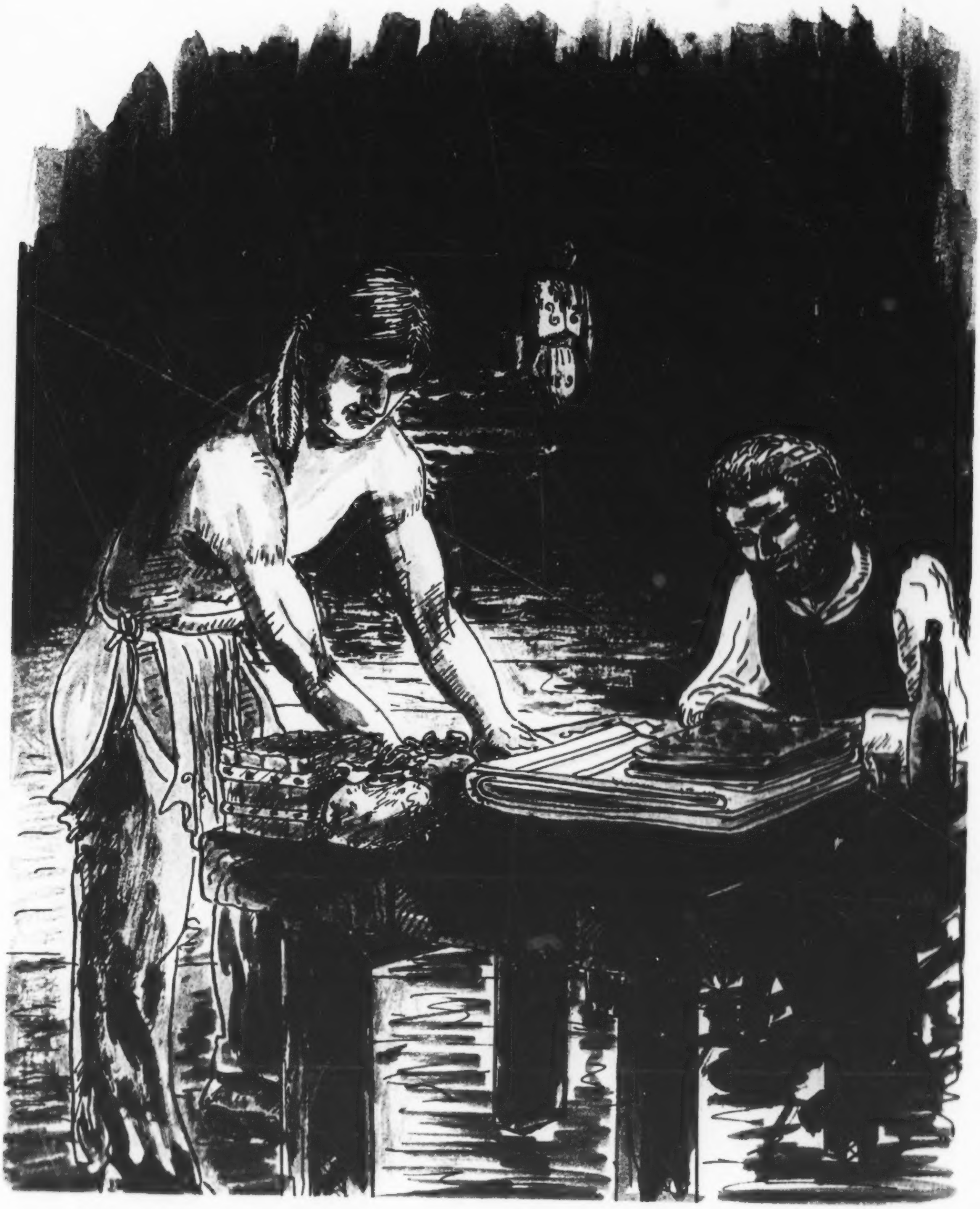
[1] Penobscot word for leader. The Penobscot words in this story are pronounced on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.



Drawing © Shirley Bear

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my father's cousin said. He said the English prices were far better right now. Since they had captured the French ship, the French could not compete with them until another ship arrived safely. My father said that this saddened him. He wanted to trade with the French.

In the afternoon my father went to the house of Pidianske. She told him that Saint-Castin would be back in a few weeks. My father said there were things he needed. She could not help him; the storehouse was empty. She told him that if he must have them, he should go to Pemaquid. Her father, the sὰkəmα on the Penobscot River, had repeated to the English that he wanted peace with them. Pidianske did not fear an attack on Pentagoet that year, and members of her family who had recently come from the Kennebec said that there had been no trouble at Pemaquid.

We stayed the night in Pentagoet. I think my father was weighing what my grandfather had told him. The English wanted our furs and our land. They took our beaver and cut the forest without permission. We offered to share with them, to be like family to them, but they did not act like family. Yet the English prices were better. If my family did not have ammunition and food and cloth, we were weaker; but if we traded with the English, the English became richer and stronger. It made me angry to see that these were the only choices my father had.

In the morning we paddled toward the ocean and made our way along the coast. When the wind came up strong, we camped on an island, and the next morning we pushed out again into calmer water and continued until we reached the English village at Pemaquid.

We passed near a large English ship at anchor. As we approached the shore, I saw log houses and fields. Down the shore a plume of black smoke rose into the sky. At that distance I could just make out the stumps in the clearing, piles of brush on fire, smoldering logs. My father pointed to a bare hillside. He told me that when he was a boy, his family had camped there in the summer, and he described the tall ashes and oaks that had once grown on the flank of the hill. There was a log house there now. Why did the English come here, I wondered.

When we had dragged the canoe onto the bank, I saw a large house with a stack of wood two spans wide and as tall as my father, running thirty paces long. It was enough wood to heat a large wigwam with two fires for many years. My father told me that this English house was so big it burned twice the amount of wood that I saw. To live in such a big house seemed foolish to me. We lifted our furs from the canoe and walked into the village. The air smelled of fish and hides. There was an English fort. Behind it was a small house where, through the open door, I could see English men eating and drinking. As I passed another open doorway, I saw an English man holding a piece of metal over a fire. The metal glowed red-hot. It sprayed sparks and rang out as his hammer beat down on it, and then it hissed loudly when he shoved it into water. I would ask my father later what it was.

I went in the door of a house that my father opened, and we set our furs on the floor. The furs were heavy; there were many of them. My father had had a good winter trapping, and still he had been able to leave plenty of beaver for the next year. He treated the beaver with great respect, and the beaver cooperated with him so that they and we could survive together from year to year.

The English trader looked strange to me. His face was overgrown with red hair. He spoke in a loud coarse voice. I stayed next to the furs by the door, but my father approached him and talked with him. My father began to speak in our language, as he did with Saint-Castin, but the English man shook his head. My father had to use the English man's language. He spoke slowly and deliberately. He chose his words carefully. I looked around the room. There were so many things we might get in exchange for our furs. Some of them I did not recognize.

The Englishman offered my father a bottle of rum. I heard my father say no. The English man insisted and poured a glass for him, but my father insisted, too -- he said no, again. The drink sat on the table, untouched. I noticed that the English man's voice was not as loud now. He listened carefully to what my father told him about the furs. We put them on the table where they could be examined. My father walked over to the place where muskets were hung on the wall, and I began to hope that this was the year I would get one. He reached for powder and shot, instead. He picked out needles and thread, blankets and cloth, beans, peas, and flour, and he gave me a hard brown cone to suck on. I had never seen it before. My father called it by an English word -- sugar. It tasted good. Then my father found a hoe and two knives that he wanted. He put these things on the table in front of the English man, who began to measure out corn. The two men spoke back and forth. My father gestured for two measures more, but the English man refused. When my father glanced at me as if he were embarrassed, I knew that he wished he had left me outside.

When we reached the canoe with our things, I had time to look around again. I saw English men in the fields with large animals, but there were no English women working outside. I asked my father if there were women in Pemaquid. He said that they stayed inside the houses. Perhaps they are not strong like our women, I thought.

As we paddled out into the ocean, I glanced back at the English village. My father noticed this and spoke to me. He said that when he was a boy, it had been a good place. It had been possible to live well there right through the summer. But even the good English, he said, even the good English ruin the land, so that we cannot use it anymore. The game leave. When we share with them, he said, the land becomes useless to us. Your grandfather is right.

We paddled toward the Penobscot and home.

ENGLISH COUSINS HAVE A TALK IN PEMAQUID: 1685

Miles: Cousin, you have been in Pemaquid a week now. What do you think?

Jonathan: I am glad you ask. I think this is the most beautiful place I have ever been. There is so much of everything here -- timber, grass for our cattle, fish, and game. There are huge areas that can be cleared of forest. The soil is rich for farming. I understand now why so many English families want to move farther east along the coast.

Miles: What is more, cousin, we live at peace with the Indians now. We trade for their furs. And we govern ourselves. The Boston Council is too far away to tell us very often what to do.

Jonathan: That is the one problem I see here, Miles. You say you govern yourselves, but as far as I can see, there is very little of that. Your own mother trembles at the lawlessness here. Cheating in the sale of land is widespread. A few traders are getting rich selling rum to the people on the fishing boats and the Indians, and no one can stop them. You need the firm hand of the Boston Council, I think, and more godliness too. I fear you will be punished otherwise. God punishes unruliness of this kind.

Miles: I think you are trying to frighten me.

Jonathan: I am not trying to frighten you, no. But perhaps you should be frightened. If English continue to cheat each other and the Indians, there will be punishment for it, I am sure. That is the work of God. God may bring war on this peaceable little kingdom of yours.

Miles: You talk like a Massachusetts churchman. We are not all of the same persuasion here, as you know. My father is a godly man, but he has taught me to mistrust people who see the work of God or the Devil in everything.

Jonathan: Well, be that as it may. I say nothing against your father. I only say that if English live by deceit and violence, they will die by deceit and violence. And I do not trust the Indians. They are too much of a temptation to the worst sort of English, who covet their land and their furs, and who hope to get rich from them. Who knows how the Indians will react to these men? They ask us to be responsible for these men and punish them, but we cannot control them. It may be best to get rid of the Indians, so that the temptation is gone. In Massachusetts we killed most of the Indians who lived there, and the rest of them we forced to submit to our will. Now they are not a problem anymore. I think the same thing will have to be done here.

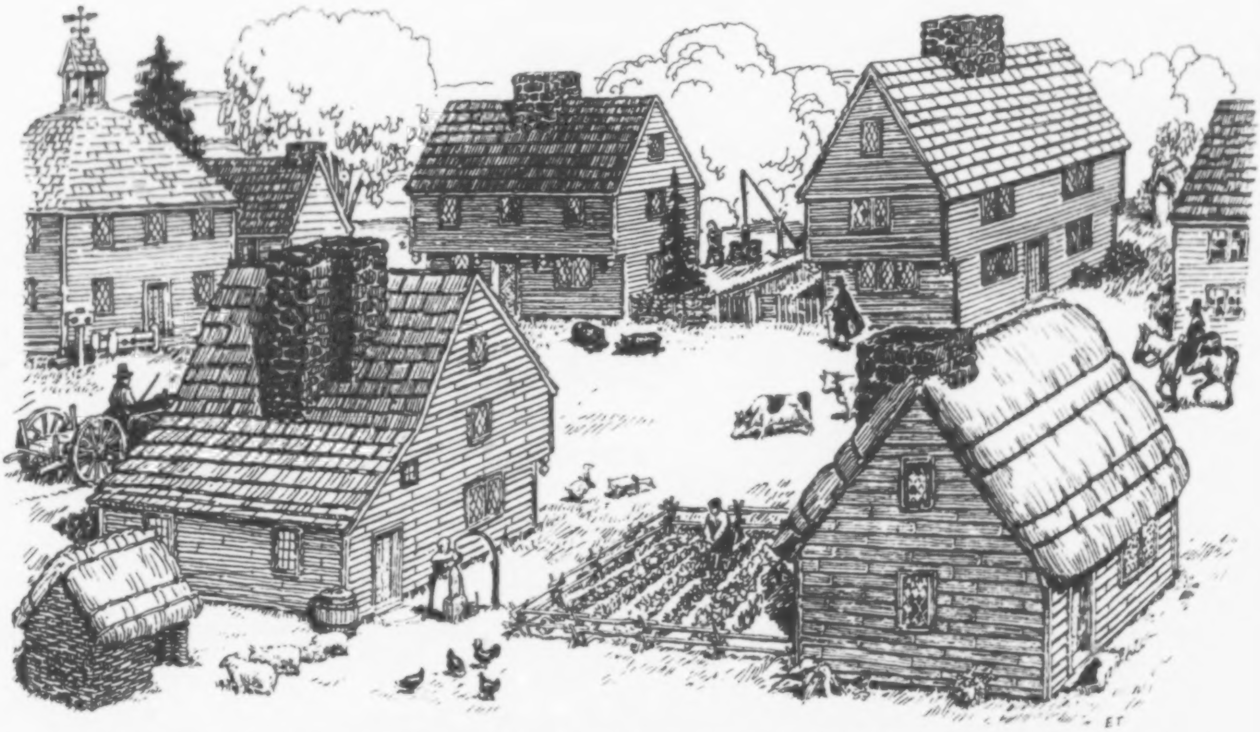
Miles: Rubbish. I have spoken with our Justice, Thomas Gardiner. He told me that he has visited the Indians in their own villages. He believes their leaders are wise. He said that they are more generous and honest than any of the English.

Jonathan: I have met Gardiner. I do not quarrel with his opinion. But you must remember, too, that the Indians have an alliance with the French, who do not like us. What is more, those French priests do the work of the Devil; that is common knowledge. I fear that they may influence the Indians against you.

Miles: It is true, what you say about the priests. We must find a way to get rid of them. But some day there will be too many of us. There will be so many English they will not be able to stop us.

Jonathan: I hope you are right. You are lucky to be one of the first, Miles. Where do you intend to settle?

Miles: I am not certain. I go around and around on it. My father has promised to deed me a parcel of his land at Round Pond. But there is too much dispute over the ownership of property in these parts. That is the problem I see here, cousin. They say that John Brown obtained a deed to this whole peninsula, some 12,000 acres. He purchased it from the Eastern sagamore, Samoset, in 1625. Later settlers purchased their properties from people who had come here with Brown. In 1631 the same 12,000 acres was granted to Aldworth and Eldridge by the Council of Plymouth, in England -- the so-called Pemaquid Patent. But that is not all. Perhaps you know this story, cousin, but I will finish it.



Late seventeenth-century New England village. This is a composite drawing. The meeting house is at the extreme left. Reprinted, by permission, from Edward Tunis, Colonial Living, Thomas Y. Crowell, Co., 1957.

All the territory from the Kennebec River to the St. Croix River, including Pemaquid, also belongs to James, the Duke of York, because it was given to him by King Charles about twenty years ago.

Jonathan: That does not surprise me. James and Charles are brothers. Indeed, the situation is grave. Brown's original deed from the Indians will not stand up against the deeds of the Council or the King.

Miles: No. What is more, the Indians claim they did not give away their rights to use this same land. They continued to come here until a few years ago, when we forced them to leave. Still they repeat to us that they have as much right to use this land as we do.

Jonathan: Will you stay then?

Miles: As I told you, I am not certain. But I give serious thought to leaving. I do not wish to spend ten years building up a prosperous farm only to find that I do not own it. I have considered going to Georges River. Alone, I could burn enough forest for a cornfield in my first year and sell the potash in the market. By the second year I will have corn and a second area cleared for pasture. By the sixth year, when the corn has made the soil poor, there will be fields for hay and new fields for corn, and all the while I will be cutting timber to sell. Someday I will be rich and live like a king. Why do you laugh?

Jonathan: I like your enthusiasm.

Miles: Well, good then. Come along, and we will do it together.

Jonathan: No, no, I think not. I intend to return to Boston. But tell me, whose land will you be cutting?

Miles: I am not sure. It may be that the Indians still claim it.

Jonathan: Then I foresee trouble. For the Indians may not like waking up one day to find that someone else owns their land, anymore than you would. I would consider it carefully. And remember what I told you.

MALISEETS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

We could not have known everything that would happen to us, when there were first rumors of war.

In the fall of 1775 a Maliseet sakom [ZAH-g'm][1], Pierre Tomah, came upriver to our village on the St. John. He told our sakom, Ambrose St. Aubin Bear, that he was bound for the Penobscot to hear Orono speak about his trip to Massachusetts, where he had met with the Americans. Ambrose and others decided to join him, and I went along. I was a young man, but old enough for war, and I wanted to be part of everything that happened.

Orono was sakom of the Penobscots. The Americans had written a letter to him the previous spring. They had asked for his help in their war against Britain, and they had promised him the supplies he would need. When he spoke to us, Orono was clear. He saw this as an opportunity to make his people strong, so that they could keep their land forever. He told us, "The Americans have problems with the British, too. They have decided to fight for their freedom. If we join them, their strength will be ours, and we can keep the British away from our land."

Pierre Tomah was uneasy. He waited patiently for his turn to speak, and then he said: "The Americans may not be any different. It is easy to make a treaty. Twelve years ago the British said they would protect our land, but they have not done it. And now, do the Americans say that they, too, will protect our land?"

"They are fair and generous," said Orono.

But Pierre answered, "How do we know this?"

Orono understood what Pierre meant. He understood the risks, but he saw no other way that offered as much promise as this way, and he continued to push for an alliance with the Americans. "They need our help," he said. "This can make us strong."

"I agree," said Pierre. "The Americans can make us strong. For now. But for how long? And the British also need our help, and the British also can make us strong. I think we should wait and see."

That night, we Maliseets met among ourselves. After a long discussion, Pierre and Ambrose wrote a letter to the Massachusetts Council, in which they promised friendship and cooperation of Maliseets and nearby Micmacs in the war against Britain. In the letter they asked for a priest to be sent to them, and they asked for guns, ammunition, and food, in exchange for furs and hides.

But little happened through the winter.

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[1] Passamaquoddy-Maliseet word for leader. The pronunciation of this word is recorded on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.

The following summer, in 1776, Ambrose went by canoe to Boston to promise support once again, and to ask for supplies. He was told there would be supplies for us at Machias. He and those who had come with him signed a treaty with Massachusetts at Watertown.[2] But Machias was too far from our homeland for us to go regularly. We needed a truckhouse on the St. John.

Of course Indians were not the only people in Maine and Nova Scotia[3] who were affected by the war. There were English settlers in eastern Nova Scotia who believed in the American cause, but who remained under British control. One of these was John Allan. In the summer of 1776, British soldiers were ordered to arrest Allan for treason. Traveling by night, he fled to Maine. He told us these things later, when he had become a friend of the Maliseets. He told us that he had had to leave his wife and children behind.

Allan planned how to fight the British. Just before Christmas of that year he met with General George Washington at Washington's headquarters on the Delaware River. In January of 1777 he met with the new Congress, which gave him authority to trade with us. Later, in Boston, it took him three months to get the trade goods and supplies he needed.

Late in May, John Allan arrived at the Passamaquoddy village at Pleasant Point with three boats and three canoes. In June, accompanied by Passamaquoddy canoes, he arrived at our village on the St. John. We welcomed him by firing our guns into the air, and his men fired their guns in response. When Allan came ashore, men and women from the village formed a line from the river bank up the hill, and as Allan passed along the line we fired our guns again, in welcome.

Two days later, we met in the wigwam of sakom Pierre Tomah. Ambrose Bear spoke about a trip he had recently made to Boston. He had been well-received there, and he wanted us to join the Americans. "If the Americans lose," he said, "we will lose our land. The British have pushed us back for a long time. The Americans have been fair with us. They do not force us to fight. They ask us to fight. They are our brothers."

In the afternoon we met again, this time in the wigwam of Ambrose Bear. We welcomed Allan there as our friend and brother and as a member of the Maliseet Nation. We presented him with a string of wampum. Then Pierre Tomah spoke.

"Brothers," he said. "I have no quarrel with our friend, John Allan. But I, too, have been to visit the Americans, those who live in Boston and in Philadelphia, and I did not find them so friendly. I met with George Washington, and he was courteous. But if I understand him, he has said that if we do not join with him, he will come here and force us to join with him." Pierre Tomah went on: "The Americans cannot help us here. There are not enough of them, and the St. John is too far. Do not let white men fight here, and let us not fight them. Let us be friends with everyone. Let us take no side." Some agreed with Pierre Tomah. John Allan wanted to speak, but we told him that he must invite us to his house if he wanted to speak, that this was our custom.

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[2] The treaty was also signed by Micmacs.

[3] At the time of this story, Nova Scotia included what is now New Brunswick.

He was staying at the priest's house, which was empty, near the chapel, and two days later we met there at his invitation. Allan greeted us. He thanked us for his membership in the Maliseet Nation, and he told us about the war. He told us that this land was ours, by right. "I will do everything I can," he told us, "to get Massachusetts to live up to its promises to you. If you join us, we will help each other."

Many of us agreed to fight with him, and later we signed an agreement of trade and friendship with him. Then we danced and feasted to celebrate the occasion.

The morning after the feast there was news of a British warship, the Vulture, at the mouth of the St. John. The Vulture was fired upon by American soldiers and withdrew. But soon it returned, in the company of several other ships. We tried to ambush the British, but failed, and we retreated up the river. But Pierre Tomah approached the British and went aboard one of their ships. When he returned, he told us that the British would pay four hundred dollars for the capture of John Allan, dead or alive. Pierre sent a message to Ambrose Bear, asking him to speak to the British. But Ambrose refused.

Ambrose St. Aubin Bear and Pierre Tomah with John Allan.

The two men could not agree. Pierre Tomah stood by his decision to remain neutral. He tried to arrange a meeting between us and the Americans and the British, but this did not come about. When he raised a British flag at the chapel, the Americans took it down. Ambrose Bear stood by his decision to join the Americans and fight, and we left with Allan, accompanied by five hundred men, women, and children in 120 canoes, to go to Machias and meet the British there.

On our way to Machias, as we sat by the fire one night, at Eel Lake, my father said, "Our lives and our children's lives are in the hands of the white men."

I said, "If we can keep the British out, the Americans will leave us in peace."

Then my grandmother spoke up. She said, "For now, not for long."

I did not want to hear this.

In Machias we joined with Penobscots and Passamaquoddies and Americans as a single force under Colonel John Allan. We had about 180 men. When British marines tried to land, we opened fire and beat them back. Francis Joseph Neptune, a Passamaquoddy shaman, made a famous shot that day. He dropped a British officer from 700 yards, firing across the water, a shot that the Americans had thought was impossible. The man fell from his boat. I will never forget seeing that. And I will never forget how good it felt to push the British back down the river and to see them leave in a heavy rain.

This story is based on Tokec, Katop Oenoq Sipkiw: For Now, but Not for Long, by Robert M. Leavitt, published by the Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program, Indian Township, Maine, 1974.

A PASSAMAQUODDY MAN SPEAKS TO THE MAINE LEGISLATURE

This is part of a speech that Louis Mitchell gave to the Maine House of Representatives of the Sixty-Third Legislature in 1887. The blanks indicate places where the person writing down the speech at the time missed words or parts of sentences.

I was authorized by the Passamaquoddy Tribe of Indians to come here before you for the purpose of making known to you what the Passamaquoddy Indians have done for the American people, and how we have been used by the American people and how we used them. In 1775 or 1776, in the struggle between Great Britain and America, your people came to us for assistance. You authorized Col. John Allan to speak to us and you said "he is our mouth, believe what he says to you." After many kind words and promises, Francis Joseph, who was the Chief of the tribe at that time, accepted his offer. He promised to go and help his people gain their independence. Immediately he sent his captains to different points of his country to notify his people to prepare for immediate war. In a few days Francis Joseph gathered an army of six hundred men. At that time and many years before that, the Passamaquoddy Tribe was the headquarters of the [Wabanaki] nation.

The Passamaquoddy Tribe can show you by the statement of Joseph Drisko of Jonesport, how the Passamaquoddy Indians faithfully fought for the American people to help them gain their independence; and Passamaquoddy Tribe also can show you by the affidavit of William Watt of Jonesboro, Maine, one of the Revolutionary soldiers, how he was alongside of Francis Joseph the Chief, and heard him ask permission from Capt. Smith to fire the first gun, and Capt. Smith gave his permission. He fired and killed an officer, who was in the _______of the boat, the distance measuring nearly three-quarters of a mile from where he fired. And we also can show you by that same affidavit how many Indians were in the army; it was six hundred men and they served two years. Passamaquoddy Tribe can show you by a letter from Col. John Allan when he authorized the Passamaquoddy Indians to guard the coast from Machias to Passamaquoddy, and authorized them to seize the enemy's vessels. And according to his orders, we can show you by the affidavit, Capt. Sopiel Socktoma, with fifty others of his tribe, captured an armed schooner in Passamaquoddy Bay, and they ran her to Machias and gave her up to Col. John Allan. And we can show you by the statement of John Allan, Jr. how the Passamaquoddy Indians followed the enemy from Machias to Castine. Passamaquoddy Tribe can show you by the affidavit of Margarett Frost, who saw the Indians at Castine, and told how they faithfully fought for the Americans.

Now nearly all these statements were sworn to before magistrates and we also can show you in many different histories mention how the Passamaquoddy Indians fought for you, such as Hall's History, Williamson's History and the History of the Town of Machias; and how by all these statements, histories, and traditions no doubt the Indians must have served in the war. We also can further show you by the letter dated in Massachusetts, in 1780, after the war was over; in that letter you said to us, "on account of the large army we supply and dry summer of this year, we cannot send you any supplies," but you promised us you would see to our just claims in the future. We can show many old documents and letters before the Revolutionary War, and during the war if necessary....

Now, in regard to their privilege of hunting, fishing and fowling.

In the treaties of 1725, 1794, and Governor Dummer's treaty of 1727, and in the laws of Massachusetts and Maine at their separation, we were guaranteed the right to hunt and fish forever. In proof of this, reference is made to Vol. 3, Historical Records of Maine. Now, listen to the plain English words "forever" and "as long as they remain as a nation." Newell T. Lola is governor of the Passamaquoddy Indians and Thoma Dana Lieutenant Governor; population of the tribe or nation, five hundred and thirty souls. We remain as a nation yet. Now I claim that this privilege of hunting, with the Passamaquoddy Indians has never been broken; because common sense will tell us that hunting is their chief dependence for living, and for this reason they cannot break their treaty or the treaty of Falmouth in 1715. You claim the before-mentioned treaties have been broken by the St. Francis Indians and the Norridgewocks. We have nothing to do with their treaties. The Norridgewocks are passed out of existence; they don't need any more hunting privileges. The laws of Massachusetts in 1776-7 even go so far that they give us exclusive rights to hunt, especially beaver hunting. They authorize us to seize all the furs, all the traps and arms from white hunters; even we were authorized, we threatened them in force of arms. Now if the Passamaquoddy Tribe gave up their rights, claims, title, interest, by the treaty of 1794, as you claim that they did, we see that must have been a great gift to the State; and that same treaty says to us, "the lands, islands, privileges, granted to the Passamaquoddy Indians and their heirs forever."

Lands granted to the Passamaquoddy Indians by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1794:

Such lands were granted to us: 30 acres of West Quoddy Carryingplace, township of 25,000 acres; islands in the St. Croix River, 15 in number, containing 100 acres of land. Now, the land at West Quoddy is occupied by white people (deeds given by Claim ______); the claim on the islands has been taken from us; part of the township has been leased a term of 999 years; a two mile strip the entire width of the township, eight miles; a mile strip, eight miles long, given to a rich man worth probably half a million dollars, for a road. When they send a petition for this purpose, they say this road is a benefit to the Indians. No Indians ever go through in that road once in ten years. This man has a big farm back of this township; that's why he asks for permission to build a road through our township. I think the way I see, myself, (I am not road surveyor), I think 50 feet is wide enough for any road, instead of one mile. Now I claim again this is not right. If we only get a few dollars for it and the money placed in our fund, we will not feel so bad; but we see plainly that not even one cent do we ever get for that long strip of land, one mile wide and eight miles long. This land is to be taken from the poor Indians and granted to a rich man who is able to pay a good price for it. Now, if the State is custodian of the Indian's property, it must seek information of the Indians there and then and tell whether they need such road or not.

Another piece of land owned by the Passamaquoddy Indians situated in the town of Perry, Maine, a thickly-wooded land of 250 or 300 acres and only two and one half miles from our village of Pleasant Point, was preserved by the tribe as their wood lot, and would have lasted us many years; besides, one Indian cleared about three acres, and one about one and one half acres, and many others went there to plant their potatoes. In the year 1854 or 1857 some dishonest person or persons, presented a petition to the Maine Legislature, asking the State to sell the Indians' land -- Indians did not need it -- so the Legislature passed a resolve, that a certain piece of land, situated in the town of Perry, owned by the Indians, would be sold by public auction, on such day, at Perry (they must have arranged everything so they wouldn't bid against each other) and that land was sold for the small sum of $500. The Indians opposed the sale of it. Now their firewood costs the Indians of Pleasant Point $1,500 a year. If that land had not been sold, the Indians would not suffer for want of firewood. Thousands of cords of cord wood have been cut, and wood is on it yet.

The land cleared by the Indians is also sold. Now we claim again this is not right. Indian agent himself bought this land afterwards and again when we lost the claim on the Islands the case Granger vs. Indians, we not only lost the claim of two thousand five hundred dollars ($2,500) out of the Indians ____ in favor of Mr. Granger. Because he is a _____ old man ____ have its doubtful case, but let him have the money. This we also claim is not right. Now, if the State is the guardian of the Indians' property, this _____ of things ought to be stopped at once.

Now we go back to the original claim mentioned by Passamaquoddy history and also mentioned by the Records of Massachusetts: about hunting grounds. The Indians of the Abnaki nations used to have a constant war among themselves, and a dispute as to their hunting grounds. But at last they tired of fighting. So they held a General Council, of all the tribes of the Abnaki nations, and the resolution of this Council was that their hunting grounds should be equally distributed--the Micmacs take the river now called Miramichi, and its tributaries, the St. John Indians have their own hunting grounds, as also do the Penobscots. The Passamaquoddy Indians have the boundary of their hunting grounds commence at the mouth of the Proo, or Preaux River, 30 miles this side of the St. John, N.B. It follows the coast, westward, to the mouth of the Cherryfield, or Narragasgus River, and follows it to the head of it, then to the head of Machias River; from there to the head of St. Croix River; from there to the head of Proo, or Preaux, River, following it, _____ to the coast. This includes all the islands on the south ____ from the mouth of the Proo, or Preaux, River _____ ward of the mouth of the Cherryfield, or Narragasgus River. This also includes all the lands, timber, and all the wild animals once belonging to the Passamaquoddy Tribe of Indians....

Now we go further back and lack further information. We will find it in Washington, where the Indian rights are preserved and protected. Treaties there will tell us the poor Indians were the first inhabitants of this country; their privileges, their lands cannot be taken from them without their free consent. Then we go farther on -- whether they have sold their Passamaquoddy lands or not. We will find again a large map and a large book prepared by the United States government, there we will find again every foot of Indian land ceded to the United States, date, names of persons of whom negotiated, and names of mountains, lakes, rivers, States and towns where their boundary lines run. There we find again the Passamaquoddy lands not included. Just consider, today, how many rich men there are in Calais, in St. Stephen, Milltown, Machias, East Machias, Columbia, Cherryfield, and other lumbering towns. We see a good many of them worth thousands and even millions of dollars. We ask ourselves how they make most of their money? Answer is, they make it on lumber or timber once owned by the Passamaquoddy Indians. Now, this present 19th Century, this great State, with its increasing population, its riches, its homes of wealth and refinement, its vast capital seeking investments in every western State, cannot _____ to be just to a few friendless and helpless

Indians, _____ been so had the facts been generally known, ____ show the facts to be as I have stated. _______ We plainly see the effects on the Passamaquoddy Indians _____ the struggle to obtain ______ independence. How many of their privileges have been broken; how many of their lands have been taken from them by authority of the State. Now we say to ourselves, these Indians ought to have everything they ask for. They deserve assistance. We are sent here to help the poor and defend their rights.

Now, again, we look at the summer of 1886. We see our own people, our own Maine fishermen, our own Gloucester fishermen, only one or few other privileges denied to them, you see how badly we feel. Nearly every Legislature of the United States, and also Congress, all say this ought not to be done.

Now this plainly shows us how much worse a people of five hundred and thirty souls are stripped of their whole country, their privileges on which they depend for their living; all the land they claim to own now being only ten acres. If one or two men in this body were Indians, they would fight like braves for their rights.

Now look at this yourselves and see whether I am right or wrong. If you find any insulting language in my speech, I ask your pardon. I don't mean to insult anybody, but simply tell you of our wrong.

MALIYAN

Mary Ann

On the following pages are excerpts from Maliyan, a book written in 1979 by Mary Ellen Socobasin for the Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program at Indian Township, Maine. The original story is written in Passamaquoddy, with a free translation in English. The Passamaquoddy text is included here on this page only.

Neqt yaq wot skicinuwi pilsqehsis wiku utenek, liwisu Maliyan -- wiciw wikuwossol, mihtaqsol, naka mossisol. Mossisol yaq kis kiskatomul, liwisu yaq Anuwit.

Elkihqahk wikuwawa. Ktomakte tahk, tehpu eli wissektahasik pilasq, naka mate lamikuwam tomasokahasiw. Tan eci yaq wen koti atsewet, cuwi yaq wen ekhutun petqil cayisok. Nit te eli ksahayin, yut yaq ote ehtek papskot, tuwihput, kutoputiyil. Waht yaq ona oloqiw kuhutiyil naka tuwiskut. Ipa, yut nit Maliyan wikit, nekom yaq ote peyemi wasisuwit. On yaq ote newonul kotokil wikuwamol nit eyikil.

Ukomolcin yaka Maliyan etuceyit, on yaka kisihtasu ihtolokehkitimok. Ipa, on mace kehkiman Maliyan naka witapihi. Eci yaq wikuwatokehkimut wasisok. Tomk otehc ekehkimut elokisultihtit, tpaskutikonok, naka elintultihtit. Nutokehkikemit yaq wenuhcisqehs, 'cey utenek. Liwisu Mossos Welinton. Nit tehc yaq Maliyan metokehkimut, macahan wikuwak, naciyan 'tamsqocehkanol weci kisayat.

Peciyat wikuwak, wot tahk yaq wikuwossol weckuwi posonutehkelit. Kis yaq newonul kisihtaqil, on oc sepawonu natankuwehtun ikolisomanihkuk. Nit oc yaq weci kisonuhmuhtit nukhomon.

In the 1920's there was a little girl named Mary Ann living on the Strip [U.S. Route 1] at Indian Township. Also in the household were her mother and father and her older sister Anna, as well as Anna's husband Sabattus.

Although the house was quite big, it was in poor condition. Outside, the walls were covered with roofing paper and narrow strips of wood. On the inside, they were covered with newspaper, and there were no partitions to separate one area of the house from another. If you wanted to change your clothes, you had to hang a quilt or a blanket from a rafter. In one corner, near the stove, were a table and chairs; on the other side, the beds and a chamber pot -- because of course there is no bathroom indoors. This is where Mary Ann lives, and she is the youngest in the family. There are only four other houses nearby.

When Mary Ann is eight years old, a schoolhouse is built. She and her friends can go to school now. They enjoy learning to read, to use numbers, and to sing. Mrs. Wellington, the children's teacher, is a white woman from the town of Princeton.

As soon as the school day is over, Mary Ann goes home to play. She finds her mother making baskets. Four completed baskets stand on the table ready to be sold in town tomorrow. From the back of the house, Mary Ann hears the sound of her father pounding a stick of ash. There'll always be a good supply for making new baskets to sell so the family can have flour and other things they have to buy.

The School on the Strip. Reprinted, by permission, from Socobasin, Maliyan, 1979.

Anna is cooking supper. Before they sit down to eat, Mary Ann wants to make herself a doll to play with; so she looks around for odd bits of rag. By tying the rags together, she makes first a head -- with eyes, nose, and mouth made of buttons -- then the arms, the body and the legs. By the time she is finished with her doll, supper is all ready -- a delicious meal of potatoes and *tumahsis,* thick, hot fry-bread made in a skillet.

Mary Ann washes the dishes. Anna is mending Sabattus' clothes, and their mother is busy coiling up a long braid of sweetgrass, back and forth, back and forth, in a neat figure 8.

As they work, the light grows dimmer in the house. Mary Ann's mother fills the lamp and lights it. Rocking gently in her rocking chair and smoking her pipe, she starts to talk about the things that happened a long time ago. Sometimes she tells stories about the devil and how he came to different people. Then Mary Ann has an eerie feeling, and she moves a little closer to Anna and her mother. They go right to bed when the stories are over.

There aren't enough beds for everybody, so Mary Ann and her mother sleep together while her father makes a bed on the floor. Anna and Sabattus have their bed in another corner of the room. Their baby will be born any day now.

* * *

Mary Ann asks her grandfather why he is [visiting] so late. He smiles at her. "I've come to live with you, littlest one, because I'm having a hard time now taking care of myself. I can't get firewood or carry water," he says, "but here you have everything. All I'll have to do is bring in the heater wood and the kindling."

Mary Ann is very happy because she loves her grandfather very much. He is almost a hundred years old now, his hair is all white and his face is completely lined with wrinkles. He would always take Mary Ann for walks in the woods and tell her stories. But they can't go far now because Grandfather can hardly walk. Instead, he often spends time sitting near the stove, staring into the flames.

Mary Ann feels sorry for him when she sees him this way. He must be very lonely: her grandmother died a long time ago. Mary Ann goes over to him and talks to him so that he won't have any lonely thoughts.

She is sitting with her grandfather when she hears Anna moaning in her bed in the corner. Suddenly, Sabattus comes to Mary Ann and whispers urgently -- "Go get your mother."

Mary Ann huries across the road to the house where her mother is braiding sweetgrass with the other women.

"Anna is starting to have her baby," she says.

"You run and get the old woman," her mother tells her. "I'll heat the water."

Mary Ann is so tired out by the time she gets to the old woman's house she can hardly talk. The old woman, who helps deliver all the babies, gets ready right away and they start back. But she walks so slowly Mary Ann keeps telling her to hurry.

"There's no need to hurry, child," says the old woman patiently. "Even when we get there we'll still have to wait a long time. He won't be born until he's ready."

Finally, they arrive at the house. Right away, Mary Ann is sent off to bed.

She wants very badly to stay up to find out about the new baby. Her mother comes to her. "I'll let you know when the baby is born."

Mary Ann waited and waited, until she fell asleep. She never did find out until morning that her sister had had a little boy.

They named him Joseph. He had thick black hair. By the time Mary Ann woke up, Anna was already nursing him. She had to stay in bed for nine days, so her mother took care of the baby and brought him to Anna to be nursed. She made her new grandson his diapers and his little shirts.

Just above Anna's bed hung a cradle-swing across the corner of the room. Joseph slept there and Anna could reach up for him when he woke during the night.

Everyone was very happy to have a baby in the house again.

* * *

When Mary Ann ran to tell her grandfather about the new baby, she found him still in bed. He said to her, "Tell your mother to cook me some Indian medicine. I feel very poorly."

They cooked the medicine for him and gave him some. But Grandfather was too old. It didn't do him any good. He died in his bed.

Mary Ann's mother sent for the men who would prepare Grandfather's body for burial. They washed him and shaved him. After that, they fixed a place in the house for him to lie. One of the men measured him and went over to Princeton to have a casket made.

As soon as they find out about the death, all the neighbors gather food for the wake. Friends and relatives arrive. They pray and sing all night until early in the morning. Then everyone goes home to rest before the second night of the wake.

The following morning, Grandfather is buried. Mary Ann and her family are crying very hard. Even in the afternoon, Mary Ann is still crying.

"You have cried enough," her mother tells her. "Everyone must die, and Grandfather was very old. He was with us for a long time before he had to leave."

At supper, Mary Ann's father is talking about the election soon to be held. She doesn't join in the conversation, but she isn't crying now. She understands why Grandfather died.

* * *

It is time to pick a new chief. Mary Ann's father has decided whom to vote for. By now, Mary Ann is very curious and excited about the election. "Take me with you," she begs her father.

"Come along, then, little one," he says.

When they arrive at the voting place at Peter Dana Point, the two candidates, David and Louis, are sitting in chairs at opposite ends of the room. There are hats all around their feet. Mary Ann's father takes his hat off and throws it on the floor near David. Then they stand back and wait.

"Why did you throw your hat on the floor?" Mary Ann asks her father.

"David is the one I think will make the best chief," says her father. "Now we have to wait until the hats are counted. The one with the most hats will be chief."

At last the hats are counted. Louis has more than David. All of the men congratulate him. They shake his hand and carry him aloft on their shoulders, happy for his victory.

Someone sets off the cannon down by the shore to announce the election of a new chief.

Preparations begin for the inauguration. Men go hunting. There will be a big feast with stew for everyone. Each family brings a pot and takes stew home to eat; candy, apples and nuts will be given out.

There is a great dance in honor of the new chief. Mary Ann sees an old man named Samuel standing in the corner. She knows that he's the one who beats the drum and sings. When all is ready, the Welcome Dance begins. In time to the beat of his drum and his chant, Samuel walks very slowly to where the new chief sits on the floor.

"I welcome the new chief," he says, and shakes his hand.

Then all the people shout and they begin to dance. All night, whenever Samuel takes up the drum and begins to sing, everyone dances. He really knows how to beat the drum.

The dance goes on for a whole week without anyone getting into trouble. While the adults all have a grand time at the celebration, the children are sent home early. That's the only thing Mary Ann doesn't like. But she does get to dance for a little while. She practices her dancing by watching her mother very closely and trying to imitate her every movement.

"You do very well," her mother tells her. "You keep practicing and soon you'll be a very good dancer."

Mary Ann was so proud to hear her mother's praise that she tried even harder. She danced for just a little longer, then she had to go home. Only the adults would be dancing during the night.

The inauguration of the chief was a very important ceremony. It would be a long time before Mary Ann forgot it.

* * *

Mary Ann's father is getting ready to go to Pleasant Point and Mary Ann wants to go with him. She's never gone there before.

"It will take us all day," her father tells her. "We'll have to walk into town. There we'll get on the train and ride as far as Calais. Then we get on another train to Ayers Junction, where we change again for Pleasant Point.

Mary Ann stares all around when they arrive at Pleasant Point. There aren't nearly as many trees as they have at home -- and look how big the lake is!

"That's *salt* water," her father tells her. Mary Ann is surprised that it's not frozen over.

From the railroad station they walk to Old Mary's. Mary Ann's aunt is very glad to see them. She warms up some food and takes them in to show them their beds.

After they have supper, Mary Ann's father goes off to look for his friend. They might go fishing if it's nice in the morning, and at the same time go after porpoise.

Mary Ann wakes up to the smell of potatoes and fish cooking on the stove. She eats her breakfast quickly because she wants very much to go out and walk around.

Her aunt tells her, "You'll have to put on your long-johns -- it's very cold down here."

Mary Ann spends all day outside. Finally her father comes after her. "You'd better go have supper and rest. We have to go back tomorrow."

Stella and Mary Mitchell. Reprinted, by permission, from Socobasin, Malivan, 1979.

After they eat, he tells her about going hunting and about all the porpoise they killed. They are going to salt them, he says, so that they'll have them all winter.

Auntie lights the lamp and puts more wood in the stove. It is warm and comfortable in this house. Mary Ann sits on the floor near her aunt's rocking chair. Old Mary tells the story of the Tall Man that is seen sometimes at night. Mary Ann's eyes grow wider and wider and she keeps glancing at the window. Finally her aunt puts a blanket over the panes, but the wind is so loud that Mary Ann is still afraid. Old Mary rocks back and forth, her pipe in her mouth.

"Well, child," she says, "we had better go to bed."

They put out the lamp and walk into the other room. It is cosy in their big warm bed.

In the morning they go back up to Princeton. It's fun to ride on the train, but Mary Ann is glad when they arrive in town and start walking home.

Her family are all glad to see them. Mary Ann looks all around the house, as if she has been gone for a very long time. She looks at her mother and father, at Anna and little Joseph. And she smiles, "We are very lucky. We have enough food, our house is warm, and we all love one another."

That's all.

* * *

Sipayik — Sealskins drying at Sabattis Lola's Home. Reprinted, by permission, from Socobasin, Maliyan, 1979.

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INTERVIEWS WITH WABANAKI PEOPLE TODAY

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND CHANGE

1. A Micmac Man from Mattawamkeag, Maine

extended family

I'll start with extended family. That's probably the key to our traditional lifestyle and the way Micmac people have existed and functioned over the years. That first became obvious to me when I was in the fifth grade. I was living in Mattawamkeag. In the fall of that year before I went back to school I went to the reservation with my family. I visited both Restigouche and Maria Reserves in Quebec because I have relatives on both reserves. It seemed like I met hundreds of people when I went to the reserve. It just seemed like every hour we were either in someone's house visiting or the house we were in people came and visited.

visiting relatives

It seemed like every time I was introduced to someone they were a cousin or an uncle. And there were a few times when I would ask, "Well, so-and-so is my cousin, my first cousin?" "Well, no if you figured it out he would probably be a third cousin. But we just say cousin." And so I came to realize that most everyone on the reserve was related. As I was growing up at home from time to time people would stop and visit and stay overnight as they were traveling back and forth, and they were always cousins. A big part of the visit was talking about the family and relatives. And as I became older I began to realize that that's how most of the Indian people that I knew in Maine lived. There would be family units, cousins that would live close to each other or someone who had married a sister, an aunt.

travel and mobility

Micmac people have traditionally traveled from Nova Scotia and Quebec -- we found in history that Micmac people [traveled to] the Massachusetts area at the coming of the Europeans. Traditionally our people built wigwams, housing that was mobile, housing that was temporary, because our people traveled where the living was best, where the hunting was good, where food was available.

ties to home

Go to Boston and talk to iron workers. [There are] 3,000 Micmac people in Boston -- good many of them still go back for the salmon fishing. If you talk to a lot of people they'll say, "I'm not sure what it is -- I just have to go back home. In the wintertime when construction is down I just have to go back." It's part of what's born into us. We have a desire to live traditionally, whether it's recognized or not. We go where we are able to provide for our families and be as independent as possible.

family bonds

There's a drive in our people to be self-supporting and independent and to be able to recognize where there's a good living for our family. We can work hard and provide for our family and at the same time, if we do it correctly, we can take a lot of time and give it to our family. We can educate and take care of our family from within. It's not within the Micmac culture inherently to want to turn our children and our families over to other agencies, other authorities, other professionals, to teach and take care of our extended family. We are very aware of that responsibility within the family. So, you find really strong bonds within a family, because family members are not just like the relationship of -- the born relationship of father to son -- it is also teacher to student, it's also doctor to patient and it's also friend to friend. All those relationships exist within the family.

making work fun

People are not lazy by any means, but work is something that traditionally you do when you have to. You do it to accomplish a very specific purpose. It's not something you live to do. What you live to do is to raise a family and work is just something that you do to help raise the family. If you have to make the choice, work will lose quite often. At the same time, people have fun working. If I got into a job that was real tedious but I needed the job in order to take care of my family, I would think about little games to make the work go faster, whether I did them in my head or I did them physically. If you talk to ironworkers about the outstanding characteristic of Indian ironworkers in the city, they say, "Well, they seem to enjoy themselves up on the iron. They accomplish a lot and they have a good time doing it." You see the same thing used to happen on the drives. Our people were noted for playing on the logs, devising games of who could run the furthest across the logs, those kinds of things. That goes very much into the culture.

reservations

I see reservation life as much less traditional than the life that you'll find expressed among the people who live off-reservation today. That's a personal opinion, but it's something that I have developed over the years. You go to Portland and you'll find living in an area near Congress Street a group of Micmac people. They won't be all brothers and sisters, but there will be some sort of relationship there. Maybe a third or fourth cousin, married into the family, whatever. If you look at traditional life, you find that Micmac people didn't live on established reserves. They lived in extended family units throughout a hunting area and they were very mobile.

I'm hard on reservations. I say reservations are the new product of the white man. Separating our people from the natural way of life, separating them from the environment that they had chosen -- that's highly destructive. Anyone who is knowledgeable enough about our people would realize that this relationship that I've talked about with the real world is vital to the existence of our people. If that can be hampered or impeded, then the longevity of the race is really dealt a strong blow. Now reservations have redeeming values. They have provided our people with an opportunity to live with extended family, to live in a tribal atmosphere that's adjusted, but still to be able to maintain personal relationships which are vitally important, especially because our history is oral.

pressure to conform to non-Indian society

I'm really concerned about the changes that are taking place in some of the relationships between Indian people today as a result of relationships with the non-Indian community. There seems to be at times such a desire for acceptance by the non-Indian community that some of our own people will attempt to turn their backs and look away from those traditional values, and then I see some imbalances. For example, people ending up in the hospital going through detox. I'm concerned about the pressure that comes from the dominant society to conform. There's a lot of it now, and it's increasing so rapidly. It was easier to deal with ten years ago, when I first started here.

attitudes toward dress

survival

Part of it is in dress. (This is the reaction, not the pressure that I'm describing now.) When I first came to work here ten years ago, I would sit with the governors and their aides and a lot of council people and I'd see a lot of jeans and workpants, long hair, tee shirts, and flannel shirts. I asked why and a lot of the leaders were very quick to explain it, "This is what our people look like and this is how we're comfortable with each other." Now pinstripe suits are the vogue and short hair. Sometimes you have to be more acceptable in order to get someone's attention and to do what you have to do. I see it being accepted more and more, that in order to exist, in order to keep big budgets, federal programs, etc., you have to conform. OK, that in itself may be true, but in order to help our people and to make things better for those generations to come, I don't feel we have to conform, I don't feel we have to maintain big budgets. We have to survive. Surviving is key and there are certain things that we do have to do to survive, but while we're doing that we have to preserve the valuable things that are back there in the real world.

Indian values

I feel a lot of our leaders who have been in the business much longer than I have and who have a lot more at risk than I do have to be aware that you can study traditional religion, you can understand it, you can practice that relationship with the earth and you can still go to Washington and fight with Congress. You don't have to sacrifice one for the other. Again, I have no problem with someone adjusting their image. Our people did it. Our people adjusted their image when they went to war from when they were at home having a feast, and there was different dress, there was a different aura. Those things happen and that can happen today. But you can't completely set aside the very valuable traditional things that you want to carry into this culture. I think it's important for our people to understand what economic development is and how to use it. I think it's very important for our leaders to understand the practicality of it when applied to our culture. Our culture was not designed to produce people who would function on assembly lines. Our people function best in an environment that's just thousands of years old, that has different priorities.

conservation

Conservation is not a new thing among Indian people. The whole basis of conservation I think goes back to one very strong law that existed within our culture, that when you make a decision as an Indian person, a life decision, you made that with consideration for seven generations unborn. That is very important. I think if it followed through today, in modern life, if every time the board of directors of a corporation made a decision, if they had to consider the lives of the next seven generations in that decision that conservation would not have to be enforced by law. For instance, our people understand that in order for the living, breathing world to exist there has to be a balance, and that there is nothing that would justify devastating that balance. Whereas in the non-Indian world if you can make a quick $5 million profit, you'll rape thousands of acres of land and you'll do it quickly as a corporation. You'll make your money, and you'll buy what you need today with that money and be happy. An Indian person would realize that there are generations yet to come that are going to need part of that resource.

hunting

To our people, hunting is different than going out to get a big trophy to put on the wall. I'll talk about my personal experience. But I've seen it in almost 100 percent of the other Indian families that I've dealt with. We spend a lot of time prior to hunting just becoming aware of the situation that we're going to be in. Learning about the foods that the animals eat -- when they eat them, and how they eat them, the time of day, the time of year. You have to learn about the deer, how they grow, if their habits change at various ages. You have to know the animal and you have to have a very deep abiding respect for the animal before you're able to harvest it. If you don't have that respect, you don't harvest it successfully -- within the culture. You don't gain the same respect from other hunters. We have a saying in my family that any fool can shoot a deer, but you have to be good to hunt deer. And that's the answer. My son, who is 18 now, has shot a deer every year on his own since he was 11 years old and he shot a moose when he got his moose permit. That's not a fluke. Both my sons and my daughter, now she's 12 -- can talk to grown men who hunt and fish and gain their respect because of their knowledge of the particular situation they're in, whether it's hunting or fishing.

relationship with earth

It's very strenuous for a lot of our people, right today, to have to continually live in a confined environment. It's very difficult for a lot of our people to understand in this day and age why they still have difficulty in being able to sit in a classroom for two full semesters. Unless they recognize what they need to compensate -- with time alone, solitude, with what I call the relationship with the earth. You need the time to go back to the real things, to know in your own mind that even though you have to have this education or this job to survive in the world today, there are other things that you have to have, too, and you can't let it get out of balance. You have to be able to understand that there's a living, breathing world out here that you have to have a relationship with, too, because if you don't, then you're only half a person, you're not going to survive. You're not going to survive in that world, the real world. There's an unreal world out here that's a lot of concrete and computers and set rules and things that you have to do, but there's a real world over here of animals and rivers and skies, things that you can't control, you can only live with and participate in, but you have to give a lot to that world in order to be able to participate in it. You have to gain a lot of knowledge from it. You have to give a lot of yourself to it in serious study and understanding.

relationship with animals

I have a friend who goes hunting with me every once in a while, or just exploring with me and she says, "It doesn't seem like I see as many animals alone as I do with you, and it doesn't seem like I ever see as much with you as you tell me that you see when you go alone." And I say well it's like the earth recognizes how hard you study and how dedicated you are to appreciating what's out here. And it's like a reward for that hard work when you're allowed to participate in this whole scheme of things, and you can recognize that sometimes when you first start hunting and you'll see running deer, you'll see tails, or you'll see a lot of tracks. But if you've developed a relationship with them, you'll see deer that stop and watch you and you'll see deer that allow you to witness part of their life. It's the same way with beavers. Any other living thing. Again, it's like a reward. So for our people there has to be a balance or we have problems. We have problems with substance abuse. We have problems with self-image, that uncertainty about ourselves, there's something wrong with ourselves and some of our people don't know what it is. It's usually because things are out of balance somewhere.

2. A Penobscot Woman from Old Town, Maine

Living on the reservation, people tend to know each other well. They tend to watch everything that you do, and basically I moved out for privacy. Also, when I moved off, which was about 20 years ago, I joined the military, and I couldn't have gotten a decent job on the reservation. It is different now. I do work over there.

family ties

elders

I think in the Indian community the family is really valued, especially the old people. They're listened to and they're taken care of, very well. I respect that and I like that. I guess the most positive value that I can think of is the closeness of the family. When my grandmother was alive, she was the center of everything. Everybody, all my uncles and aunts and cousins, all went to visit my grandmother every day. That was real important; that held the family together.

educational choices

I think there's a really good start in education, although the new school being built on the Island only goes to the ninth grade. I'd like to see a high school there. I think too much emphasis is being put on Indian students going into college to get a B.A. or to get a Master's. I think college is important, and we do need lawyers and doctors, but lots of people (not just Indian) prefer a trade, and I don't think they should be pushed or shoved into college if that's not what they want. I think they should be given choices, and educated in those choices. I'm not saying they should have aptitude tests or anything else. I give a person enough intelligence to know to some extent what they want to do.

3. A Penobscot Man from Indian Island

dependence on state

What we have to do first is to develop internally, which is what we're doing. We're working in areas outside tribal government that will help individuals take care of themselves and not come to the tribe for their every need. When you've had the kind of relationship we've had with the state for 200 years, that is really hard to get rid of. Our relationship with the federal government, when you think about it, has been good in a way, but in other ways, it just reinforces that kind of dependency and control. Now when you start to utilize your resources and try to peel away from that, it's like superglue, you can't pull away, it's hard.

The materialistic things aren't the most important things. I've heard people say, "I liked it better when I was poor because people seemed like they cared about each other a lot more." And the more we've gained, the further apart we've grown. And it's true because individuals in the same situation trying to survive can be very supportive of each other. When they begin to get what they've wanted, when they forget what it was like before, then they drift apart.

4. A Penobscot Woman from Indian Island

teaching values

To teach Indian values is very difficult. A lot of it has to do with the way people raise children. Parents are the greatest influence in the child's life till at least third or fourth grade, and it's not so much telling the child what to do as it is how parents behave that communicates to the child. You can't hide your feelings and attitudes from a child with words and all that sort of thing. There are the traditional Indian values of sharing, caring, cooperating, and so forth, quite in contrast to what we get in the general population, competing with each other, and "the devil take the hindmost" and all those behaviors. I don't know where you start, but I'd say that one way is with the children, by putting great stress on childhood education in these programs that now exist here for young children. The programs we have now in recreation are all based on competitiveness -- playing hockey, and games to win, win, win, win. We should have games like relay races instead, perhaps, where you carry something, which encourages teamwork.

modern conveniences

I see no conflict at all between having traditional values and living with modern conveniences. I wouldn't want to give up my indoor plumbing, my heating system, and hot and cold running water. That has nothing to do with the values I have. The values you maintain or keep as a guide for your behavior have nothing to do with these materialistic aspects of a culture. This is very important. Anyone can keep traditional Indian values -- no matter their physical style of living or how they dress. You can dress in leather clothes but that's not going to make you hold traditional values.

caring for mother earth

This country is so obsessed with having money and power that they don't care about other people or what they're doing to Mother Earth. Look at all the chemical products used in production. You know that case recently of pesticides in the watermelons in California and now possibly here in Maine on the potatoes. In other words, they don't care about caring. It's the money that stands behind their decisions and not consideration of what the effects are going to be on nature and humans. If these decisions were in our hands it would be a different thing -- maybe. But the system is set up in such a way that we're kind of like serfs, we have to go by the decisions that are made by power-hungry and money-hungry people.

5. A Penobscot Woman from Indian Island

school off the reservation

A lot of the parents here thought that it would interfere with our learning in school, so they thought they were doing the best thing by not teaching the language at all. A lot of them knew no English when they went to school. They thought that it was too hard, too much of a struggle. Our parents went through it harder than us. A lot of them dropped out of high school because of economic reasons. There have never been very many jobs. People lived off the Island and many of them made baskets. I'm proud of that. You become proud when you know your parents struggled through a lot and made it. I did a lot of looking into traditions myself, and one day I just said, "I'm not going to buy what you get 'outside' any more."

stereotypes

I went to school on the Island through the fifth grade and then I went to Old Town. I had some difficulties there with their views of who I am. I was shocked. I was called a dirty Indian and they called us "squaws." It's too bad that people couldn't understand us more for who we are instead of trying to make us into a stereotype. We [Indian children] always bound together for protection. It was good to be with someone who understands and knows you, and you don't have to say anything. You were just together and it feels good. I was talking to my cousin one day and I sort of summed up my whole high school days, "I don't want to be treated different, but I want my differences accepted. I want to be treated equally."

Education opened my mind up to the outside world and it's too bad that it wasn't the other way around, too -- that they could not open up to who I am instead of labeling me. They want to tie us into the mainstream society, but people still have those attitudes. I don't know how to deal with it. They want us to go out and talk in other communities for better relations, and I don't know whether that works. I don't want to go out and teach all them. I want to stay here and bring up my children proud and strong to deal with that, because I can't change the whole world. I'm for Indian education for Indian children, so you don't have to play into the stereotype, so you're not lost and fumbling around.

[Excerpts taken from "In Search of the 20th Century Penobscot," Salt Magazine, Volume V, Number 4, January 1983.]

6. A Penobscot Man of Indian Island

woods living

Of course I had my traditions when I was younger, but I moved away from here. I lived 26 years alone in the woods.

The woods was my source of materials. It was my drugstore, where I got all my medicines. It was my lumber yard, where I got all my materials [for carving], and also my meat market. Rabbits come in the fall, partridges come in the fall, deer.

seasonal foods

Then I'd go on a summer diet, organic foods, such as greens, dandelions. I planted a small garden there, cucumbers and a few things. I lived organic, you know.

Right around the last of October when things began to get frost, then I begin to build up on bone foods, more bacon, muscle foods you eat, like joints, that's like gelatin, you eat that. Then in the winter, you ice fish.

In my traditions, back where I lived, I lived in style. There were no lights, no electricity, nothing. You had to depend upon nature, the source of Mother Nature provided everything. Of course there were the four seasons of the year and there was always something every season.

Certain seasons of the year, I plant. They first start in May, continue on through the month of May, June you have another one, July you have another one, August you have another one. September.

medicinal plants

September's the last thing you get, because everything's gone to seed then, it begins to lose its strength. It begins to go the other way. And once a heavy rain gets it, it's no good. It washes it all away.

I used to dry them [herbs] and bring them [to Indian Island]. Even ginseng I brought from way up river, ginseng and mandrake. Mandrake, it's a general medicine. It's used for insect repellant. It's better for you than this stuff you buy. It doesn't clot up the pores of your skin. You don't perspire a bit when you put that on. But this other repellant, you perspire. It isn't good for you either. Some break out in rash, allergic. With the other [mandrake] your pores have a chance to breathe. That'll even cure any type of rash.

I got medicine for ear aches and headaches. It's almost instantaneous once you sniff that up your nose. It's like a snuff, you know.

I never used any other kind of medicines. I always had a huge abundance of it here, not only for me but for other people. Of course they don't know the seasons of the year to get it anyway. You tell them the spring, they get it the fall, it's all gone.

I don't only gather for myself. I gather for all the people. [But] it's not only the material things that I help them with. It's also the spiritual things. All the things they want to find out, the Passamaquoddy, Micmacs, Penobscot, Maliseets, they come here.

living close to earth

I practiced this [life in the woods] because I thought it was something that every Indian should know. Everyone that's living so close to nature as I had, I thought this was, as my mother told me, this is what you should know. You should know more about your surroundings where you live.

And so I used to go alone, in canoes up this river, ever since I was able to get into one. In fact, I was almost born in one. I was, you know. My father and mother were going up the river and they had about a hundred yards, or two hundred, and finally mother took sick, just about up to the house. So I was born almost in the canoe. My grandmother *was* born in a canoe. She was born on the St. Francis River.

Yah, I was born in 1913. I'm 65 years old. Still I can walk the river. I can walk clean all of the way, or I can do some of the hardest work that men do, with Indian work. Of course we had a pretty good start when we was young. It's actually the food you eat, the food. I ate traditional foods. I ate according to seasons.

[Excerpts taken from"Medicine Man of the Penobscots," Salt Magazine, Volume IV, Number 4, March 1979.]

7. A Passamaquoddy Man from Indian Township

importance of language

It's always been difficult for me to explain why learning Passamaquoddy is important, because some of it I can't put into words. First of all, there's a real value universally in learning more than one language. Everybody agrees on that. Unfortunately, most Americans don't get to have that experience. I guess the value for me is that there are things that can be expressed and things that can be thought, and there's a certain continuity in who I am which is expressed in the language. There are lots of experiences that I take with me that people who are now gone, meaning dead, gave me, and they didn't give them to me in English. And that for me is the real value. It may be they couldn't have given them to me in English. A lot of legends we talked about really lose a lot in English translation. English cannot accommodate that special quality. I'm very hesitant to translate a legend, because I know from speaking both English and Passamaquoddy what the loss is from one to the other. I haven't experimented too much with working with English legends and translating them back into Passamaquoddy, but I would imagine the same thing would happen, although I don't know. Unless you know the language, I really can't tell you what it is to hear Gluskap legends in the native tongue. What seems, for example, violent in English, is not violent within the context of the rules of the Passamaquoddy, or Abenaki way of telling it. In the few legends that do get translated, the ground rules are different from the original source.

land owned communally

One of the things that I notice, we still very much act as a tribe. In spite of all that the press especially tries to emphasize, we are still fairly united in a common cause. We're lucky here in Indian Township and Pleasant Point because we get to still express ownership of land from a communal sense. And there are lots of unwritten rules about that. We know what they are, we don't need a lawyer to explain them. Lately, for example, I've seen fences sprout up, but there have never been any legal challenges. People, if they feel strongly about a particular issue or a particular piece of land, will raise hell about it. Very rarely it will be adjudicated by the council, that's the final authority. In the last twenty years I've seen two serious situations, which isn't bad for such confusing times. If someone has a reason that people can understand, they say, "Well, yeah, you might be right." "You know I want to fence off this half an acre because I don't want people tramping all over my garden." That's reasonable; everybody goes along with that. And I think that everybody has their own space; on the other hand, it's our space as a family. And I think that that's individualism at work, but yet, everybody is committed to the idea of working together. Now, I think that was one of the first things noticed during the, if you will, the settling of the West. The government policy was to slice up the reservations because people wouldn't tend to work together as much. Somehow they missed us, I don't know why. They didn't miss the Penobscots, but they did miss us.

sense of community

I think owning the land communally is the very basis of community. It's the old "village green" concept. You know, you have some small traces of that in some towns in New England. Here, it happens to be in our case 150,000 acres, or it will be, and all of the other properties that we're acquiring. You know, you really feel a sense of ownership. For example, I've always wanted to own a radio station; well it never dawned on me that I would own it with 2200 other people. But that's okay. Part of the dream came true. With us the sense of community goes right down to an extended family. What you do is governed by your neighbors. Issues are common, you can't isolate your neighbor. So, when we achieve or when we succeed, we succeed as a community. When we get sick, we get sick as a community. If we adopt a value, or drop a value, or do away with the value, we do it as a community. It just works out that way. These days we say well, it's because we're a small community. Not necessarily so. We're a fairly diverse community because some of us are in Connecticut, some of us are in Massachusetts. But we still seem to function as a unit. And I don't know why. It's just a real strong thing. What somebody else's family is doing in Massachusetts, I'm really curious about. Some people I haven't seen for twenty years, I still wonder. They come back after a twenty-year absence, and it's like they've never been gone. It's something above and beyond the usual. I think that we have something that has bonded us together through a real tough survival period, especially in the last 150 years.

weddings and wakes

As I said, we get sick together, we achieve together, we grieve together, we eat together, we celebrate together. For example, in weddings, up until recently, nobody ever sent a printed invitation. It was always passed out orally, somebody's getting married. Of course, it was understood that you were invited. If you weren't coming is when you were really in trouble. That was less tolerated than you showing up, no matter how festive you were. Funerals is another example. There's a whole elaborate set of rules regarding a death in the community. The specifics are different in the different villages in Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, with the Micmacs, Passamaquoddies, Maliseets, and Penobscots. Customs varied, but I think everywhere there's a commitment to holding these things more as a community. When we wake somebody, it's a watch period. There's a historic reason for it, here and other places.

changing customs

I remember, especially in my childhood, somebody would move into--not a new house because there was no such thing -- but somebody different would be moving into a certain structure, and people would all bring presents. "House warming" is what you call it. There would be dancing, lots of celebrating. Or, if somebody was going to have a baby, we would have a shower. Today, it's sort of all lost in the traditions of showers anywhere, it's like any other showers anywhere, and that's the point that I wanted to get to. Some of these things we have given up actively. A lot of them have been absorbed into the advertising version of the way we do things -- like showers, as an example, or birthday parties, that kind of things. We just take Madison Avenue and adopt that as the way of doing things.

traditional values and modern technology

I think the general public comes into Indian communities and what they observe on the surface doesn't seem to match up. And their conclusion is, "How can there be Indian culture and television sets?" Or, "How can there be these inside feelings and beliefs, and you immerse yourselves into the technology? I think we're all like that, the white people are like that. They have an inner conflict, too. Way down deep inside I think in all of us we would like to have an ideal environment, for example, ideal social order. That's when we all daydream. I think that we have something that we saw, at least I did, or I see it today even, and the point I wanted to make is in today's world, it's getting harder to see it. In the Passamaquoddy world, we are as much of a victim to the Madison Avenue version of living as anybody else. First, it's not our fault. Secondly, I think that we are much more aware of it, especially now, when things are becoming a little bit more organized for us. We have more sense of control today. But a lot of things have happened, there's been a lot of decline in communalism for example -- those things I talked about, funerals, marriages, common partaking and sharing is declining. And I really think that's a sad sign because when you lose that sense of community, you have two choices: either chaos, or the other one, you start compartmentalizing your life as you would in surburbia, for example.

preserving sense of community, language, and customs

One of my friends lives in the suburbs of Nashville, and it is just like being in a container, which is subdivided into a hundred square little blocks and everybody is in their own little block. My friends didn't seem to know too many neighbors around them. That's not the case here. But if we continue heading that way without that sense of community and tribalism, I'm sure we'll end up that way. I think that we are about as realistic and concerned as anybody about that. If non-Indians observe that of us, we already know it. And we have a much greater price to pay; it's more painful for us. When we see the language disappearing, for example, that's a lot more painful for us than for those people who never spoke our language. When we see some good customs dying -- and for these customs, it wasn't just a matter of doing a particular activity, it's the reason for doing it and how we did it -- those are the things that are really important.

I think we still have a real chance. I think the community's beginning to talk about it as a basis of concern, which is really good. When I was young, there was no need to talk about it because there was so much there that we didn't even know it was there. There's been a real change in the last 25 years. We have had to undergo the tremendous pressures of that 25 years, and we had a period here for a while when we didn't know which direction we were going in. Now, the aspiration is, "How do we make these communities into real communities? One of the immediate aspirations is to clarify where we all fit into this new role. Prior to the settlement of the land claims, I think that there was always this fear that somebody was going to take it away from us. I think that fear is still there, but it's certainly much more subdued now, because there is some federal legislation to protect us.

sense of hope

Another priority is to see where and how the Passamaquoddy way of life is going to survive. People are concerned about the language, about how we can continue to work together, and I think those awarenesses will take shape into action. Some of them already have. It's a turnaround. It's now a hopeful community, as opposed to hopelessness just a very short time ago.

reviving traditions

We're trying to encourage more community participation; for example, when someone dies, you know that was a real strong time for the community, it really tied together even people who never got along too well who would put away those things temporarily. It was sort of an enjoyable time in one sense, because you saw people working together that didn't work together normally. There was always something special in these various events. When a governor got inaugurated, even after the politics of the election, people would bind together. There's a custom that is still carried on. It's really a beautiful custom, and we're trying to revive it among the young. At the beginning of each new year, you go to those who are closest to you and sort of erase the board for last year and start out all over again. There's a special set of words that you say. And they all return it back of course. It's basically a sort of forgiveness for all those things you've done in the past year to offend them. I really think that that probably existed prior to Christianity, and I think it wasn't necessarily done at New Year's. I think the

Church did some things to refine it. They always refine things. But it's still there, and I think people ought to do it because it takes away, if you really mean it, years and years of needless resentment that you could walk around with, and it's really kind of neat.

inauguration

At inaugurations, for example, the outgoing chief, who sometimes was a candidate that was defeated, will dance towards the new chief, and turn his power symbolically over to the new chief with the passing of the medallion to the new chief. Now, this is something, from what we can find, that's fairly traditional. But it wasn't always that way in recent years. In the last few years, the community has begun insisting that [this ceremony] in fact take place to show people the transition of power. The chief is a fairly highly regarded person, and I really think that the community has not thrown away its standards of what it expects of the chief, even though the community has become much more critical. I think more of the positiveness is emerging, as we become more secure again, more stable. We tend to go back to the finer values and we tend to do away with those other ones because they just don't fit. I think that this symbolic transference of power is really good and it's good that it's got reinstated again. The more of the old ceremonies that are instituted again, the more that you have a chance of raising values. It wasn't just a matter of doing things for the sake of doing things, they always had a meaning behind them, like unifying the community. It doesn't mean that things will always be that way. I think the community is very realistic about that, it has no illusions. "Okay, let's enjoy it for tonight because we know that there's going to be some things that come up."

consensus

The community also tries to rule by consensus, I really think it still does. I know I talk to people every day and hear things that reinforce that the values are still very much alive. I think you have to live here, you have to listen to people to pick up these things; what they say when not asked is when the most information can be gotten. I think values are things that you don't define. Values are things that just come out automatically. But there are so many apparent contradictions sometimes. What I try to do in my own lifestyle is become aware of those contradictions, try to emphasize as much as I can those things that lead me to some sense of peace. That's really the most sensible thing, and that's not always easy, but it's worth it.

drugs and alcohol

One of the things which came with changes in the communities in the last 25 years is a misuse of what I call mind-altering chemicals -- drugs, alcohol, whatever it is -- the need to take these things to fit in or whatever; it's become a real serious epidemic in our communities, and I think we ought to treat it in some way that we don't hide it, because one of the symptoms of substance abuse is denial. It used to be that if you talked about it, especially non-Indians, the way to deny it was, "Well, they don't like Indians anyway and they're prejudiced." Now, at least it's in the talking stages and most of the communities do have or are setting up programs to begin to deal with it. It is real serious. It is something that will not take just a little old program; it's something that has to be a community approach.

We have undertaken in the last few years to study a lot about this disease, and I think we should, because when tuberculosis was here in the '50s, we did a lot and eventually, working with other groups, we got rid of it. Now, why can't we do the same for this? I think that we are and we will. It's not a moral disease of the community, it's a physical and spiritual robber, I call it. That's what it is; we're not a bunch of sinners, we're people that got afflicted by something. People from the outside who don't want to offend us will try to deny it by saying, "Well, this isn't any different than other communities." I don't think we're offended at all. I think we would rather face it square on. It is painful, but I think it's the only route; there is no other choice. The sooner that we instill that in our own young by teaching good awareness and prevention in their early years of education, the better that they're going to approach it.

MEMORIES

8. A Maliseet Man from Woodstock, New Brunswick

living with grand-mother

I was born in 1902, and my mother died at my birth. She died with the other twin -- I'm a twin. And there were no doctors there, only a midwife, and she went into convulsions and died. I was lucky enough that my grandmother had her last baby two days later and she nursed both of us. In two years' time smallpox hit the village and the young fellow died. All the love she had for her child went to me. She nursed me till I was seven years old. And from then on, why nothing was too good for me.

going on a trip

We used to go on long drives from place to place on horse and wagon. I remember the trips we used to take down at Kingsclear to Corpus Christi or the feast of St. Anne. It was fifty miles away. It was a two-day trip. We would camp about half way and the following day we'd go on from there. There were no roads at all, just wheel ruts, and in lots of the places you had to push the bushes away from your face as you drove along. If you came to a brook, you had to walk the horse over to where it was level enough for the horse to walk across. I think of that lots of times at night now going from Fredericton home in an hour. The same roadway took us two days.

school

And I started going to school. School opened up there in Woodstock about 1910, but it was just a playground. We were taught a little bit, about the religion mostly. And there were no inspectors. The priest would come down maybe every month or so and ask us the catechism questions. Things like who made the world and so on. How many divine persons were there in God. There wasn't too much reading or anything like that. We weren't allowed to talk Indian in the school grounds. And so I went to school about two years and we saw that I wasn't learning anything, and so I quit going to school. I was about ten years old when I quit.

visiting

I lived with my grandparents of course, so I did all the work like going out to get basket ash and pounding it and picking sweet hay on the shores of the St. John River. All their talk at home was in Indian. We used to have visitors from outside -- other Indians coming through generally stopped two or three days. Then there would be a lot of visiting. All the other people in the village would visit where this stranger was and, of course, we'd get news from other villages, happenings there. The news may have been old, maybe even a year old, but, you know, it was interesting to hear. And there would be stories told and the house would be full until way after midnight when it would break up.

basket-making

There was plenty to eat. And grandmother -- she was a young woman then -- she used to make baskets and we would go peddling baskets. She had a horse. And we used to go into houses that had diptheria, scarlet fever, and whooping cough -- all these other diseases. There were no quarantines at the time in these private houses. And they wouldn't tell you what was in there. Grandmother knew these things and would make me hold a piece of this calamus root in my mouth. It was awfully strong. *Kikuhus* was what they called it in Indian. The word means "cure yourself." And so we never caught any of these diseases. She had this in her mouth, too. But after we'd get home I wouldn't be able to eat, because one side of my face would be numb from the strength of this root that I had in my mouth all day. Probably be a day or two before I'd get back my taste for food.

Depression years

I learned to make baskets, too, but when I was about sixteen I started to play ball with the boys, and I got so I played ball with the town team in Woodstock. And I played outside, too. A fellow from home coaxed me down to St. John to go down and try out. So I went down and I played there for four or five summers. It was way back in 1923 I started playing there. I went back home every fall and I would pick potatoes in Maine. Then I'd spend the winter at home in Woodstock. In '28 I got married. Grandfather died in '27. Grandmother died in '32. So from then on I was on my own. Times were hard in '32. In '29 the stock market had dropped. Everybody was destitute -- even white people. There was no work of any kind. The only people who had any money were the railroad employees. So we did a lot of playing ball. Every street corner had a softball team. So that's all people did for about four or five years. Everybody -- not only Indians. But in the meantime I kept on making some baskets. We got only two dollars and a half a dozen for half-bushel baskets which are selling for about 12 to 15 dollars each today. And they wouldn't give you any more for a good basket than for the ones that were made cheaply.

making barrels

So I quit making baskets and I went to repairing potato barrels for the farmers. They'd throw away a lot of barrels -- you know, maybe the bottom was just kicked out or staves broken or some hoops rotten. So I went to each farm with a bunch of hoops and I'd repair the barrels. I got into making a pretty good living doing that. I'm still doing that today. I only got five cents a hoop at that time, and hoops that I made I sold to a factory at four dollars a thousand. And today I get 300 dollars a thousand for the hoops that I got four dollars for back in the '30s. I got into the barrel business about 1942. I bought a barrel mill. Two brothers who were in the war owned this little barrel mill and I bought it through the bank. And I started making barrels. But I found out that you had to have more money in order to keep a business, because you had to stockpile your barrels. Farmers wouldn't buy them until a week or two before potato digging. I thought you could make barrels and sell them as you went along. I was wrong. So I had to let go of the mill and then I started repairing barrels again. This time I had a truck. I'd haul about 30 barrels home and repair them and deliver them back. Made a pretty good living doing that. Then they started working at the air base at Houlton.

There were about a dozen men working there so I got a dollar apiece to haul them back and forth to work. I got a job, too, at the air base to haul material with the truck I had.

9. A Micmac Woman from Aroostook County

going South to sell handicrafts

Grammy and Grampa, when they were younger, used to go down South. They'd pack up all their belongings, and they'd go down from Nova Scotia. They'd hit the Appalachian Trail, and they'd go right to Virginia, Goat Island, Maryland, and all those places. And they'd stay there all winter. One time, they had horses and wagons; whoever could afford a wagon took it. Just like we used to do when we picked potatoes! We'd just take whatever we needed! No more, no less. And they'd stay over in the South there all winter, and in March or April they'd head back down this way again. Grandma and Grampa used to do all kinds of beadwork. They made moccasins, jackets, hats, gloves, and everything out of deerhide or moosehide. And they'd pack all that stuff, and they'd sell that along the way, or if they couldn't sell it along the way, when they got there, they'd sell it. And that's what kept them going. When they got down there, they used to do something else. Pottery, I guess, and dishes out of clay. They'd sell it to buy groceries or whatever they needed. They kept coming and going like that all the time. They needed hides and beads, sweet hay -- all that stuff. My father was a trapper and a hunter, and he'd get all these hides for my Grandfather. And they'd work it up and that way they kept going. It must have been fun! They'd just pack up their stuff on horses or donkeys and away they'd go. They'd start here about September. God knows how long it took to get there. Maybe November.

It seems so funny, when we're young, we always think we're going to live forever. And, seems to me we don't care. When we get old, we're sorry about the things we could have learned when we were young. Now, how many times have I said to myself, if my father had been alive today, what I could learn from him for making baskets. Holy Gees, could that man make baskets. He could make anything! Even bedsticks, out of baskets.

When we lived in Gaspé, right close to Chaleur Bay, Dad used to decorate baskets with seashells. And there's a bone in a fish, I don't remember what kind it was, and he used that bone for fish hooks, crochet hooks for Mom, and it looked just like ivory. I think it was in the head of a cod. But at that time, cods were bigger, not those little, wee tiny things that we have today.

10. A Penobscot Man from Indian Island

Now Penobscot itself is not Penobscot. It's Pen-o-wob-scot. That's its real pronunciation. It means "place of lot of rock." But somewhere along the way it lost its meaning and its pronunciation.

river people

They were river people -- canoes. The only transportation was canoes. That's how they survived. They *always* lived on the river, surrounded by water.

work

The Indians were pretty good farmers. They were also good lumbermen. They were also good hunters, good trappers, and good fishermen. Many people from other states, when they wanted to come up for a vacation and get a load of fish or meat, they came to the Indian for a guide. We are still guides, at least in this region.

hunting and fishing

My family was a good bunch of hunters. Grandfather used to guide up Moosehead Lake. My father did, too. I'm quite old, but I used to do it a little bit. In the woods, hunting moose, bear, deer, I guided up around Moosehead Lake, Nicatous Lake region, Saponac Mountain, and mostly up within a 25 mile radius above there.

This was all our country because we knew it better than the back of our hands or our own back yard. We could go in anywhere, we knew where we wanted to go, we knew where we wanted to place our men. We knew just what we had to do to get whatever game we needed. What you had to do at a certain time of the day, good days, bad days.

Everyone on the island at one time -- '20s, '30s, even '40s I guess -- owned canoes. So it was nothing for us to jump in a canoe, take a bedroll and a piece of pork, a few potatoes, bake some beans, and take them along. That's what you took. Took your fishing pole and went up. Cleaned all your fish, cut their heads off, tail them, put them in the barrel and get a lot of salt, salt them down -- they last you to the next spring.

working on the railroad

What I did was similar to the other young fellows of my age. We went wherever there was work. I went to work on the Bangor railroad when I was about fifteen. My mother had to sign a minor's release. Seasonal work, that's what it was. It ran from after the frost got out of the ground until it started to freeze. I worked on the Illinois Central for a few years, too.

sharing

There used to be a lot of shacks. There weren't too many big houses around here when we were young. We were poor, an ignored race of people. We depended on nature for our livelihood. For everything. We always lived with sharing -- that's the only way we could live.

One person would go up and get a deer and probably divide it among eight or ten families. He would get more fish than he needed and he would help his neighbors, and when it came time to go farming, most of them pitched in and helped one another. That's how all these houses were built -- they helped one another. I didn't want to see it changed.

religion

Religion is something that you live. It's your livelihood. Go into the woods frequently and you can appreciate what's here. We use it all -- everything. Even the grass had its purpose. And to believe that and accept it and do it, that's a different thing altogether. People can talk about it, but if people only took what they needed, why we'd be all right today.

Some of them have what they believe to be the old traditions. A lot of us are that way. I'm one myself.

[Excerpts taken from "In Search of the 20th Century Penobscot," Salt Magazine, Volume V, Number 4, January 1983.]

11. A Penobscot Woman from Indian Island

growing up

I remember the things that we used to do as a family -- going up to camp, going swimming, my mother making candy, having an oil lamp for a light, going to bed real early. For entertainment, we had a radio. Everything that was done, was done as a family. We were our own little community on Oak Hill[1]. We in that group were like an extended family. We were always together. If anybody needed something, they knew they could count on anyone within that community. It's a wonderful feeling. Growing up, we could not go beyond that little bridge, down by the school. We could play anywhere in the other area, in the woods, and we'd go everywhere and play all day. Sometimes we didn't go home for lunch. But nobody worried, they didn't have to worry. Your extended family was always watching. The minute there was a strange person on the reservation, word would go around. And everybody would keep an eye out, you know, "The kids are out." In the same way, if I was doing something wrong, they would come and correct me.

Pauline Shay

One person who really and truly impressed me was Pauline Shay, because Pauline was very, very active politically, not only within the reservation, but off the reservation, too. She and others did an awful lot to get things done for the community. For example, in the educational system on the Island. Also, she was one of the ones who convinced people that you have a right to any kind of a religion that you wanted. She and others with her were the ones who got the Baptist Church on the Island. I'm a believer, but I don't think that your religion should be restricted. She and others were also very instrumental in getting a bridge onto the reservation. You could say the bridge is the best thing that ever happened to us, and you could say it's the worst thing that's ever happened to us. The best being that we could have a lot of services that we never had before; we could have the ambulance come right over on the reservation to pick up people in crises, and different things like that. The worst is that now we have no control over who is on the reservation.

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[1] Oak Hill is the name for a section of Indian Island.

ferry

Growing up we had the ferry to go back and forth across the River. The ferryman was the one who really policed who was over here and who was not. At a certain time of day he knew anybody that was not supposed to be over here, and notified the Constable. So you really had a safe environment, because you had only your own people to contend with. The ferryman was an important person.

caring for elders

Pauline had a big house and she would take people in, like the elderly who had no place to go, and she would care for them. Sometimes they would be terminally ill and they'd be with her till they died. She was a very caring individual, one of the few that you could go to and get the help that you needed.

crossing the river in winter

We didn't go to school on the ferry in the wintertime because we had the ice, and we went across the ice. They put a sawdust trail across the ice, and that kept it really safe till the ice went out. There were only one or two days that we could not go across the ice to go to school. We never thought of it, we just did it. We didn't get scared. Now, I might be more scared for my children. Although we lived on an Island and the kids played on the shores, drowning was not common at all. My brother and three others had gone hunting and coming back, got caught in a storm and the canoe got swamped because it was overloaded. With all their hunting gear on it, they just didn't make it to shore.

sharing

Women who married into Indian Island became part of the community. They adopted our ways, they adopted us. It was really good. They brought in their skills. Like canning, putting up pickles. All these women would come together and went from house to house. And you felt like you had just one big family. You never locked doors. Maybe I'm being idealistic, and maybe things weren't as good as I remember them, but I can't see what we've got now is enough to replace what we've lost.

12. Micmac People Remember Laughing Louie:

A. LAUGHING LOUIE: Memories of a Micmac Woman from Aroostook County, ME

Laughing Louie, what happiness
You have given to man.
We salute you.
Not many like you roam any more,
What were your secret trades?
How many moons have you slept under?
What made you so happy when
You were all alone?
I wish I knew.

traveling around

Laughing Louie was a man of nature. Wherever he stopped to rest, he would set up his lean-to and there he would stay for awhile, sometimes as long as three weeks or half a year. He loved everybody that crossed his road. And he never forgot little children; he would always have something to give them. He would tell us stories of places he's been and people he met. He would tell us old yarns or the story of his life. In his younger days he was a man of great strength. You could tell by the size of his hands and his feet and height. He was not a man of violence, when he laughed you had to laugh with him. He would drop in on you unexpectedly, not really using any special road. He could hand carve anything out of wood and make bows and arrows for little children, both Indian and white. It got so they would wait for him, not really knowing the time he would come. He would not ask for anything, and if you gave him a free meal, he would stay and do some work to pay you for it. Many people knew him and would tell you what sort of man he was. Once my husband and I went looking for him. We covered a lot of woods before we found his lean-to. He didn't have any dishes. He made us some tea in a tin can that he hung over the fire. The cups were made from tin cans, there was no milk or sugar. He loved his tea black and that's the way we had to drink it. The place he picked was very peaceful, with big trees all around and a little spring running by. He didn't have a gun, just an axe and carving knife, blanket and a small saw in a pack sack -- this is all he travelled with.

I know he lived to be over ninety and they claim he went home to die. To me he'll always be a special man. If he drank, I never noticed because I never saw him drunk. I never knew his real name because we all called him Laughing Louie.

B. LAUGHING LOUIE: Memories of a Micmac Man from Boston, MA

In my travels I met Laughing Louie. I've heard him laugh, and he sure was loud. Summer or winter he wore low rubber boots with leather tops. He'd have them on year round.

laughter

This fellow I knew told me that they were working in the woods about 40 miles from nowhere when they heard this noise coming through the woods. Lo and behold it was Laughing Louie. They asked him where did he come from. He said that was his third day in the woods. He always traveled with a knapsack, tea, salt pork, a small frying pan, and two pots, one for tea and one to cook in.

C. LAUGHING LOUIE: Memories of a Micmac Family from Aroostook County, Maine

He had different names, Laughing Tomah, Laughing Louie. He was always interested in everything you'd tell him. He'd sit and tell you stories. He was a heavy person. When he was younger, he was a big man. When he got older, he stooped just a little.

telling stories

Everything you'd say to him, he'd laugh. We used to get him to tell us stories about when he was young, when he worked on the railroads. He was a strong man. He'd tell us how these guys couldn't put a rail together. He was that kind. So he went up there and he picked up the rail. Boy he had a lot of adventures -- so many.

He'd tell us new stories every time he came, like how he walked from Moncton to Hampden to St. John. He'd tell us every step he'd take. He told us where he slept that night. People gave him things to eat. He'd make them axe handles and take off. He'd sit down and make axe handles and bows for children. Then he'd go here and there. Little children used to wait for him. He was a good man.

making his home everywhere

He never stayed in one place long enough for people to know him that well. He kept going and going. He never had a home. Everywhere was his home. He wouldn't take the road. He'd just up and out through the woods. Anybody could trust him. You would even have your children trust him. He would trade axe handles, bows, and arrows for some gum, or for apples and oranges. He was happy the way he lived.

He was so nice, the way he treated people. He used to eat by the side of the road. He stopped and you'd have a little lunch with him. He had a little teapot, a little dipper. Like a hobo. But he traveled and traveled, and everybody knew him. He had money in his pocket, chewing tobacco. He used to wrap it like a candy bar, and we used to watch him and wonder what it tasted like.

You'd hear him pounding old ash down there by the river. I didn't know him real well but I knew he was a kind man, a gentle man. I don't know how old he was when he died. He went back home to die.

D. LAUGHING LOUIE: Memories of a Micmac Couple from Aroostook County, Maine

Who could ever forget the laughing? I can still hear the ringing laughter when something went wrong or struck him funny.

a hearty laugh

Like the time he had a boil and someone told him to put red mustard ointment on the boil. When the ointment started to burn, the people had to get out of the house, the house just shook with laughter.

Or the time the neighbor's baby died. It was in March and there was good crust on the snow. Louie had to take the dead baby in the casket on a sled to church. On the way he had to pass a big hill and the sled kept bumping on his heels. Someone told him to get on the sled with the baby, and the sled got away from him. He landed in a field way off the road. You could hear him coming up the hill laughing so hard the ground shook. He had the baby's casket under one arm and was hauling the sled with the other hand.

Or when Jim and he went cutting ash, and on the way back they came upon a weak spot on the ice in the river. Jim went around it, but Louie took a short cut and fell in. You should have seen him. He was covered with black mud from head to foot. And laugh -- you could hear him for half a mile!

And the time he got stuck in an old junk car he said he was going to take home after potato picking. It was full of hornets and he couldn't get out. He was black and blue, both eyes swollen shut. The whole town of Limestone shook that time.

stories of old times

We remember him all right, the man who couldn't keep a penny in his pockets because there was always somebody else who needed that penny more than he did. Or the stories about old time Indians he told. Or the enormous strength he had, which he never used in a fight or quarrel. Or the pockets of peppermints he always carried around to treat the little children. He was happy as long as he had chewing tobacco and his very strong tea.

a gentle man

The last time we saw him was 1945. He loved children. He was very tender with them. He was a very gentle man. He knew no violence. To me he was saintly. You'd never hear him swear, never see him drunk. He traveled throughout Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, God knows where else. He used to talk about Nova Scotia all the time. He would usually stay four or five weeks. He would leave as quietly as he came. He used to tell stories about Micmacs, canoeing, boating, fishing. You'd never hear the man ever say a bad word about anybody.

13. A Maliseet Woman from Aroostook County, Maine

grandfather in the circus

Well, my grandmother tells me that my grandfather was in the circus. He did carving. There were many ways he made his living. He was with the Barnum and Bailey Circus for I don't know how many years. He was a tight-wire walker. He was a sharp shooter. I guess there wasn't anything he couldn't do. I remember my grandmother telling me that he had made a paddle, carved a snake around it and other decorations, and he gave that to the King when he came to Canada.

basket-making

I've known how to make baskets since I was seven years old. I learned from my father and mother. As a matter of fact, I used to pound ash myself. That is a good trade. I wish I could pound ash right now. I'd get a lot more than what I'm getting now on my own baskets.

Annie Battiste Phillips, a Micmac basketmaker. Photo by Richard Silliboy.

When I was growing up I remember we had a hard time because there were five children, my mother and father. In those days, you know, you had to work hard to get a living. Father used to make potato baskets and sell them for a dollar apiece. He and his brother were making baskets together and they used to go to town and sell baskets. All the food they bought we had to split between two families. Then, as years went by, he started working in the woods. When I was sixteen I had to quit school and go help work in the potato house to help support the rest of the family, because my older sister was sickly and my brother wasn't old enough to work in a potato house. When he was old enough he started working in a potato house. So there were three of us working to support the other ones. When the potato season got done, we started making baskets again.

seasonal work

I think the hardest time that we ever had was during '42. We were peeling pulp every day, rain or shine. My father was cutting the trees down, my brother was limbing them, and my mother and I were peeling the pulp, and then we'd have to saw it up. We were peeling pulp from spring until the bark started hardening up. Then it was potato picking time again and we picked potatoes. In the wintertime, my father and I and my brother, we started right back where we ended up again. We used to go out in the wintertime just as soon as the sun started coming up, go out in that deep snow, and cut two cords of pulp, and then we'd get done. When my father got paid, he'd go to town and buy groceries. He had to go from Grand Lake, where we were living, all the way to Houlton to buy groceries. He had to hire somebody to come bring him down and take him back there to get enough groceries for a whole week. Then in the spring again we started making baskets, selling baskets anywhere we could peddle them.

We just never got ahead. When my brother went into the service in '53, everyone said, "Move to Connecticut. You'll make a lot of money down there." Well, we went down to Connecticut. Every one of us got a job right then and there. We were paying only $18 a week for an apartment. We were making pretty good money down there, too. All of us went, the whole family -- my family and mother and my sisters and Elsie and her husband and her oldest daughter. Then my stepson got sick and we had to move back.

14. A Maliseet Husband and Wife from Aroostook County, ME

H: Dad was quite a working man.

making baskets, snowshoes, axe handles

W: So was my father. He was a provider. We were never in need of anything when we were growing up. He made baskets, snowshoes and axe handles -- that's what I remember. I made a few baskets with my mother while she was living. But I forgot all about making baskets, though. It's been quite a while ago since I made them. My brothers and my father pounded the ash. It's really a hard job to go out and get them though. They hauled them by hand sleds and they walked I don't know how many miles.

H: We used to have an old '28 Studebaker and we used to take the cushions out and haul the ash. I had two older brothers. They did all the hard work, pounding ash and everything. I never learned how to make baskets until my wife taught me to. There's not enough encouragement. Not just from the parents -- from everybody. I used to like making baskets. Gee whiz, you had your own hours. You could work any time you wanted.

W: We used to get up early in the morning and stay out late at night. But I overdid it. My mother could bead but she died before she could teach me how to do it. She died when she was only 38, so I was still young.

H: I remember her when she used to work for my mother. Her mother would teach my mother how to do all that fancy work.

W: Oh, she used to be good making baskets.

H: Remember those rainbow baskets -- all different colors right around the top? Beautiful. Her mother showed my mother how to do it.

W: I used to weave [braid] all her sweet hay [sweetgrass]. She prepared ahead; she used to get up 5 o'clock in the morning. She used to be working hard.

H: The older people used to be good workers. They'd get right out there in the morning and work till late at night.

W: She'd mix bread at night and have it ready to go in the oven in the mornings. When we'd get up she'd have hot rolls. Every other day.

making drums

H: You know, think back now, I used to watch old people make drums. They'd have these pelts -- hides, with strings on each end to stretch it out and they'd scrape that fur right off. You had to soak that first in lye. You soaked it first and then you tacked it and stretched it and then when you were done, you'd scrape all these hairs off. Once you'd get them all off, you had to turn around and soak them in baking soda. That baking soda takes the smell off. Then you'd turn around and you either put it on your drum or stretched it out if you wanted to use it for snowshoes. It's not all that hard to do if you can get the hide.

15. A Micmac Woman from Whycocomagh

[In Nova Scotia during the 1940s, the Department of Indian Affairs decided to move all the Micmacs in the province to two reserves, Eskasoni on Cape Breton Island and Shubenacadie on the mainland. They were told they would have new homes with barns and farm equipment, or that they could have jobs in new businesses that would be started near the reserves. There would be better schools and modern conveniences -- electricity, running water, and sewers. Some Micmac people accepted these offers, others did not.]

moving to Eskasoni

Do you know why they want to move all the Micmacs in Cape Breton to Eskasoni? I do. They tell us it will be better for us -- more jobs and better houses. But really it's to make things easier for the Indian Affairs people. They won't have to travel around from reserve to reserve, and there will be fewer schools and offices to pay for.

We moved away to Eskasoni -- not because we believed what they said about new jobs and farms. After all, we already had our own farm at Whycocomagh, and we were doing quite well. We had a few dairy cows, some pigs and sheep, and a small apple orchard. I made baskets and my husband did some woodwork and carpentry. We sold some of our products.

No, we went to Eskasoni because we thought we had to. A man from Indian Affairs told us there would be no more school at our reserve, no medical services, no relief payments. He said that people who didn't move to Eskasoni wouldn't even be counted as Micmacs any more. My husband had served in the Armed Forces during World War II, but he said we couldn't get the money and new house we were supposed to have unless we went to Eskasoni. None of this turned out to be true as we found out later. We almost decided not to go; but when my father-in-law said he was going to move, we went with him.

It was sad to leave our farm in the early spring, especially knowing that no one would live there after us. We took as much of our furniture as we could, but we had to sell all the animals. When we first got to Eskasoni, we stayed with a cousin until we could get a house of our own. It was very hard for my cousin. He had to take in a few other relatives, too. The land that he and his neighbors were farming was being divided up for the newcomers to live on. No wonder there were hard feelings!

Once the new houses were built, there were no jobs. The farm plot we were supposed to have was too far from our house. The soil was poor. When we'd been at Eskasoni almost a year -- it was the following spring -- one of my sons got into a bad fight with a boy from another reserve. That was the last straw. I decided we had all had enough. Come what may, we'd go back to Whycocomagh.

back to Whycocomagh

We were all so happy to leave Eskasoni that we didn't care that we might have no way to get our old farm going again. We really didn't know what to expect. It had been sad to leave our old farm in the first place, but the return seemed even worse. The house stood there with broken windows and a sagging door. Our barn roof had broken through and the yard was all grown up. My brother and his family, who had never left our reserve, helped us settle in as best we could.

The farm was never the same again. We had a garden, but we didn't have enough money to raise animals. Some of the orchard had been cut down for firewood while we were away. Because a lot of the people who'd moved to Eskasoni stayed there, there weren't as many people living at Whycocomagh any more, so we didn't have as many customers. But I'm glad we came back. It was the best thing for all of us.

My sister and her family did stay at Eskasoni. There weren't any jobs closer than Sydney, and that was too far away for her husband to travel without a car. They finally got a little house, but for years they've had a hard time making a living.

[Taken from The Micmacs, by Robert Leavitt, pp. 51-52, Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1985.]

16. A Micmac Man from Mattawamkeag, Maine

My dad came from Restigouche Reserve in Quebec to this country with the river drivers. His first experience in Maine was coming over to work in the woods and go on the river drives.

logging and river drives

He came by himself, but he knew that there would be some of his cousins over here in the camp somewhere. He started off working with a cousin of his and then eventually just went into another job at the camp. At that time you were allowed to have x number of Indians per camp. Indians were treated something like black people. You didn't let them get into groups because they'll cause trouble. But you salt the camps with them because they're good workers. So that's what happened.

That first year he worked in a logging camp as a cook's helper in the winter, and then in the spring, when they drove the logs out of the woods, he hired on to the drive. He came down with the drive, made the extra money, and went back home.

He did a little bit of everything on the drive. Getting the jammed wood off the shores. Putting it back into the water. He'd work in the woods camp during the winter. He'd come over in the fall because crews would go right into the woods in the wintertime and they'd stay in these camps all winter and cut wood, pile it on the river banks and stream banks, and then in the spring with the high water they'd drive the wood down the streams and the rivers to the Penobscot. They used crosscut saws, axes, cantdogs, peeveys, horses to yard the wood. They weren't using chainsaws. We're talking about primitive logging back in the early forties.

In my dad's camps he always talks about horses being used to haul the logs. And he was familiar with horses because his stepfather on the reserve ran what they call the taxi. See, when the river froze up between Campbellton and the reserve they drove horses and sleighs over them, and so that was his stepfather's winter job.

The whole crew came down the river in bateaus and canoes with the equipment. Have you ever heard the stories of Fred Walker, the great river driver? He was a pretty notorious guide up on the east branch of the Penobscot. My father worked with him for quite a few years. Fred was a very accomplished guide and river man, and the logging crews would hire him to guide them down through. And he would select out Indian men to work with him because one of the jobs that he had was to bring the office -- they had a portable office that travelled with the crew. It would be Fred's job to select a crew so that he would have expert canoemen to handle the boats that the office equipment were in so that they wouldn't get broken up, wouldn't lose them in the river. They had to have expert canoemen. So my dad worked with those crews a lot, too. Getting equipment down through the rapids and the high water in the spring, etc.

Log drive near Princeton, Maine. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution, Photo No. 74-8299.

He'd collect his pay at the end of the drive. One of the reasons that he settled in Mattawamkeag was because that's where the drive that he worked ended. There would be a series of drives that would come off the east branch of the Penobscot and the west branch of the Penobscot and they'd come together in Mattawamkeag. The paper companies would have crews there to separate logs, and they'd pay off the driving crews. They'd have their last hurrah and head home. All the logs were marked. Each crew marked the end of their logs with a specific sign. A lot of the separation was accomplished through a series of booms. Have you ever driven along and seen those big piers along the way? Those piers in the rivers were used for separating logs from various drives until they could be brought together and accounted for. Then certain drives would sell all their logs to a paper company. So x number of linear feet of lumber would go to, say, Diamond -- back then it was Diamond Match, I think. This was in the early '40s, because my dad finally gave it up in '46, '45. And he did it for about eight years, seven or eight. So it was the late '30s, early '40s.

17. Three Young Micmac Adults from Aroostook County. ME

woods walks with Grampy

1: Grampy would be the babysitter when you guys used to work. He would take us in the woods. He used to pick up these little shiny leaves and rub them on us so the flies wouldn't bother us. And he'd give us a bush to swing around. Then we'd be walking, hitting each other with the bushes.

2: We used to play with those balsam fir blisters. Grampy didn't like that though. We'd come home all sticky. He had a hard time getting it off us. You know what he used to pick? Teaberries. You know, those little red berries. And he told us what plant. He said, don't bother those snake berries. There are snakes that come out of there and they'll grow. So, I never did trust snake berries till five years ago, I could walk safely by them. I guess that's the only way he could keep us from eating poison plants.

3: Remember we used to hear the loons? And I never knew what it was, I'd never seen one. He always showed me, but I could never see it. He had a window way high. He would say, "Look up there, you're gonna see the loon go up there." And you know what I was picturing? A giraffe's head.

2: Here are the little shoes he made for David.

shoes for David

3: I thought they were going to be for me or Donna. You know? And we were waiting and waiting. I'd say, "Grampy, that's going to be too small for me. I won't fit my feet in there. Is it for Donna?" And Donna said, "Grampy, that's too small for me. That's not going to fit me." He said, "No, you'll see." And then he had them sewn up and he goes, "David." And he came and got them. He put them on, just right! And Donna and

I were so upset. Grampy said, "So he can keep along with us in the woods." I remember we used to have to go out to the woods and pick twigs up, and he'd be way ahead of us. We'd be fighting with those branches. There's a lake, I think, way up there. He used to bring fish. And we'd ask him where he got the fish. He said, "Fishing!" We ran all over the woods. We weren't scared of the woods. We did a lot of walking in the woods, picking things up, twigs, birds. I remember picking strawberries and raspberries.

18. A Passamaquoddy Man from Indian Township

role model and teacher

One of the favorite people in my life that comes to mind is Louise Socabasin. She was one of the, I think, prominent citizens here on Indian Township. She played a major role in my development as a young man. She used to take us canoeing. When I was a young boy, the major route to Princeton was by water, and we had to learn canoeing. She was at the time living by herself and had no man in the house, and she took us and taught us how to canoe, and we'd paddle around. And she would teach us how to trap and hunt and fish and that kind of thing. She was really a great human being. Not only that, when we came back from hunting and fishing and trapping we would work for her during the day to plot a garden. She was quite a woman. We learned how to plant and how to look after a garden and also how to prepare, how to dry meat, like muskrat and deer meat and sometimes moose meat, too.

community sharing

Every year one or two moose would wander on the reservation. We would get them and everybody would be so secretive not to tell anybody outside the community that we did have a moose. And everybody had a share in the moose. The community would not let information out, but sometimes somebody would slip and the word would get out. They would raid houses and not even have a search warrant or anything. Walk in and demand to see what you had for food and that kind of thing. Usually the game warden would come in and arrest a person and to my memory there might have been a trial. I don't know. But we would not see that person for probably a year or two. It all depends what they charged him with.

travel by water

Going to Princeton by water was the only way that people could get food, clothing and also fuel that they needed. That's the only place that we could shop at the time. People used to buy a lot of pork, flour, potatoes, something that they could store in their cellar. I think most of the people did have dugout cellars, just a small cellar to keep barrels of potatoes and barrels of pork and those kinds of commodities that you can keep for a long period of time.

helping in hard times

Not every family had this kind of living -- only a few. Like I said, Louise was one, and she was a prominent figure in the community. I recall as a child my mother was crying, you know, because there was no food in the house and there was no wood. It was about a week before Christmas. My father was in prison for ten years and as a little child I remember the situation where my mother didn't have any food or wood in the house. We were all gathered in one bedroom to keep ourselves warm. We were all wrapped in blankets, and there was a knock on the door. There were men and women out there and they were coming in. They started to clean the house, and they brought food and wood. We had a little woodshed, and they filled that with wood already sawed and split. I was at the time probably five years old and my brothers were probably a year or two older than I was. We were unable to provide wood, although we tried.

role of church

I think the Church had a major role in our life, and I think the role was as a protector at one time. And after a while they got into a role of decision making in the community, because they would dictate to the tribal governor what should be and should not be. And this was my memory of the Church in the community. Although it had never provided any kind of service to the community, they did provide some protection for us.

image of Church

We always referred to the white house up on the hill, because all the buildings were white and they were well kept and they were heated with wood -- and we community members, we lived poor. We had a tarpaper shack. That's all there were. They were just two-by-fours and pieces of board that on top of it was tarpaper, and there was really not any good house in the community.

At one time I guess the people had trusted in the Church. For many, many years they trusted the Church, and the Church would protect them. Anything you would do against the priest would come back on you violently at the time. And now it's not that way at all.

Church influence

Because slowly we realized that the Church could have done a lot more for this community, because the people had looked up to it as their savior -- they were going to save the community. And probably in some ways they did. I'm not really complaining, because the Church here had provided some education for our people and the only one that was ever interested in us was the Church. I'm not downing that. I respect that.

I feel that lots of times the Indian agent would take directions from the priest -- who would receive benefits and who wouldn't. If you didn't come to Church and do what they said was proper, then you would not receive food vouchers and such.

power of Indian agent

We had a state Indian agent coming in and giving you a piece of paper saying that you could have three dollars worth of grub. And three dollars was a lot of money then, I agree, but to feed a family of nine it wasn't much. We had to buy kerosene with that, because we had to have lamps in the house to provide light. And there were other necessities that you had to have, and lots of nights we were not able to have a lamp on or heat in the house.

It was supposed to last you a week and if you were in the good graces of the Indian agent you might get it. Lots of times I remember we did not get it, because my mother was working and trying to scrub floors all over the town here trying to make some money. And they were paying her 25 cents per floor. She was trying to make money to feed us. She would not be able to go to church on Sunday, and she would not be awarded with a voucher Monday morning. This is what I learned through that process. I thought it was a way of life.

LEADERSHIP

19. A Penobscot Woman from Old Town, Maine

visibility

When you're a good leader, I think you should have honesty with your associates. In my experience, for a leader the more visible you are, the more vulnerable you are. I think it's good to keep a low profile. Like in my position as a leader of the board, I can be as visible as I want to be. I think that sometimes you can get a lot more accomplished by not being visible. I guess you can lead in different ways. I choose the more subtle ways.

I think people would be surprised at the actual people who are the leaders. There are people that are visible, but then there are other people that are the real leaders. That's where I'd like to be. I don't want to be out there being visible and being vulnerable. I'd rather be behind the scenes. I do admire people who can and will take a visible role.

identifying with people

I think that you have to identify, too, with other people. You have to put yourself in their place lots of times to understand their situations. I think that's depending on the level of leadership -- for instance, the governor can't put himself in everybody's position all the time.

I think leadership requires a certain amount of strength, inner strength, being confident in yourself. I think you have to know yourself really well to put yourself in a visible leadership position. There are lots of people who put themselves in a leadership position, but they didn't have the strength to take care of different conflicts in the administration, or in the community, or whatever. A lot of them, because of stress, had breakdowns, or got sick, or a few died of cancer. I think inner strength is real important.

20. A Maliseet Man from Aroostook County, Maine

harmony

I don't think the council is the government. I think it's membership -- that's the way it should be, anyway. A good chairman would want to work with the council. He'd want a real good relationship with the council, because if you're working in that kind of a harmony, everybody would be getting along.

I think a good leader should go around visiting families, go to the families and have coffee with them or anything like that. Just to be comfortable.

21. A Maliseet Man from Aroostook County, Maine

My grandfather was a chief. He was a good man. He gave away a lot of stuff to **generosity** the people and he wasn't getting paid like they are today. When he became a chief it was just nothing but donating his time.

[Referring to a respected leader.] He was well underspoken. He didn't demand anything. He'd ask people if it was all right to do this and do that and of course he'd sit down and think the things all over. He tried hard to help the people.

22. A Maliseet Woman from Aroostook County, Maine

No matter what I try to do I always try to stay in the background. If I organize **visibility** something I'm not going to be out front hollering, "I did it. I did it." I stay back. If somebody starts to cut that tree down but they couldn't do it, I'll go cut it when they're not looking and let the other one take the credit. You would probably have to get into somebody else's shoes to know that it's not as easy as it looks, no matter what it is.

23. A Micmac Man from Mattawamkeag, Maine

In a good leader, there has to be an openness to learn. There has to be compassion, **openness, compassion, respect** not to the extent that you give in too easily. There has to be respect, a lot of respect. People that I recognize as leaders are people who have respect for other human beings, the earth -- and you can see that in them. Anyone who respects his surroundings does so for very valid reasons -- understanding, knowledge. And so if they have respect for their surroundings and what they're in, they can pass on truth. That's something that's key to my people -- truth. I was talking to an Indian friend of mine a while ago, and he said this man told me something, he said, and I believe it. It's the **honesty** truth, because this man says his word, he doesn't write it. In today's society, contracts and binding agreements, you know, your signature is the law -- real leaders are the people who don't have to sign contracts. They know what the truth is. A leader is the kind of person who also knows that not everyone is going to like him. I can see leadership qualities in people who have an open and honest family life, because in order to have a good family life, honesty is key. Love. You can love someone dearly and disagree with them. That has to happen. You know, children have to know that if they mess up they're going to get told about it. And that occasionally they have to be punished for it. Because in real life if you make a mistake you're punished for it, and it's not always, you know, the criminal way. You know if you break into a house you get thrown in jail for two years. Very simple. Not always so. If in real life you make a mistake and you mistreat your body, you become ill. You have to pay for it. If you don't show respect for the river, then it may take you. You have to be aware. A good leader understands those concepts and practices and expresses them.

24. A Passamaquoddy Man from Indian Township

impartiality

People expect the chief to be fair across the board, to treat everybody alike. Whenever I've asked people, that's what they've said. Most of what the chief has to work with these days, especially government programs, are not designed that way. In the older days, it was easier to deal with because everyone depended on the chief to be the arbitrator and the distributor of the wealth in some sense. He was the richest person. But there was a purpose for that; everybody consented to it so he could in fact distribute the wealth. I think that shows up in a lot of people's comments, stories, and observations -- that was the reason for this person to be a just, fair, and honorable person. Now I think we still expect that of our leadership. I think today there are some other expectations because of all of the things the tribe has acquired in terms of the land claims management. I think people expect that their sakom [ZAH-g'm] needs to be at least aware of everything going on, have some sense of economics, have some sense of how to manage or administer programs; those are fairly new expectations. But I really think that the overall thing is that he is fair and in tune with the needs of the community. A lot of the older people will give John heck, for example, "Why don't you go around like you used to, see everybody individually?" The older people still expect that. And I think it's good. I don't think the younger people expect that as much. The younger people are as used to a media candidate as anybody. For most of my life, people went around from house to house talking to everyone individually, it was still small enough. In a sense, we're not that much bigger; but I notice a lot more posters, a lot more cards, campaigning like the white man does, a lot more places where the candidate speaks in public about issues prior to the election. You never did see that in the old days, it was one to one campaigning. I think the old expectations will stay there; I think they still want somebody who has a fairly level head, someone who commands respect.

in touch with community

25. A Passamaquoddy Man from Indian Township

education

From my experience as a leader I think I would like to see a person who is well educated, because this job of being tribal governor is not an easy job. I would like to see a guy who had graduated from college come back and give us a hand in running the community. I feel we can't have a dummy behind this community because there's too much to lose. We have come so far and gained a lot; we get the wrong person in there and we can lose it all in one night. And I just don't want to see this community go begging to the state or to anybody or go through what I went through to beg for a living. I think there's more dignity in this community today. The people here should grab hold of that and get as much out of education and take advantage of our situation and come back and help some more. There's an awful lot to be done.

I feel that the three basic tools that you need to do anything in this world are reading, writing, and mathematics, as much mathematics as you can. The Passamaquoddy language is a specialty. I think that it's good that it's in the school, our own language, but it's got to be taught in the home, too.

PREJUDICE

26. A Penobscot Woman from Indian Island

self-image

The kind of training I got -- my master's in child development, child psychology, and later retrospecting -- gave me clues as to how I happened to come through this life without the harmful effects of prejudice. I did meet up with prejudice and discrimination, but (and this is the way I analyze it), there was some distance between me and the youngest of the family, so I had four or five years of being the baby of the family. I have three older sisters and two older brothers, and in that early period of my life, which is very crucial, they made so much over me that I got this impression that, man, I was really something. As a matter of fact, my nickname was "Love." So I acquired this very good self-image that I was a lovable person because everyone showered attention on me -- so that by the time I got to school, and boys and girls would say, "Oh, look at the dark cloud coming," or some such discriminatory remark, and I would look over and say, "I wonder what's wrong with them?" And then just turn away from them. It didn't affect my opinion of myself, that they felt this way about Indians. I thought that was their problem. And that has been with me all my life. When you come to hate people who have great prejudices, it does them more damage physiologically and psychologically than the one who is hated, because hate stirs up all these internal bodily chemicals. So, physiologically and physically, it doesn't pay to hate or to be prejudiced.

effect of prejudice

27. A Penobscot Woman from Indian Island

life in Connecticut

Right after high school I moved out to Connecticut and got work there. It was really wonderful because Connecticut hired Maine people, because they knew that people from Maine were good workers. And I was accepted completely. We formed a group that we called "the League of Nations." We had a German girl, Polish girl, Irish girl, Italian girl, Lithuanian girl, and myself, and we were always together. It was just like one big family. So even being away from the reservation, I had a wonderful time.

near the reservation

Where I encountered prejudice was right next to the reservation in a work situation. If people knew they could intimidate you, they would. You had to be more aggressive and know the facts about things. But you cannot allow them to put you down. And I guess that was my mother's training again.

28. A Maliseet Woman from Aroostook County, Maine

in school

I know that back in school people who looked like Indians really did get harassed and made fun of. When I went to school, one girl, they used to pick on her something wicked. I mean no wonder she never came to school half the time. It was just so bad, she didn't want to go.

29. A Maliseet Man from Aroostook County, Maine

school

I went to school at Stevensville and this boy came over to an Indian girl and he called her names that I didn't like, and I hauled him one -- just spurted right out. And that was it. Everybody treated me OK then after that. I fixed that guy and I made a good friend out of him, too.

30. Two Maliseet Women from Aroostook County, Maine

organizing the Houlton Band

A: The Houlton Band of Maliseets didn't start having a board of directors until they were incorporated. That was done at Presque Isle at the ACAP office.

B: But first, they couldn't get involved. Some people didn't get involved for the very fact that they were scared of losing their jobs, because at that particular time they were being threatened with their jobs if they came to meetings.

A: Yes, by the towns.

B: Most people that weren't involved were employed by the town.

A: It's like the old saying, you've got to like yourself before somebody else likes you. So if you thought well of yourself and didn't put yourself down, no matter what those people said to you, it wouldn't bother you.

31. A Maliseet Woman from Aroostook County, Maine

organizing low-income people

When my mother passed away in 1969, I had a chance to work in Operation Mainstream (VISTA). I think they just gave me the job to get me out of the house because I was still depressed. That's when I started working out in the field. You work with a lot of people with a lot of problems, many more problems than I had. But at the time I thought that I was the only one, you know. I worked there about one year. I helped organize low-income people so they'd get a little more help than they were getting at the time. We went down to Augusta to demonstrate in front of the Commissioner of Health and Welfare so their checks would be increased, and to correct all the things that had been going on in the past that nobody cared about or wanted to do anything about. So it was that following year that they started getting raises in their checks and to be treated half decently. Before they just used people, you know. And after that I went into VISTA.

working as an advocate

We left VISTA training and came back home to tackle the things we had to do. At that time you couldn't even get a social worker to enter an Indian's home because they thought they were going to get scalped or something. They discriminated against Indians. We had to counsel the alcoholics, take care of the youth, and take care of the sick, and anything you can think of. Then after we started working in '71, changes started coming. Some people wouldn't even go to the town because they didn't think they would be listened to. So I would go with people -- like a liaison person. I think people were afraid because they were turned down too many times. They weren't about to give that person another chance to turn them down again. But after I went with them, they'd feel braver or something. I don't know what it is. Security.

32. A Passamaquoddy Man from Indian Township

state power and police

In the sixties the State came in here and just muscled its way in, in terms of just beating up on people, using the State police. For crimes that were treated fairly routinely someplace else, one of our people would end up in prison. There was an overt misuse of power, the Passamaquoddy guy getting killed and the people who did it being found "innocent." I mean, that's reality. If a 65-year-old man had been bludgeoned to death somewhere else in Maine, I think that those people would not have gotten off. There was the attitude, "Well, he's just an Indian." It's a real thing. I'm not imagining it. I have had a chance to reflect on it for twenty years. Another example, in Washington County whenever an Indian was killed nobody was ever found guilty. On the other hand, two or three Passamaquoddies did spend well over thirty years in jail -- looking back at it now, it appears that there wasn't that much evidence that they actually did the crime. So these are things that speak for themselves. And I challenge anybody who doubts what I'm saying to do their own research. We were being left out of certain basic things -- like getting a haircut in a barbershop, trying to get a job as a common laborer and being totally left out. I think they just angered my generation to saying, "Enough is enough!"

stereotypes

Non-Indian people started out with the assumption that somehow we were not quite human. People can be easily exploited; I think that you build that up over a couple of hundred years. People really tend to believe it. Then they put labels on you which you can't understand; one of the ones I remember throughout my own lifetime experiences was that we're "lazy." We are very visible in Maine. What we say and do gets noticed, but yet our achievements and contributions, aspirations -- they're not noticed very much. There's still this attitude of "boy." You know, "You 'boys' are all pretty good up there." Like we're something different. We can laugh a little bit more about it these days because we have a better sense of ourselves. We still don't like it. I don't like it, but I'm a little bit more in control. It's not quite as desperate.

33. A Passamaquoddy Man from Indian Township

Indian lands/jobs dispute

I was working for Georgia Pacific in the '60s, and as I said, the situation here never changed that much, although some living conditions had changed because the state had built twenty homes here on the reservation. I guess Georgia Pacific wanted to harvest some wood off our land and they didn't want to hire Indians. They hired French Canadians to come and harvest our wood. There was an awful uproar here because there was no work.

And the protest came when they saw all these wood houses coming in and there was no work for the Indians. So we had a meeting to decide what we were going to do. We got Pleasant Point involved in this one, thinking that we could get some support from them, because it's their land, too. People were afraid we were going to lose the aid and the stuff we got from the state. I said, "Well, that isn't much. Never was much." And I didn't care if I lost it. But a lot of people did, and I could understand that, too.

planning protest

Pleasant Point did show up and we had a strategy meeting. We decided to go out there early in the morning and give the French people an ultimatum to either leave in peace or we would repossess their property that was on Indian territory. Georgia Pacific at the time did not want to get involved, and these were the people that were on site. We understood that. But if we frightened the French people they would not come back no matter what Georgia Pacific said. So Georgia Pacific would have to deal with us.

Our argument was not with the French people and we told them that. We told them when we went out there, "We didn't come as enemies; we come as friends." They said they would leave. And they said, "If we can work here today we'll leave at four o'clock." Which they did.

Georgia Pacific again went to the State and said, "Hey, you know, the Indians are giving us a hard time. We have the right to go in there and cut this wood. It's our property." Well, they had cutting rights. Georgia Pacific brought the Canadians back.

We had another meeting and we planned out what our strategy was. We would not let anybody know what we were going to do outside of the people in the community. We got a bonfire going, and everybody bought some food and stuff so we could stay till the next morning when we could go in the woods with our Native regalia on; we would be painted up and we would hide. And we did. And at about seven o'clock we could hear the tractors coming into the woods. And so we went out and when they started to cut we just hollered at them. And everything stopped. Chain saws stopped. I said, "You drop your equipment right there. You leave. You had your chance. We told you we were your friends and you chose to come back. These are the consequences. We're going to take your chain saw; we're going to take your skidder." In fact we brought all the chain saws and the skidders here on the ball field and the French people were really mad at us then. And they had a house trailer set on Huntley Hill. So we hooked up to the trailer and brought that in.

This was the only way we were going to demonstrate to Georgia Pacific that we really meant business. We did that early in the morning. And I guess by three o'clock Georgia Pacific knew what had happened because all of the French people were down there. There were about thirty of them. They told them they wouldn't go on Indian Township no matter if they paid them all kinds of money. They wouldn't come back.

claiming rights

Georgia Pacific was buying cutting rights on the land, and they told us, "Well, we pay you so much money to have this right, you know, and so on." I said, "Yeah. I agree you do have rights to cut, but we also have rights to be employed to cut this wood."

As far as managing the land, the State Forestry Department had a big role in it and also the University of Maine Forestry Department. And also some of the Georgia Pacific personnel were involved. The tribe didn't have anything to say or do in decision making.

Georgia Pacific protested and went to the state and the state came and told us, "Hey, leave them alone." I said, "No, the only time we're going to leave them is when we have that right to cut." And they said, "OK. We warned you. Next time you come out there we're going to arrest you." I said, "Beautiful. That's what we want." And so, in fact, Georgia Pacific moved back the French people again. So we got in touch with Pleasant Point and said, "Hey, we've got to do something."

negotiation

Georgia Pacific called me up at three o'clock in the afternoon. They wanted me to come and see them. I told them, "I want my people to cut that wood." And they said they would concede to doing that, but they wanted me to calm the Indians down, not to be violent. "We weren't violent," I said. "We just repossessed property that was on Indian Township. They were trespassing on our property and we repossesed their property." And they said, "What do you want to do?" And I told them, "Let's have a meeting. I want both councils from Pleasant Point and Indian Township to be at those negotiations." I wanted a representative of the Department of Indian Affairs to be there and concessions by Georgia Pacific in writing. From there we got most of what we wanted. We had a training program for Indians to be skidder operators. They let us believe we couldn't drive those skidders. It took us I think four days or five days to learn how to operate them well enough so we could make a living. As you well know, today there are a lot of private operators on Indian Township, owned and operated by Indian Township.

We were careful to have a peaceful demonstration. I felt that if we were violent and hurt somebody that nobody would take us credibly, you know, because they would say, "Nothing but a bunch of wild Indians," and "They just want to be in the newspaper." I would much rather not have it in the newspaper, but see it negotiated in a way it should have been done.

ABORIGINAL RIGHTS

34. A Micmac Man from Mattawamkeag, Maine

fishing rights

At Restigouche our people have secured the right to fish by whatever means they choose, which are gillnets. They can fish out from the reservation shore to an imaginary line up the river, and they have the right to fish that between dusk and dawn. You can always fish with nets better after dark because the fish can't see the nets.

treaties

The Restigouche River and the salmon were a staple to thousands of Micmacs for thousands of years. It was tradition to come to the river in the spring as to many other salmon rivers throughout this part of North America. When the salmon ran, Micmacs fished salmon. So as a concession to being put in a reserve, that was one of the agreements that were made. Our people would be allowed to continue to hunt and fish as they have for generations. And at the time of the signing of those treaties, there was no doubt in the mind of the non-Indians who signed the treaties that the Indian people would be able to manage the salmon run efficiently and economically, because they had done so for generations. It would have been possible for the tribes to go in and just devastate the run almost in any selected year, but for generations and generations and generations they hadn't. And they wouldn't. As they won't today. People take just what they need. I have cousins who salmon fish, and they know how much money they have to make and they know how much salmon they have to catch for the family. And they may stop if it's a good run. They may stop fishing a week before the run is over. And they don't stop fishing because some game warden comes down and says, "You have enough." They know.

objections from non-Indians

But anyway, since none of the non-Indians were allowed to fish with gillnets on the river, there became a lot of opposition to Indians being allowed to use nets. "Why should that Indian be allowed to use nets when I can't?" So the provincial governments started trying to impose a lot of non-Indian laws on the Indian fisherman that resulted in a whole series of battles called "the salmon wars."

"Salmon Wars"

There has been everything from official police action, where the provincial game wardens would come in and arrest people and take them off to jail, to vigilante action by non-Indian people who live across the river, coming over and running through the nets with motor boats, cutting them with the props, hitting boats with other boats, beating people, and shootings. What falls in between is illegal raids by provincial game wardens who would come onto the reservation in force, go into houses without search warrants, take nets from storage areas, from boats, and beat Indian people who resisted. This violates the simple law of illegal search and seizure, and the much broader law of the treaty right. And if you want to go beyond that, you have an infraction of a much broader relationship that people have maintained with the river for generations. That's something that has very little bearing in a courtroom situation, but in the real world it makes a difference.

35. A Maliseet Man from Woodstock Reserve, N.B.

cutting ash

In 1948 I was arrested for cutting ash. A fellow called the Mounted Police when I was cutting. I told him that we had a right to cut this stuff. By the time the Mounties came, I had already cut all that was there and went home. So they served a paper on me next day. It was taken to court. The magistrate just didn't know what to do. He had an idea that Indians did have a right to cut ash wherever they found it. But he wasn't sure and he wasn't going to make this decision. So he said he would postpone the trial for two weeks. In the meantime he was going to do some research. Two weeks came and he still didn't get the answer that he wanted, so every two weeks he would postpone the thing. It lasted all summer. Finally, the farmer got sick of coming so he didn't come back. So the magistrate said, "I couldn't say that you could cut or can't cut, but I find you guilty. But I'm not asking you to pay the court costs. I'm not fining you, and I'm not making you pay for the wood. But I would advise you to ask for permission next time you want to cut ash." I said, "Well, if I ask for permission, I would be admitting I didn't have a right to the ash." So he just shrugged his shoulders and said, "I don't know." So the case was dismissed. And a couple of years later there was another fellow that didn't like the idea of someone cutting ash on him, and he had me up in court again. I went to the magistrate. The magistrate said, "You'll have to take this to a higher court, because there's nothing I can do."

Passamaquoddy man demonstrating how to "pound" ash, i.e., separating the growth rings to make splints to weave into baskets.

LAND CLAIMS SETTLEMENT

36. A Penobscot Man from Indian Island

When we were a federally recognized tribe, the tribe had absolute authority to regulate its internal structure. And what's happened since the settlement is it's more the State that has the right to regulate internally on trust lands.

state jurisdiction

I think jurisdictionally the tribe has lost some things that were important in terms of our being able to take care of ourselves. The bottom line on jurisdiction is that we gave up enough to make it difficult to do things that other tribes do in terms of development or their rights as a sovereign nation, and the state got something that didn't belong to it. It got something just to satisfy the governor, basically, the politicians who didn't want to be perceived as being soft, who wanted to be perceived as, "Yes, the Indians have to do everything that everybody else does, they're citizens of Maine." For them, it was a game. For us, it was actually giving something up to them that didn't belong to them. It was ours by federal law, by the Constitution.

settlement money

We tried to promote the tribe as developing rapidly, that it is a participant in the State economy. What goes along with that is a perception by people that, "Well, the Indians must be rich." They don't see, and some don't want to see, that what is there is a base of money that's used for the tribe as a whole for the most part, and whatever is available to the individual is not enough to make any difference in their lifestyle. But what it does in the long term is give the tribe a tremendous credit rating with outside companies, businesses. Even though it's a policy not to use the trust fund as collateral or to use it as a cash investment in any type of deal, it gives the tribe a lot of credit with outside people just having it as an asset on the books. You couple that up with the land that we own, which is what we've been using as collateral, and it's real powerful. The tribe's net worth right now is $45 million, and that's after any liabilities it might have. What it does for us, long term, is allow us to move in the direction where people will actually participate as both management and the labor force, and give us an opportunity we never had before.

self-determination

We hope eventually to get to the point where we don't have to be dependent on the state and federal governments. But all this takes time -- five, ten years maybe -- to get in a position where we can actually do for ourselves things that the federal government won't do. Part of self-determination and sovereignty to me is being able to do things on your own and not having someone else do it. To talk about it is one thing, but to do it is something else. And I think we're well on our way.

37. A Penobscot Woman from Indian Island

community participation in settlement

When the land claims settlement was being discussed, the community, the people, were supposed to make the final decisions. But that committee just took over and did what they wanted to do. It never came back to the people. Our lawyer always said, "Hurry up, hurry up. This has got to be done yesterday!" So consequently the committee would come in and rubberstamp whatever he wanted without really looking at it.

38. A Maliseet Man from Aroostook County, Maine

federal recognition

I don't know if federal recognition has helped the Indians. I think it's a little bit too early to say, because these are probably what they call growing pains. They're all fighting for the best jobs, and the best-paying jobs, and we probably never had that before. We never saw it before -- any Indian getting paid over the minimum wage.

39. A Penobscot Woman from Indian Island

When the land claims issue came up, the first thing I thought of was what effect would it have on sovereignty? It has had the effect that I feared it would.

diminished sovereignty

Sovereignty is not only self-determination, but the power to go through with what you determine. And with lack of sovereignty we may sit down and decide the directions we want to take, but we don't have the power to go through with it if it conflicts in any way with state or federal laws. We can go only as far as they permit us to go. Whereas if we had sovereignty, we could implement what we determine we want to do. If the situation was as it used to be, we could put on those beano games, we could sell a lot of things without tax. Having sovereignty is like us being an independent nation in many ways. I fought against the land claims settlement as hard as I could. I was among the dissenters, but my voice didn't count much. And of course from a traditional point of view I could not see, I still can't see -- negotiating over Mother Earth as a piece of commodity. You don't sell land. It's not just land, it's Mother Earth. Who would sell parts of the entity that made their life possible? Most of the Indians who were involved in pressuring that deal did not comprehend what that document was saying. I know that, because two or three years later in general meetings some of those very same council members who had been involved in pushing the thing were making such comments as, "Well, we better call back members of the negotiating team to find out what happened."

paper companies

I think the paper companies benefited greatly from the land claims settlement. These land companies are absentee landlords, and like almost all absentee landlords, they don't care what happens to us -- Indian or not. They spray us and our water systems, pollute Mother Earth, etc. So, from their point of view that settlement was profitable. They got free title to all that land and no threats against it in the future. The State helped them. The State took us over as if they had every right to rule us with an iron fist.

40. A Penobscot Woman from Old Town, Maine

diminished sovereignty and jurisdiction

When the land claims settlement first came, I was in favor of it basically because I really didn't know everything that it entailed. Gradually over the last couple of years I've come to realize that we've lost a lot. We lost a lot of our sovereignty to the state, especially in the court system. All the tribal court can handle is Class E crimes and civil actions. The state classifies crimes as A, B, C, D, E. E is the lowest and has the lowest penalty for crimes such as disorderly conduct or setting off firecrackers. Allowing a dog to roam is a tribal ordinance. In the court I've never seen the judge give a jail sentence to anyone. He basically gives a $50 fine, a slap on the wrist. If you stop a tribal member for speeding, well that's fine, they'll pay $20-$25, but if you stop a nontribal [person] for speeding, they may skip court. It may end up points off their license on the outside, or if they don't show up, their license will be revoked. The tribal court doesn't have that power. I've heard it being said that it isn't taken seriously. The land claims [settlement] did take a lot of authority and sovereignty away from the tribe.

opportunity for more self-sufficiency

I think that [the settlement] also provided an opportunity to the tribe for large investments. Unfortunately, the tribe doesn't provide money for Indians to start their own businesses. It only has money for non-Indian companies. I think it's going to be a long struggle, but on the other side of the coin, where would we be without the claims? That's a real good question. In a way, if we use what we have wisely (which is really hard to do), we do have a chance economically to be self-sufficient. I think before the land claims settlement we didn't have that chance. So in a way it's good and in a way it's bad, sort of like a Catch 22.

community participation

Before the settlement [the Penobscot Nation] wouldn't make a move without consulting the public, without calling the community to vote. Now you turn around and there's a new investment over there, there's a new business going up over there. We don't know till after everything's been accomplished. We have no say in it. The only say we had was what percentage of per capita to reinvest.

41. Two Micmac Women from Aroostook County, Maine

effects of settlement for Micmacs

E: I think the land claims settlement is a pretty good deal for Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Maliseet. As for the Micmacs, we're still struggling.

I: Even though our tribe is the largest tribe -- Quebec, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Maine, all the way down to Massachusetts and New York -- our tribe is still not recognized. I think one of the reasons is because we're migratory. In the Land Claims Settlement Act, the other three tribes signed away our original rights to the land. And we lost benefits.

E: The State Department of Indian Affairs used to help the transients during potato harvest and planting. Or in the blueberrying it used to help them with gas money, clothing, food, blankets. The staff also provided counseling service, education, help if you had to go to court. Even though she was not Indian, she was a really good friend to the community.

I: We started getting letters in the mail saying you're no longer considered a recognized tribe, because you don't have original rights to your land since the Maine Indian Land Claims Settlement. We've got 29 bands in Canada. We have another large population in Portland, we have Hartford, Connecticut, Brockton, Worcester, etc.

E: Yes, but even after land claims and without federal recognition, I am still an Indian. And I'm going to die that way. You can put on my grave "federally recognized."

42. A Passamaquoddy Man from Indian Township

making the best decision

There's always going to be a controversy as to how the land claims should have been settled. I knew that, I was on the negotiating committee. As an individual, the only thing that I could do was to do the best that I could to make the best possible decision. I believe that what we did, or the eventual way in which it was settled, was the best course of action, given all the choices. Now I know that not all people believe that, but I can live with my conscience.

I don't think we sold our people down the drain. As a matter of fact, I probably am as frustrated as anybody at some of the realities of the settlement. But I still believe that if we took it to a non-Indian court we wouldn't have gotten as good a deal as we have now.

"practical" sovereignty

Sovereignty is one of those intangible issues, and I'm not sure that anybody has a definition that is somewhere near accurate. I don't think the United States has shown good faith. I think that sovereignty is a very light issue for them. They've chosen to violate almost every treaty they've ever made with sovereign nations like the Sioux people and others. And so I didn't have much faith in that. That was one of my definitions of sovereignty -- the practicality.

One of the senators said, "All the land in the West was stolen fair and square." And that says something about the attitude of the people that had the power. We already know how the Reagan administration would have behaved, because the President vetoed a similar but much smaller settlement with the Narragansetts. So at least I had to be realistic. I gave it the best shot that I could. I hope we did the right thing. There will never be a final answer to that.

effects for local economy

[Concerning some of the investment since the land claims settlement.] I think some of the projects at Pleasant Point will generate jobs instantly because they're all local. Indian Island came up with a manufacturing plant that makes cassette tapes. The blueberry company generates some, but it's a fairly seasonal thing. I think Indian Township has to come up with something local, in terms of what it wants to do. If you want to work at the cement company, you have to relocate. That's not always desirable, but it is possible. The opportunities for knowing or learning management skills are there, and I think that eventually people will reach out to these things. That's a far cry from being common laborers. I think that the opportunity for our next generation is there to eventually even run these things. Sometimes we get impatient with ourselves. We want to dive right into it. On the other hand, we want the business to be successful and part of these resources. So, I think what we have to do is find some industry at this point that can produce jobs for this particular area, and I think each community is aware of that and is striving towards that.

TRADITIONAL SPIRITUALITY

43. A Micmac Man from Nova Scotia

[In May, 1987, a Micmac elder was invited to share information about traditional ways with the Atlantic Friends Gathering at Cassidy Lake, New Brunswick. During the weekend a Teaching Circle was held in preparation for the Pipe Ceremony. The elder's words are reprinted from Where Words Come From: On Natives and Quakers, *by Noel Knockwood, Micmac Elder. No material from this article may be used without the written consent of Noel Knockwood.]*

Native philosophy

What I am going to do now is share more of our culture with you so that you will be able to better understand the Native philosophy, so that you will be able to better understand how the Native sees God, so that you will be able to better understand as you examine yourself from within, to find out what you are -- that you too have a soul and a spirit.

the eagle

The *eagle* to the Native person is symbolic. We pay much respect to the eagle and to the eagle feather, because that is our way of uniting ourselves with the spirit world, to bring that unity about. We refer to the eagle as the "thunderbird," because he is the only creature ever to be gifted by God to go high up into the heavens into the area of lightning and thunder. For that reason many interpretations are made of the thunderbird. The rays of the sun shine on that bird when it is high up into the heavens; and the sun, of course, is considered to be our brother who has many powers. Because the eagle is sacred and holy, we also must be of that fashion.

fire

Like all religions of the world, we use *fire* in our worship. Christianity uses fire, and when you walk into a church, on the altar the candles are lit with fire. When the Christians make a burnt offering, they burn incense, and they offer that smoke up to God. In the Native way, our incense is *sweetgrass*.[1] Sweetgrass is holy and sacred to us. You will begin to appreciate that fact when we burn it, and you can smell the aroma of it burning. It is a sacred offering for us, just like tobacco is sacred for us. We burn tobacco as an offering to God....

colors

Symbolically, certain *colors* are very important to the Native people. When we look at the color white, it is related to the northerly direction, because that is the area of ice and snow. Snow is white. You will also notice that there is yellow, or gold, within Native culture too. When we say white in Micmac, we say "wah-bak," when we say yellow, we say "wah-dap-tek," "Mak-tah-wak" is black, "meg-wak" is red. When we look at the morning, when it comes sunrise, the first evidence of sunlight will turn the clouds in the sky greyish in color. As it advances, it will then turn into yellowish-pinkish. It is at that instant when the yellow part comes out, that it is the beginning or the birth of a new day. That is the time the Native people make their offerings, at sunrise and at sunset. So, yellow is a very important color symbolically to the native people.

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[1] Refers to pictures being passed around the group.

When we look at our mother the earth from a distance, we see it to be green, because of the pastures, because of the trees and the leaves. For that reason green in symbolically important. From our mother the earth comes red ochre. In ancient times my people used to put red ochre on their skin for two reasons. One reason, of course, was spiritual in nature so that misfortune would not visit them through evil concepts. It would keep evil spirits away, because, like in your world, the Indian lives in a dual world of good and bad too. So, when he puts red ochre onto his body, he puts it there to cast away the evil spirits, somewhat parallel to the Christian who will wear a crucifix around his neck. The other reason, of course, is to keep the parasites away.

The color black is important because part of the creation of God is black. The definition of black is the absence of light, and that is part of the creation. Also that dimension where evil dwells has to be recognized and acknowledged. So, if you look at Native culture, you look at symbolism.

The four colors I have mentioned are also the races of humans on the earth. Now, you may ask, "How did the Native people know about these other cultures and races when they did not see them or they did not make the physical visitation there? How is it that they knew about them?" Well, as I mentioned a little bit earlier, there are such things as out-of-body experiences and astro-travel. Once you have developed the ability to do this, you too can do the same thing. You are no exception to the rule, although you have to be taught and disciplined. It cannot happen overnight, and it will take many years of development to work to that state of consciousness.

So, symbolically, we have color symbols and sacred objects that we use in the Pipe Ceremony. Peace does not only mean no hostility between one nation and another. Peace means to live in harmony with God's creation. Peace means to honor and respect other people. Peace means not to be envious of your brother or sister. Peace means to be in harmony with them and with all creatures. So, when we do the Peace Pipe Ceremony, it is very religious, because you will only find peace in one place, and that is within. You will not find peace geographically. I have often heard people say, "Well, I am going to travel, start a new life." But, they take their problems with them. Peace has to be within each of us, within the mind. The mind and the spirit are synonymous.

peace pipe

The pipe, the *peace pipe*, is a very holy object to our people. When we take the pipe, and we put the sacred tobacco in it, and we offer it up to God, we are in communion. The word "communion" does not mean a round piece of bread, in this sense.

The word "communion," as you all know, means to communicate; that is where the word comes from. Its root word means that -- to talk to God, to talk to the Spirit. The communion of angels and saints is the same as the communion with the eagle spirit, with the deer spirit, with the fire spirit, with the spirit in the air, with the spirit in you and in me and in God. To go in peace is to go in unity and in harmony. To "bind back to God" is the way our people understood it, prior to the interruption of their faith by the arrival of the European visitors who came to our homeland about 500 years ago.

medicine bundle

What I have in your presence this afternoon are some sacred objects that I would like to share with you, to show you what they look like. Many medicine people do not permit other people to touch the sacred objects, only on special occasions. But here I open my medicine bundle to you.... Sacred objects are wrapped up, rolled up, in cloth. Some bundles are a little bit different, they are rolled in animal hide. They are not all the same.

Indian medicine men are something like the clergy. But the clergy dress the same; they all dress in black, don't they? In the Native way, we don't have that. We don't have a school of theology. But we learn our philosophy and our ancient ways by listening and talking to our elders. And once the people accept you to be a medicine person, then you are a medicine person. Nobody can take that honor and title away from you. It is for life, and that is the way it is in the Native tradition. You can not "derobe" anybody, for there is no robe to take off.

sacred offerings

So, look at the objects we burn as an offering. We burn sweetgrass and we also burn sage. Some of us burn birchbark, some tobacco, some burn cedar. When you smell these things, it makes you feel good, because you know that they are sacred. There is sadness about this, because we are using a foreign language called English. When we use sweetgrass in our rituals and ceremonies, what comes to the minds of people when you mention "grass"? They think of marijuana or some sort of thing that will give you hallucinations, but that is not so. You can smoke sweetgrass until you are blue in the face, and nothing happens to you.

In order for anyone to touch the pipe, you can not be under the influence of alcohol or any kind of non-medical drug. The Native people respect that very highly. The difficulty that we have as traditional Indians who bring the traditional belief back is that we ask our followers to maintain total and absolute sobriety. The young people can not deal with that as well as they used to. Because of the Europeans' influence on their religion, on their education, on their culture, on their way of life, alcohol is heavily involved. So, we have a difficult time with our young people, like you people have with yours. That is only one of our problems, but many of them begin there.

So, here we have *tobacco* which is a very important part of our culture. I have two kinds of tobacco in here. One is commercialized. I think it is made by John Player and Sons, but it is the custom of my people to bring tobacco to the Elders as a sign of respect. Many young people bring me commercialized tobacco, which I do not refuse. I accept it and acknowledge their contribution with respect. Here is natural tobacco in its natural state....

When we burn our sacred offerings, we burn sweetgrass. Now, not every blade of grass out there in the marshes is of this character, you will know. It has a certain characteristic to it. You can identify it, and then the harvest of sweetgrass is a very simple operation. If you do not know what it looks like, then one blade of grass looks like another blade, I guess, to a lot of people. Well, it did to me at one time too, but now have a good look at it. This is considered holy and sacred by our people as well.

the eagle

Now the eagle, as I have said, is very important to our people. There is special power to the eagle feather. When the eagle feather comes to you, to prove this to yourself, just test it by holding your hand away from it, about like that, and you will feel heat coming from that feather. Here is what we say symbolically about the feather: Our symbols, the eagle and the eagle feather, are truly intertribal, even international. In the minds of our people, the eagle flew high over all of the earth's creatures and saw everything. In Indian tradition, our admiration for the eagle is so great, we take his name with great respect. This bird is holy. He is Solar or sunbird and his feathers are regarded as the rays of the sun. When a feather is worn or carried, it establishes a bond between man and the Creator. With the union of man and eagle, the man becomes as holy as the eagle. Let the eagle be your guide whose spirit gives you strength to go further than you can see. That is what is written about the eagle feather. There are many other things related to the eagle feather as well.

We all know that the creatures of God manifest His spirit, for everything that we have is in relationship to nature.

I don't use only eagle feathers. I also use partridge. This is the tail of a partridge that I use sometimes to fan the sweetgrass after I light it so that it will burn much better, and that is the only reason why I use that tail of a partridge.

This is the wing of an owl that was given to me; all of these things were given to me. I did not kill the owl, but I knew that I would get an owl feather. Someday I will share that story with you.

Here I have a private medicine bag that has my own special objects in it.

Here you also see the sacred colors that I was talking about earlier. This evening or tomorrow before I depart I will put these in their proper place and then we will do a ceremony and you will be able to be a part of that ceremony.

sweat lodge

In order for any medicine man to be a pipe carrier and to do a ceremony, he must earn that title. As a part of that earning, he must purify himself physically and spiritually. For those of you today who volunteered to go through the *sweat lodge* experience, this is the beginning process of purification. In the Native way, we always believe, like our ancestors believed, that to give part of yourself back to God is a very important part of life. So, when you go through this ritual called the sweat lodge ceremony, you physically purify yourself because the healing happens from within to without, if you can understand what I mean. The energy from your soul through the ceremony and through the physical extraction of your sweat going through the pores of your skin purifies yourself physically, and healing takes place. Of course, associated with that is the chanting and the singing and the spirit communication.

Also this kind of purification is spiritual because once your body is flushed clean through sweat, you give your sweat back to the Creator of your understanding, and it purifies your body. Now your soul can better go into communion with God.

pipe ceremony

In that form of communion, we also do the *pipe ceremony*. We take the pipe, and we put sacred tobacco in the bowl. See, the pipe is round, like our Mother the Earth is round, Grandmother Moon is round, our oldest brother the Sun is round, trees are round, wigwams are round. When we dance, we dance in a circle. Everything is in relationship to the circle or the cycle. Each day is a cycle: morning, noon, night, and another day -- a cycle. Spring, summer, fall, winter -- another cycle. As you came from the womb of your Mother the Earth, God gave you life, and you grew into a child, into adolescence, into womanhood or manhood, you then grow into an elder and you die -- you complete the cycle again of birth to death. Your very origin comes from the concept of the cycle, because the woman in her power can create life.

giving birth

According to the Native tradition, one of the most sacred and honored things to do is to bear a child, because you are the giver of life. Without you, life could not exist, and the Native Indian stories and legends, they tell us always to pay respect to Grandmother Moon, because God in his creation of the Universe instructed the moon and gave the moon certain responsibilities. The responsibilities given to the moon are many. One of them is to control the rise and fall of the great salt waters. Another responsibility given to the Moon is that we were instructed to use her as the time mechanism, because it would take her 28 days to go around her daughter the Earth, another cycle.

Every month a woman has the honor and privilege to flush herself clean through the menstrual cycle. That too is controlled by Grandmother Moon -- and she naturally flushes herself clean, ready to receive once more. She is the giver of life, just like the Earth, our mother, is the giver of life. And from that you were born. From that principle and from that idea I was born. We all came from that principle. So, the cycle is very important, because when your father's sperm fertilized your mother's egg inside of her body, a mystery of God manifested itself at that time, when one cell became two cells, two cells became four cells. What caused that energy to do that? It was the energy of the spirit of God, that is what it was, according to our culture. You had a gestation period of approximately nine months. Its continuation of multiplication and division of the cells began to take place to make **you**, just who and what you are: your complexion, the color of your eyes, color of your hair, your physical structure was given to you by that great mystery called God, and he manifested his Spirit then into you. So, that cycle of life is very important. The recognition of womanhood is there. The miracle or the gift to be a giver of life is there. We as men can not do that, so therefore, we are subordinate to you women in that respect. Many men do not want to hear that, but it is the truth. Women are strong and powerful -- keep it that way. Tell your children that according to the aboriginal culture, that is the way it was, and that is the way you want it to be.

The *pipe* is sacred to us, because from our Mother Earth comes the material to make the pipe, and tobacco is harvested from the breast of our mother. The fire that we use comes from the sun. The air that we breathe comes from the plants. My ancestors knew all that, thousands and thousands of years prior to European contact, yet they were called uncivilized and savages. That is not the case. When the Jesuit missionary came and saw this, he told my ancestors, "Do not pray in front of a fire or you will become a fire worshiper," and almost at the same breath, he would go to his altar. He would light his candles, and he would say, "In the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," and begin to pray. That is exactly what happened.

chanting

When you hear us do the chanting, we chant to the Creator. The word "celebration" -- when you celebrate mass, you celebrate the gathering, you celebrate joy, happiness. Spiritual contentment comes about. Gratification is expressed through chanting and you chant to the Creator. Chants are verbal expressions without words; they are vague as a definition. Each individual makes his own definition of a chant.

The most common chant a Christian used, prior to the development of hymns, was a chant called "Alleluia." The verbal expression"Alleluia" had no meaning, none at all. It was a chant. It was sung over and over in many different ways until about 500 years after the death of Christ, a group of people got together and said, "Let's put words to those chants." They did, and from that time onward, they were called hymns. That is the origin of hymns. You are supposed to know that because that is your culture.

In our culture, that tradition stayed constant, it never changed. Chants are still there. There are all kinds of chants. There are chants that are holy and sacred, there are chants that you can dance to, there are chants that we call peace chants. So, chants are verbal expressions without words. That is part of our tradition, that is part of our culture. There is even a death chant. You know when you are going to die and they teach us not to be afraid of death, because it is just a change, our souls can not burn, and we pay much respect to that. That is the reason why in the past many Native Indians were not afraid to die when they encountered the Europeans and their wagon trains. The Europeans would form a quick circle and just shoot them and pick them off and kill them at will, because the Native person was not afraid of death. He knew of that other plane of existence, where life continues after the change called death, like all cultures of the world believe today. So, it was an honor and a privilege to die, different from suicide.

fasting

Today maybe you heard the woman speak about a "*fast*." Do you know what that means? That means to go without bread and water for a minimum of perhaps four days to purify your body and your mind and your soul. To fast is a great honor and a privilege, because it helps you to flush the contaminated food that you have taken and eaten. When you fast, it takes about four days for your system to flush all of that out. And when you go through the purification sweat ceremony, it advances that process a little bit faster. So, fasting and purification are important.

vision quest

Then the ultimate before you can become a medicine man is for you to go on a *vision quest*. It is to seek a vision, through fasting, through prayer, through meditation, through concentration, through living a good life. If you are privileged and gifted, the Creator will honor you by granting you a vision. The first time I fasted and went on a vision quest, I did not see anything. I did not know what to look for, I was alone. I had no spiritual advisors -- they were miles away. This was about 17 years ago when I started. Then on my second fast, I purified myself by going through a sweat ceremonial first. I took my sacred objects -- I did not have all these, I only had a very small number of sacred objects -- and I took them with me. I had sweetgrass and tobacco, those are the two things I had. I went into isolation in the forest, and I was afraid, because like other humans I feared the unknown. Nobody explained to me the spirit dimensions, I had no one to turn to, other than to turn inward. What gave me strength, I suppose, was my rationality -- I was able to reason and say that if God's nocturnal creatures can survive in the dark, why can't I? That is what put me through. And on the third night of my fast, I had a vision from the spirit world, which gave me a frightening experience, because I did not know what it was. But when I think back, I tell myself I am a very honored person, because the Creator gave me the privilege to see a vision. He sent his messenger to me, and I saw that creature just as I see the objects in front of me now. They were real, they were there, and my communion with the spirits began at that time.

name-giving

A couple of years ago as I advanced in these studies, my oldest brother put me through a *name giving ceremony*. He called me Spirit Talker, because I was able to communicate with the spirit world, and I can give you much testimony to that effect. This is part of the Native culture, this is part of what it is like to be an Indian. It is not an easy task, for the Creator tests you in many ways. If you can survive that testing, then you can truly stand in the presence of your people and others and say, "I am ready to promote the Native way," and to walk hand in hand with other religious observers who wish to acknowledge that. And so today, I am privileged, I am honored to be here to share what little bit of knowledge I know about this great mystery they call God. I can not visualize God as a bearded gentleman dressed in a robe and suspended in the heavens. To me that is the wrong definition. I can not see God manifesting himself in a human form. I only can see the Great Spirit in the image of light; for that is how I see the Creator, that is how I see God. I can not put a physical manifestation upon him -- that only restricts me when I do that. I see God in the form of Light and in the Micmac tongue when we say "heaven where God dwells," we say "wah-sok." The root word "wah" refers to Light. When we say "heaven," we say "wah-sok" -- "area where God dwells" -- "Light area." So, to me, to visualize God in that way, as Light, makes a whole lot of sense.

We have hung on to much of our culture in the last few hundred years, and today it was an honor for me to share some of that culture with you.

CHILDREN'S ESSAYS

My name is Karri-Lynn Paul and I live on the Woodstock Indian Reserve in New Brunswick, Canada. Woodstock is located in the western part of New Brunswick. It has 175 residents and 45 homes.

I attend Southern Carleton Intermediate School and I am 12 years old. I am in the sixth grade.

In September I became interested in painting when I became involved in a young Art Class.

My art teacher Suzanne Hanson felt my first painting showed promise. It was of an ocean scenery with mountains, clouds and the bright horizon of the sky.

On November 06, 1987, I was invited to attend a special occasion. That being a celebration for Peter L. Paul, LLD., cm, who was honored upon becoming a member of the Order of Canada. This is one of the highest honors to be given to any person in Canada.

The occasion I experienced will be remembered throughout my life; especially the feeling I experienced after I presented him with the first painting I ever did.

Karri-Lynn Paul
6th Grade

My name is Sarah. I'm 11 years old. I'm a member of the Aroostook Band of Micmac Indians. In Micmac language I am called Husilik (Meaning Sarah). I'm very proud to be a Micmac Indian.

When I'm around my white friends, I feel fine, but when I'm around Indian friends I feel extra good because I found someone who feels like me. I have more fun when I'm around kids like me but I still like my other friends too. Some kids tease me and it gets me mad but after a while I got use to it. It does not bother me no more. I still like my other friends and I enjoy going to school.

Also my culture is very important to me!

Sarah Archer

The True Story of Indian Island

On Indian island has a river called Penobscot river. It has blood suckers in it. In the river is an old raft. The bottom is dirty. On Indian island they have Indian pageants. There's a store that's two things a house and a store most people called it Mabel's.

Sara Lolar
2nd Grade

I am a ten year old Passamaquoddy native boy. I live at Peter Dana Point which is a reservation near Princeton. Here, there are many families living in a close-knit community.

I enjoy hunting and fishing. Fishing is done on a lake near my house. My friends and I like to take the canoe when we fish.

My school is an elementary school on the reservation. We have eight grades. I am in the fifth grade. I like school because we do fun things here.

It's fun living at Peter Dana Point. My friends and I ride bikes, go swimming in the lake, and hang around. I guess we are like most other ten year old boys.

Chris Tomah
5th Grade

I am a member of the Passamaquoddy Indian Tribe and live on the Indian Township Reservation, a 23,000 acre township near Princeton, ME. My ancestors have lived in Down-East Maine for over 3,000 years.

For many years my people have had many hardships because of poverty and prejudice. Some of my people wanted to leave the reservation as soon as they could in order to have a better life in new surroundings. But, many of them stayed on the reservation, remained jobless, and lived on welfare. In the 1970s all of these wretched conditions changed. Federal Funds for social and economic development programs were brought on the reservation. Also, a bilingual program was developed to help us retain our Indian language.

On October 10, 1980 President Carter signed the Maine Indian Settlement Act of 1980. The Act gave $81.5 million to the Passamaquoddy Tribe and the Penobscot Nation to purchase 300,000 acres of land from the 12 million acres of land that was taken from us almost 200 years ago. It also gave us a $27 million trust fund for economic development. The Tribe has since purchased a radio station, a cement company, a blueberry company, and a large tract of land in Jackman, ME.

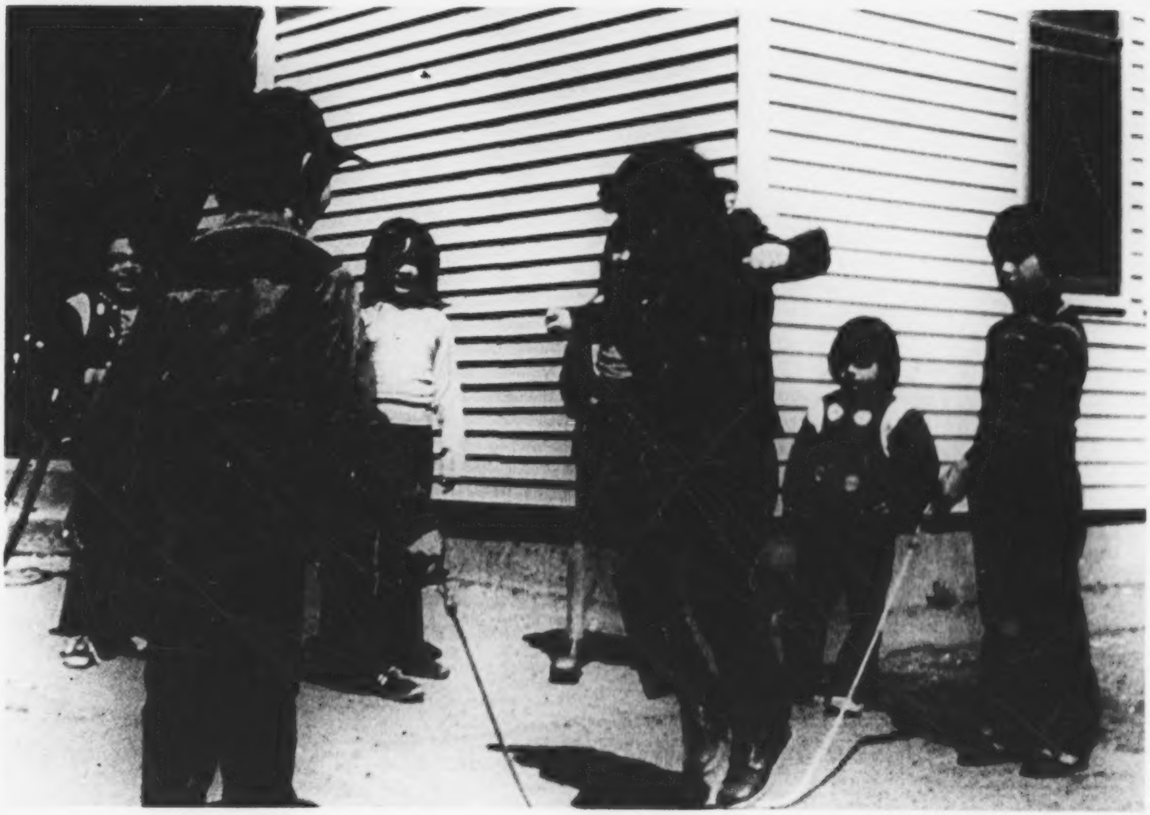
In 1987 the Passamaquoddy Nation established a store to be built on the reservation. This gave many people jobs and a convenient place to buy groceries and other small items.

My people have taken a big step in economic development. We have learned from the hard times of the past. It is up to us to control our lives and prepare for a better future. Passamaquoddy Pride is back to stay.

Nakia Newell
7th Grade

I am a Passamaquoddy Indian girl. I am ten years old and I live at Motahkmikuk, a reservation near Princeton. Here we do the same studies as other boys and girls in the state. We have a nun for a principal. Also, there are two other nuns who teach here. We have one Indian teacher in kindergarten. Maybe some day we will have others. Religion is taught by the nuns. We don't have to take it; it is after school. Our reservation is like a small town. The houses are like any you would see anywhere. We have cable and enjoy watching programs like other kids do. There are eleven children in my family. Most are grown up and live away from the reservation. My mom works on the Indian newspaper and my dad works at a mill in Woodland. I like living on the reservation but I like to visit other places.

Mali Tomah



Children playing on Indian Island.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

A Day with Christina

My name is Christina Ann. I'm from the tribe of Micmac Indians. I'm 11 years old. I am in the 5th grade of a border town school in Aroostook County.

My day starts at 6:15. My brother and I have to get up at that time, because of the bus coming shortly after 7:00 a.m.

My brother is 16. He is a Jr. in High School. We ride on the bus to my school. The school I go to is 7 or 8 miles away from where I live. It take us about a half an hour to get [to] school. My brother stays on the bus and goes [to] another.

My school is not very big. The teachers there are very nice. I have friends in all different grades. There are only 2 other Indians in the school. One is in 2nd grade and the other one is in my class. They both are my 2nd cousins.

On Nov. 25th my class had a Famous American Day. Famous American Day is when we choose a Famous American and dress as that person for one day. I went as Pocahontis. I wore a handmade Indian outfit with a dress, head band, beads and moccasins.

I get out of school at 1:45 and when I get off the bus at 2:30

My mother works at the glove factory. She makes all sorts of gloves.

My father works at the Micmac Band Office in Aroostook County.

I have an older brother in the Airforce and an older sister working as a nurse.

English is the main language in our family, the Micmac language is used very little, but I am learning a few words at a time.

My great grandmother's name was Annie Battist, she was born in Nova Scotia, on July 26th 1883.

On July 19th 1776, there were 7 Micmac delegates that signed the Watertown Treaty in Watertown, Massachusetts. One of the delegates that signed the treaty was named John Battist.

It would be nice to know if John Battist was a direct ancestor.

Christina Ann Silliboy
5th Grade

My Passamaquoddy Heritage

I was born in Bangor, Maine, and spent my early years in that area. As my Father taught basketmaking at the Indian Island School in Old Town, I began my education there. When I was six years of age my family moved to Pleasant Point to live with my paternal grandparents. We stayed on the reservation in Perry, Maine, where I attended the Beatrice Rafferty School until my family moved to the other Passamaquoddy reservation last fall. Presently, I am an eighth grade student at the Indian Township School.

Many people say that the heritage and culture among the newer generations of Passamaquoddies is becoming lost. I believe that this is somewhat true, as one has to live in a modern world in order to survive. But I feel that it is important for the young people to carry on the cultural activities and ways that belong to the Passamaquoddy people.

The various Indian crafts that I have learned were taught at home and at school. Oftentimes I do beadwork which requires much concentration. I create earrings, necklaces, and other types of jewelry from beads and porcupine quills; yet the jewelry made is worth the time and effort.

I feel that preserving the Passamaquoddy language is very important. Studying Passamaquoddy is required at both Indian schools. I think that if it were not required, the language could be lost in the future.

Every summer each local tribe has their own "Indian Day Weekend." The highlight of the weekend is held on Sunday. Tribal members dress up in traditional Indian clothing and perform various dances for tourists and community members.

All of these traditions which are very much a part of my life, I have learned are important aspects of being a Passamaquoddy Indian, of which I am very proud!

Stephanie L. Bailey
8th Grade

Passamaquody Girl

A proud Indian girl grows up on the reservation
Takes a walk to the white community
She knew nothing of "them"
She was greeted with laughter
She was treated unfairly.
For she did nothing to "them."
She was called a redskin
She looked upon herself saw only brown skin
She wonders what is wrong with "them."
She is called an Apache with a sneer.
She says, I am Passamaquoddy eyes full of tears.
She asks herself what have I done to "them."
They make funny noises imitating her language.
She says to "them" I know two languages.
Doesn't that mean anything to you.
But to "them," they only understood one language.
The language of hate.
She asks herself what have I done to "them."
They don't know her. Still they condemn.
She committed no crime still they prosecute.
Stones of injustice are thrown at her
Her heart starts to fill with bitterness.
She proclaims her hate for "them."
Years of ignorance go by.
Then she realized what was happening.
She was getting to be just like "them."
She says I am not one of "them."
I will not condemn all of "them."
For I am Passamaquoddy
A proud Indian woman.

Mary Ellen Socobasin
Passamaquoddy
1947 - 1988

FACT SHEETS

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FACT SHEETS

Introduction

There has been little accurate information written for teachers that is solely concerned with Wabanaki people. These fact sheets were written to provide some of this material and are a response to teacher requests for specific data.

The objective of these fact sheets is to give an accurate picture of some of the unique aspects of Wabanaki life. Because authenticity has been a primary concern, these fact sheets were often written at an adult level and may be difficult for younger children to use on their own.

There were no written records of Wabanaki life before European contact. So today a person seeking to reconstruct a picture of Wabanaki life before European arrival must depend on the written records of early European explorers and settlers, Wabanaki oral traditions, and archaeological evidence. Each of these sources has limitations. The writings of Europeans reflected their viewpoints, and contain many inaccuracies based on misunderstanding or prejudice. In addition, fur traders and fishing crews had been in contact with Wabanaki people for more than a century before the first significant written records were made. Oral tradition and culture are not static or unchanging, so it is difficult to separate the culture (legends, traditions, viewpoints) that existed before European contact from influences that might have been added later. And while archaeological findings can help us reconstruct, for instance, which particular species of clam was used in a certain area at a specific time, the interpretation of archaeological evidence varies widely, and is subject to disagreement, controversy, and reinterpretation at a future time. In these fact sheets, the Curriculum Committee has aimed to provide the most accurate information possible within these limitations.

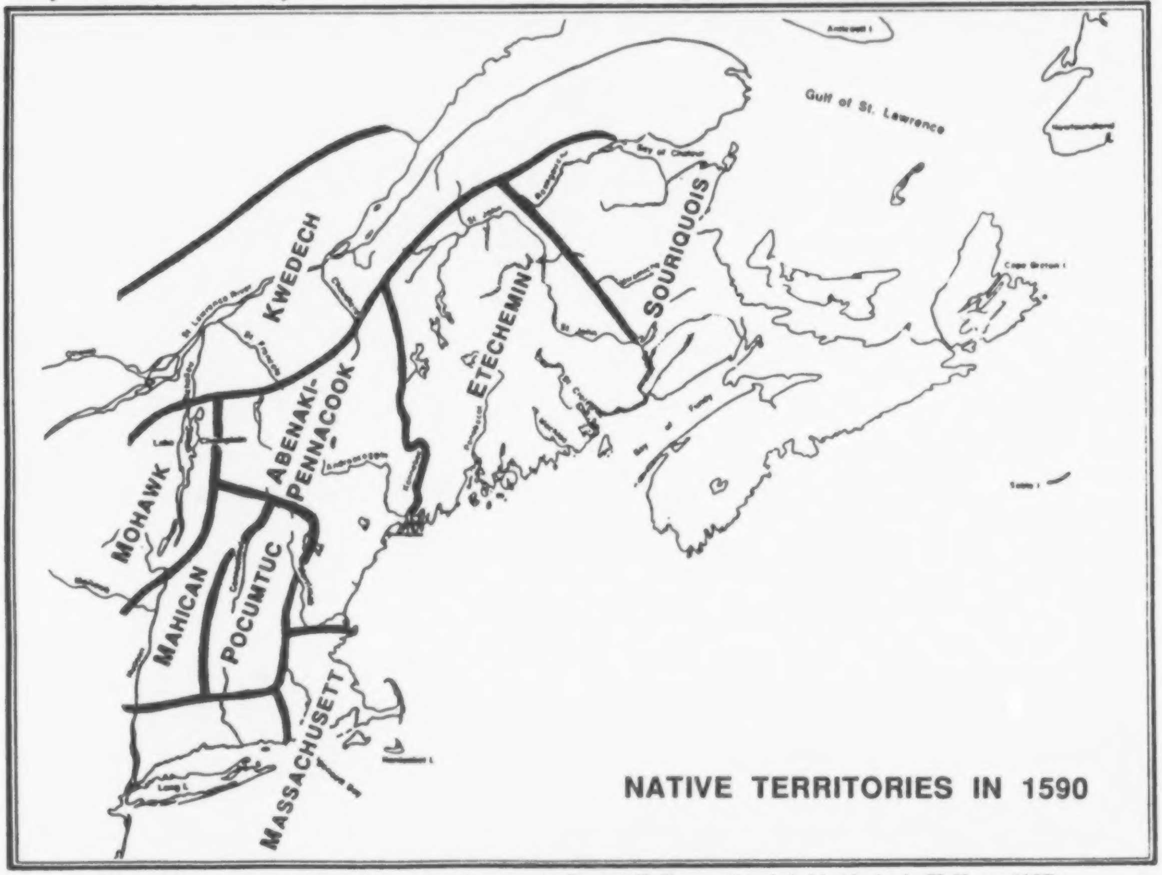
The fact sheets can help teachers present a more truly authentic look at Wabanaki life from the time before European contact to the present day. Within the bounds of one book such as this we cannot include all possible subjects, nor provide complete coverage of any one subject. Sometimes we have chosen not to include a subject (e.g. basket-making) because there are already many good materials available. We hope that the information here will motivate the reader to seek further information on topics of particular interest. To assist in this we have provided an annotated list of resources, E-1 to E-8, as well as the bibliography beginning on E-9, which lists the sources used in writing this book.

MAPPING

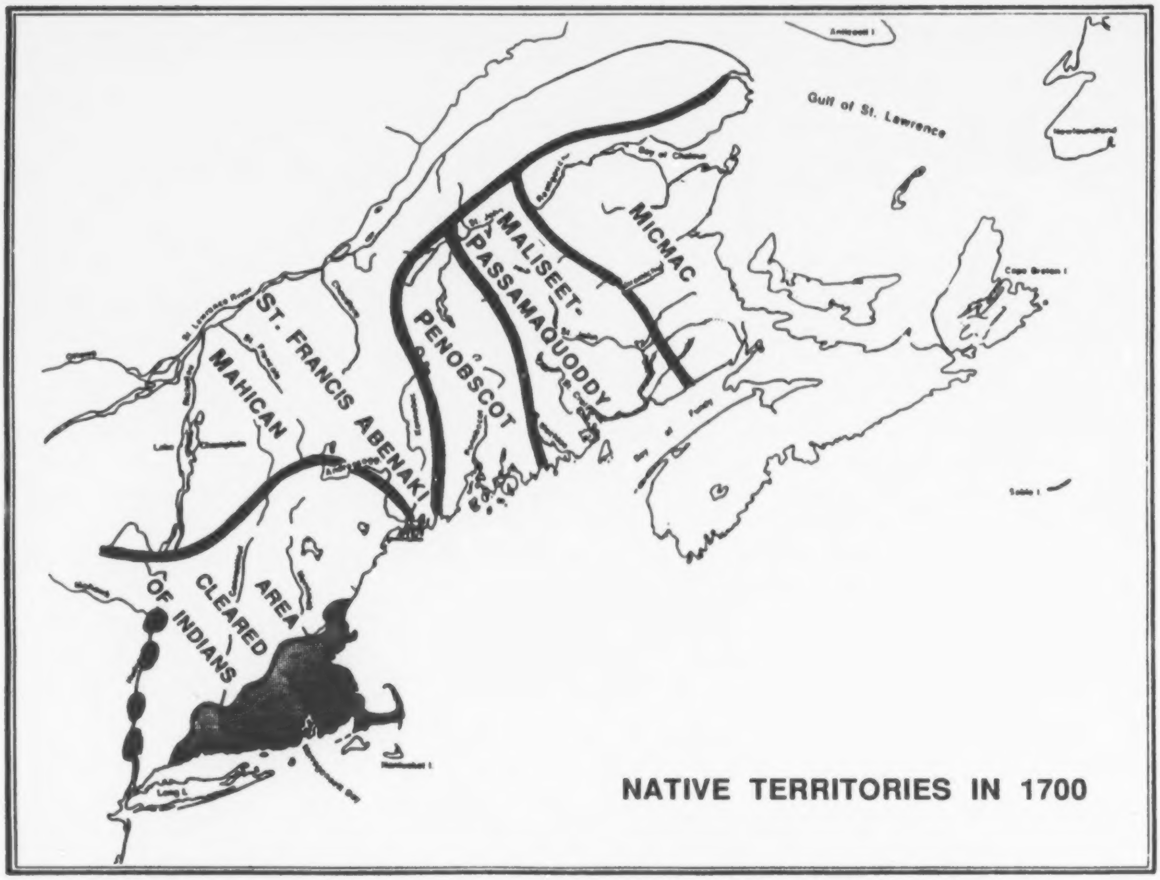
WABANAKI ABORIGINAL TERRITORIES

Historians are unable to agree on just where different groups of Wabanaki people were living in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. Written records are confusing, for Europeans were not always able to distinguish among Wabanaki groups, nor were they familiar with areas that were far from their settlements or the coast. In addition, many areas were used by more than one Wabanaki group, something that Europeans did not always recognize.

Perhaps the most important reason for confusion among Europeans, however, was that Wabanaki and other Native groups did not always stay in one place. And there was more movement after the French and the English began to settle in North America. By comparing Map A and Map B, you can get some idea of the scale of movements that were taking place in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century. The Kwedech (St. Lawrence Iroquois) were believed to have left the


Gulf of St. Lawrence
KWEDECH
St. Lawrence River
SOURIQUOIS
ETECHEMIN
St. John
Cape Breton I.
ABENAKI-PENNACOOK
MOHAWK
MAHICAN
POCUMTUC
MASSACHUSETT
Long I.
NATIVE TERRITORIES IN 1590

Map A. This map was redrawn from a map drawn up by Bernard Hoffman and included in his thesis (Hoffman: 1955). "Souriquois" was an early name for Micmacs, and "Etechemin" an early name for Maliseets and Passamaquoddies.

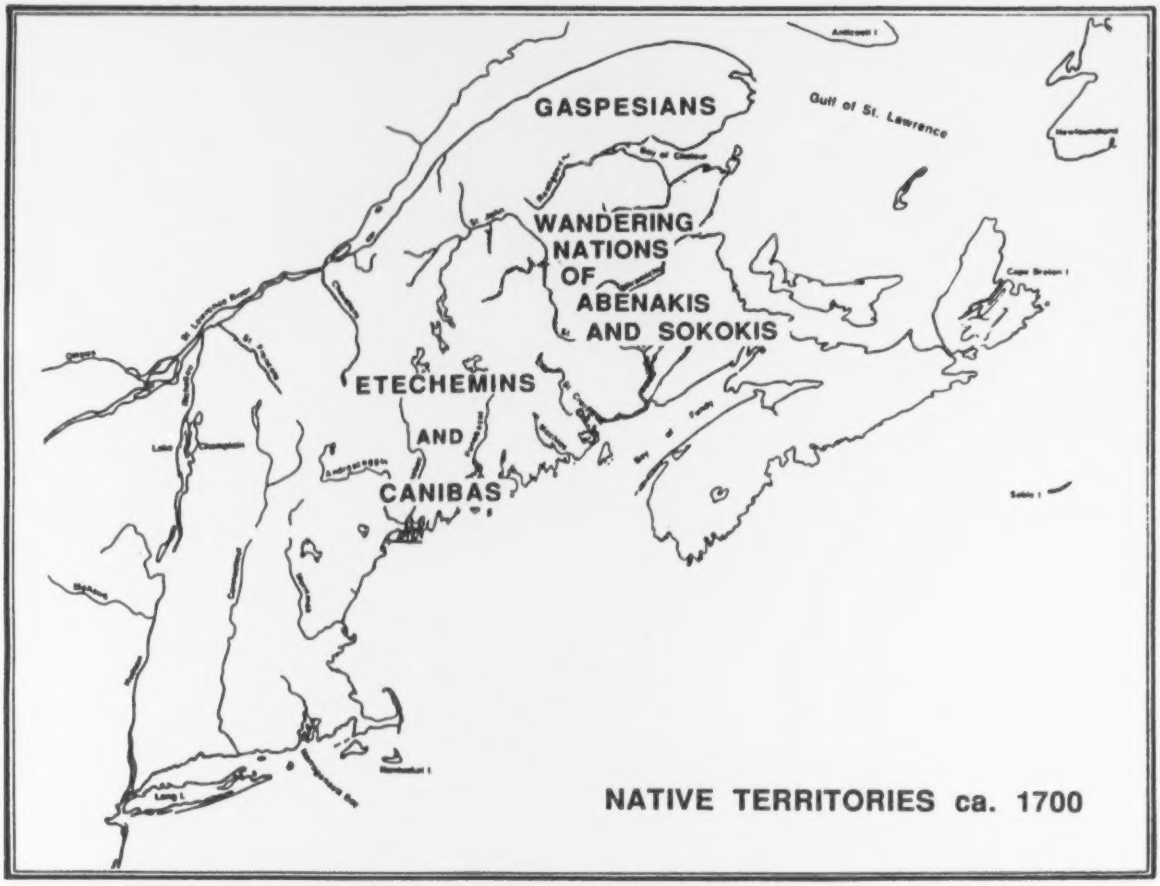

Anticosti I.
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Newfoundland
Cape Breton I.
Sable I.
MICMAC
MALISEET-PASSAMAQUODDY
PENOBSCOT
ST. FRANCIS ABENAKI
MAHICAN
AREA CLEARED OF INDIANS
St. Lawrence River
NATIVE TERRITORIES IN 1700

Map B. This map was redrawn from a map drawn up by Bernard Hoffman (Hoffman: 1955). Solid dark areas show areas of English and French settlement.

area along the St. Lawrence by 1600. Why they left is not known for certain. Later movements of Native people were in response to epidemics, English settlement, and warfare. Many historians disagree with certain aspects of Map A and Map B. For instance, it is known that Micmac and Maliseet territories in 1700 extended to the St. Lawrence River.

Rather than resolve issues on which historians disagree, we turn your attention to another map, with conflicting data. Map C shows Abenaki and Sokoki refugees east of the St. John River, and joint use by Etechemins (Etchemins) and Canibas (Kennebecs) west of the St. John. This map, too, shows evidence of the great movements of Native people in the seventeenth century. Yet another map of aboriginal territories is included in the Historical Overview on A-4.

The purpose of including these contradictory maps is not to confuse, but to introduce the idea that Wabanaki and other Native cultures were not static, as well as to point out the fact that many issues in Wabanaki history are just beginning to be addressed today.


GASPESIANS
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Anticosti I
WANDERING NATIONS OF ABENAKIS AND SOKOKIS
Cape Breton I
ETECHEMINS AND CANIBAS
Lake Champlain
Bay of Fundy
Sable I
NATIVE TERRITORIES ca. 1700

Map C. This map is redrawn from the Franquelin map, drawn up in 1702 from data collected on a voyage ca. 1678. The mapmaker did not travel to Nova Scotia. "Gaspesians" refers to Micmacs, and "Etechemins" are later called Passamaquoddies and Maliseets. (Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, National Map Collection, Public Archives, Ottawa, Canada.)

WABANAKI GROUPS AND NAMES

This book is about the five principal groups of Wabanaki people living in Maine, the Maritimes, and Quebec today: Micmac, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and (St. Francis and Bécancour) Abenaki. These are not the names these groups used to refer to themselves at the time of European arrival; they are simply the names that have gained acceptance with the passage of years.

The information recorded by Europeans is often confusing when it comes to Wabanaki names. Seldom did Europeans refer to Native groups by the names that the Native people used for themselves. The French and the English usually had different names for the same ethnic group. The French most often named and grouped people according to language and cultural differences, while the English most often named them according to locality, e.g., the river they were living on. (When a group of people moved away from an area and were replaced by another group, the English name often remained the same, adding to the confusion. Also, some geographical areas were used jointly by more than one ethnic group.)

Often Europeans adopted the name that one Native group used for another. However, different groups had different names for one another, so that a European might record two names as though they referred to two groups when in fact they were two different names for the same group. Also, Europeans often confused the name of one Wabanaki village or another with the name of a larger group; this sometimes resulted in the misleading impression that there were as many tribes as there were villages.

The sounds of the Wabanaki languages were unfamiliar to the Europeans who wrote them down, and until recently there were no standardized systems for writing Wabanaki words. A single document might contain four or five different spellings of the same name for a community or person or place. For example, Captain John Smith, who traveled in the area in 1614, described a sakom [ZAH-g'm],[1] brother of the famous Bashabes, whom he said was called "Dohannida." This man was one of the five Wabanakis captured by Weymouth in 1605 and taken to England. The historian Rosier in 1605 had called him "Tahanedo", and in 1625 Purchas spelled his name "Bdahanedo." Frank T. Siebert, a linguist working at Indian Island, believes that the Wabanaki sakom's true name was "Ktə̀hɑnəto," meaning "great magic doer."

The seventeenth century, in particular, was a confusing time. This was a time of great upheaval in Wabanaki communities because of the epidemics and wars that greatly reduced Wabanaki populations. Sometimes villages were decimated or split up. There was a general shift of groups toward the north and east, away from the English settlements in what is now Massachusetts, southern New Hampshire, and southwestern Maine, as well as longer-distance migrations of groups of refugees.

---

[1] Maliseet-Passamaquoddy word for leader.

The following list shows some of the names used by Europeans to refer to different Wabanaki groups. There are more than 1,000 published variants of these. (Names in parentheses are clearly misnomers, but we are including them because they were used by some writers, however incorrectly.)

Names of Some Wabanaki Groups - Today and Yesterday

As defined in this book, the term "Wabanaki" refers to all the groups on this list except the Swanton Abenaki group. Some people use a narrower definition of Wabanaki, excluding Micmacs, while others use a broader definition, including most groups in Vermont, New Hampshire, and eastern Massachusetts. For more information, see "Names of Peoples," page viii. For information about the groups on this list, see "Present-Day Wabanaki Groups," D-10.

MICMACS (N.S., N.B., P.E.I., and the Gaspé Peninsula of Quebec)

Spelling variations:
Mickmakis
Miigemag
Mi'kmaq
Mic Mac
Mikmakiques
Migmagi
Micque Macque

Also known as:
(Abenakis)
Eastern Indians
Tarrantines
Acadians
Gaspesians
(Toudamans)
Cape Sable Indians
Souriquois

MALISEETS (ME, N.B.)

Spelling variations:
Amalecites
Marisheets
Melicites
Malecites
Marisiz
Milicites

Also known as:
(Abenakis)
Etchemins
Meductics
Eastern Indians
Madawaska Indians
St. John River Indians

PASSAMAQUODDIES (ME, N.B.)

Also known as:
(Abenakis)
Etchemins
(Machias Indians)
Eastern Indians
Maliseets
St. Croix Indians

PENOBSCOTS (ME)

Spelling variations:
Penobskeag
Ponobscut

Also known as:
Abenakis
(Etchemins)
Pentagoets
Eastern Abenakis
Panawamske
Canibas
(Tarratines)
Eastern Indians

KENNEBECS (ME)

Also known as:
Abenakis
Cushnocs
Norridgewocks
Amasecontis
Eastern Abenakis
Taconocks
Canibas
Eastern Indians
(Wawenocks)

ANDROSCOGGINS (ME, NH)
Also known as:
Abenakis
Armouchiquois
(Arosaguntacooks)
(Anasaguntacooks)
Aroccamocks
Eastern Abenakis
Androscoggins

SACOS (ME, NH)
Also known as:
Abenakis
Eastern Abenakis
Presumpscots
Pigwackets
Pequawkets
Ossipees
Armouchiquois
Eastern Indians
Western Abenakis
(Sokokis)

BECANCOUR ABENAKIS (Quebec)
Also known as:
Abenakis
Wawenocks
Wôlinak Abenakis
Warenocks
Western Abenakis
Eastern Abenakis

ST. FRANCIS ABENAKIS (Quebec)
Also known as:
Abenakis
Loups
Odanaks
Arosaguntacooks
Arsigantigoks
Alsigantigoks
Arsigantegwiaks
Arrasaguntacooks
Anasagunticooks
Odanak Abenakis
Sokokis
Western Abenakis

SWANTON ABENAKIS (VT)
Also known as:
Abenakis of Vermont
Loups
Sokokis
Lake Champlain Abenakis
Missisquois
Western Abenakis

Wabanaki Origin of the Names of Wabanaki Groups Today

Micmac -- from mi'kmaq. Derivation uncertain; possibly "our kin," or "people of the red earth."

Maliseet -- This name probably comes from a Micmac word. The Maliseets of New Brunswick call themselves w'olastiqiyik, meaning "people of the bright or shining river" (St. John).

Passamaquoddy -- from pestomuhkatiyik, meaning "people of the place where pollock are taken."

Penobscot -- from pαnáwαhpskek, meaning "where the rocks widen or open (spread) out."

Wabanaki (Abenaki, Wabnaki) -- from wαpánahki (singular), meaning "people of the land of the dawn."

PRESENT-DAY WABANAKI GROUPS[1]

Abenakis

Today the term Abenaki is usually used to refer to the two Abenaki reserves in Southern Quebec, Odanak and Wôlinak, and other related communities in Southern Quebec, as well as a group of people in and near Swanton, Vermont, who are seeking federal recognition.

The term Abenaki is also used by historians and ethnologists to refer to two major divisions of Wabanaki people. The Western Abenakis in 1600 occupied most of Vermont, most of New Hampshire, and part of northern Massachusetts. Eastern Abenakis in 1600 occupied western Maine as far east as the Kennebec Valley, with the exception of coastal Maine from the Saco River south to the New Hampshire border.[2]

In the seventeenth century, when many Abenaki people moved into the Penobscot River Valley to join the people living there, the community on the Penobscot came to be known as Eastern Abenaki as well. Penobscots even came to be spokespeople for other Eastern Abenakis, who, in ever greater numbers, were forced to abandon their homelands. But today, except in professional circles, Penobscots are usually considered to be a separate group. They are the only major group of Eastern Abenaki people who were able to maintain a land base in Maine.

Western Abenakis[3]

Of all the groups of Wabanaki people, probably least is known about the so-called Western Abenaki people, who were living inland when Europeans were exploring the coast. Even in the eighteenth century, information about Western Abenakis is confusing. In the late seventeenth century, in response to hostilities with English settlers, English settlement, and epidemics, most Western Abenakis moved into Canada along rivers to the south of the St. Lawrence, to Missisquoi on Lake Champlain, to the Androscoggin River, and even to the Hudson River. Several Catholic missions that took in Wabanaki and other Native refugees were established on the Chaudière and St. Francis Rivers in Quebec.

In the eighteenth century the settlements in Canada and at Missisquoi gradually grew, although most of the Missisquoi people eventually found their way to the St. Francis River. After the treaty of

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[1] See map on A-4 for approximate territories.

[2] The groupings that are used here, although they are based on language and cultural traits, were undoubtedly not those used at the time by Wabanaki people.

[3] Although Western Abenaki people are considered by many to be Wabanaki people, for the most part they are not included in this resource manual, which focuses on Wabanaki people of Maine and the Maritimes.

Paris in 1763, some Western Abenakis returned to their lands, which were being settled by the English, but after the Revolutionary War most resettled in Canada. Northern New Hampshire was deeded in 1798, but for a number of years Missisquoi families returned to Vermont and collected rent. They never relinquished their claim to their land in Vermont.[4]

Eastern Abenakis

Besides Penobscots, Eastern Abenakis included people living in the Kennebec, Androscoggin, and Saco River valleys. Like the Western Abenakis, these people left their homelands to settle elsewhere because of epidemics, hostilities with English settlers, and English settlements on their land. Many went to the Penobscot valley, but some went to the St. John valley, or even farther east. Others went north, many settling along the St. Francis and Chaudière Rivers in southern Quebec. The English settled in great numbers in the territories of the Eastern Abenakis in the eighteenth century. For a short time in the early eighteenth century some Abenakis returned to such places as Norridgewock, Pigwacket, and Farmington Falls before returning again to Canada. But there was at least one Abenaki community in Maine in the nineteenth century. A Native community at Moosehead Lake, which included Eastern Abenaki people who had returned from Canada, existed from about 1830 (if not before) to the early twentieth century.

Abenakis in Canada Today

Two of the mission communities in Canada (in the Province of Quebec) survive as Abenaki villages today -- Odanak, on the St. Francis River (near Sorel), and Wôlinak, on the Bécancour River, near Trois Rivières. Odanak, with an area of about 600 hectares (about 1483 acres), has a population of more than 200; the rest of the band population of about 600 does not live in the village. Wôlinak (Bécancour), with an area of 57 hectares (141 acres), has a population of about 80, with perhaps 20 more people living outside the village.[5]

Wôlinak and Odanak began as refugee villages with diverse populations, with people having come from as far away as southern New England and perhaps even farther south. The population of Wôlinak includes people of Eastern Abenaki, Western Abenaki, Maliseet, and other Native heritage. The population of Odanak also includes people of diverse heritage, but the majority is Western Abenaki. Today, however, the people of both bands are simply called Abenaki.

In the early nineteenth century, as their hunting territories in the United States become more settled, Odanak Abenakis acquired new hunting grounds north of the St. Lawrence that had been abandoned by Algonquins. They used these hunting territories until shortly after 1920. Between

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[4] Most of the information about Western Abenaki people comes from "Western Abenaki" by Gordon Day (1978) in The Handbook of North American Indians.

[5] Population figures do not include non-status Abenakis, including many women who married men not registered as Abenakis, and their children. These women and children were not considered eligible for Native status in Canada until 1985. There are "several thousand" Abenakis altogether according to LaToponomie des Abénakis (Pierre Paré).

1865 and 1950, many Abenakis from Odanak went to New England to sell the baskets they made. Many Abenaki people continued guiding until 1970.

Although handicrafts continue to be important economically on both reserves, and there is a sewing shop at Odanak and a small factory at Wôlinak that manufactures such things as fiberglas canoes, water tanks, and greenhouses, most people work off the reserves in a variety of occupations. French is now most people's first language, and children go to provincial schools off the reserves. The community at Odanak has an impressive museum that is open to the public.

Penobscots[6]

Today Penobscot land consists of a reservation in Maine and territory acquired since the Maine Indian Settlement Act of 1980. The reservation itself consists of about 200 islands in the Penobscot River between Old Town and Medway -- about 4800 acres. There is only one major settlement, on Indian Island, with nearly 600 people.

In 1987 the one-lane bridge to Indian Island was replaced with a two-lane bridge. The Penobscot government felt the bridge was necessary because of expansion on the reservation since the 1980 settlement, e.g., the new hockey rink that services the Bangor area and a factory which makes tape-cassettes.

Few people on Indian Island speak Penobscot today, but the Language Department has prepared a school curriculum. The Penobscot language is now taught along with classes on Penobscot culture at the Indian Island School, which goes up to the ninth grade. (Before 1986, the school went only to grade 6.) Most high school students go to Old Town High School. Probably the largest employers for people on Indian Island are the Penobscot Nation government and the tape-cassette factory, although many people from Indian Island work off the reservation in a wide variety of jobs.

Since 1980, as part of the Land Claims Settlement, the Penobscot Nation has acquired new lands. In 1986 the Nation held about 55,000 acres of "trust land," i.e., land protected by the U.S. government, and about 89,000 acres without that protection.

About 1200 Penobscots live off the reservation in many communities in Maine, in many different states, and in several different countries.

Passamaquoddies

In 1794 Passamaquoddies signed a treaty with Massachusetts, giving up land in what is now Maine. This treaty was signed in violation of U.S. law and became the basis for the Passamaquoddy land claims case. In it Passamaquoddies received nothing, but reserved for themselves several pieces of land. It is believed that protection and aid from Massachusetts were understood.

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[6] For the history of Penobscots in Maine, see the historical overview, and Chapter 6 of Maine Dirigo: I Lead (Maine Studies Curriculum Project: 1980a).

About half of Passamaquoddy territory at that time was located in what is now Charlotte County, New Brunswick. In fact at the time of the Revolutionary War the largest Passamaquoddy settlement was located at what is now St. Andrews. But Passamaquoddies did not sign treaties involving land with New Brunswick. The province assumed that all the land belonged to the Crown and that treaties were not necessary. In 1824 the international boundary was drawn between New Brunswick and Maine, slicing right through Passamaquoddy territory.

In 1850 most Passamaquoddies in Maine were living at Pleasant Point. In 1852 some people from Pleasant Point and elsewhere moved to Peter Dana Point to establish a new village. This settlement grew, and that reservation is known today as Indian Township. By the middle of the twentieth century nearly all the Passamaquoddies in Charlotte County had moved to one of the Maine reservations.

Just before the Maine Indian Land Claims Settlement of 1980, Passamaquoddy land consisted of 23,000 acres of land at Indian Township -- minus at least 6000 acres sold and leased by the State of Maine -- and 100 acres of land at Pleasant Point. Since the settlement, however, Passamaquoddies have acquired an additional 115,000 acres of land, most of it "trust" land protected by the U.S. government. About 425 acres have been added to the reservation at Pleasant Point, which was crowded and badly needed more land.

Today Pleasant Point has a population of about 600, and Indian Township about 450. An equal number of Passamaquoddies live off the reservations in Maine and other states, especially Massachusetts and Connecticut. The tribal governments are the single largest employers of Passamaquoddies on the reservations, but other Passamaquoddies, both on and off the reservations, are employed in a wide variety of occupations.

Most adults born before 1960 speak Passamaquoddy and English. Both Indian Township and Pleasant Point have schools that go through the eighth grade. Both schools have Passamaquoddy language programs for students. Most students from Indian Township and Pleasant Point go to high school in Calais and Eastport, respectively, but some students from both schools go to school at Lee Academy.[7]

Maliseets

The vast majority of Maliseet land was never sold or given up by treaty in either Maine or New Brunswick. The Maine and New Brunswick governments assumed they had possession of the land without treaties or deeds. Over the years the New Brunswick government set aside a number of reserves for the use of Maliseets. Six reserves are occupied by Maliseets in New Brunswick today; there are also several small unoccupied reserves. A Maliseet community in Viger, New Brunswick, with no land, received recognition by the federal government in Canada in 1987 and is seeking a land base. There are several thousand Maliseets[8] living on reserves in New Brunswick, as well as off the reserves in New Brunswick and other provinces, Maine (especially Aroostook County), Massachusetts and Connecticut.

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[7] For more information about Passamaquoddies, see the historical overview, as well as Chapter 6 of Maine Dirigo: I Lead, (Maine Studies Curriculum Project: 1980a).

The loss of land without treaties has resulted in several land cases on both sides of the international border. In Maine, for instance, the Houlton Band of Maliseets joined Passamaquoddies and Penobscots in the Maine Indian Land Claims Settlement of 1980. The Band received federal recognition, as well as $900,000 to buy 5,000 acres of land. The Houlton Band has about 500 members today, but does not include all Maliseets in Maine.

Maliseets have participated in several organizations together with Micmacs. Between 1969 and 1982, Maliseets and Micmacs in Aroostook County joined together in the Association of Aroostook Indians, which served as an advocate for nearly 1200 people. Since 1971 the chiefs from all the reserves in New Brunswick have come together to form the board of the Union of New Brunswick Indians. The UNBI makes decisions and runs programs that are concerned with the needs of the New Brunswick reserve population as a whole.

There are schools on two of the reserves in New Brunswick, and in these schools (as well as in programs run by the Houlton band) there are language and cultural programs. On the reserves many Maliseet people are employed by the band governments, but others, including both on- and off-reservation people, are employed in a wide variety of occupations.[9]

Micmacs

Micmacs are by far the largest group of Wabanaki people today. In Canada there are more than 60 Micmac reserves, totaling more than 80,000 acres, although most of these reserves do not have settlements. More than 10,000 Micmacs are registered members of 27 bands in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. Many Micmacs live off the reserves -- in these and other provinces, and in the United States, particularly in New England. In Maine there are 300-500 Micmacs in Aroostook County, and another 300 in the rest of Maine. Several U.S. cities, such as Portland (Maine), Hartford, New Haven, Hoboken, New York, and

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[8] It is difficult to give a precise number because until 1985 the Canadian government did not accord Native status to Native women who married non-Native men or to their children. Today, many Native women and their children are gaining status, and the band rolls in Canada are increasing very rapidly.

[9] For more information about Maliseets, see the historical overview. Chapter 6 of Maine Dirigo: I Lead [Maine Studies Curriculum Project: 1980a] has a section on Maliseets in Maine.

Worcester have Micmac communities, but the largest community is in Boston, where there are 3,000 Micmacs, who make up the majority of the Native population in the area.[10]

It is hard to generalize about the many Micmac reserves and off-reserve communities. Some reserve Micmacs go to schools on the reserves with Micmac language and cultural programs; some do not. Some communities speak Micmac; some do not. Micmacs are employed in a wide variety of occupations on and off the reserves, but are probably best known for their work on "high steel," participation as a migrant work force in such things as the potato and blueberry harvests in Maine,[11] and the production of baskets and other traditional handicrafts.

Micmacs today participate in a wide variety of Native organizations.[12] Reserve Micmacs are a part of several provincial unions, organized in the 1970s, whose boards consist of the chiefs of the bands in each respective province: the Union of Nova Scotia Indians and the Confederacy of Mainland Micmacs (all Micmac), the Union of New Brunswick Indians (Micmac and Maliseet), and the Union of Quebec Indians (several groups). Micmacs in Aroostook County, formerly part of the Association of Aroostook Indians (1969-1982), today are part of the Aroostook Band of Micmacs, which is trying to gain federal recognition for the Aroostook Micmac community. The Boston Indian Council serves Micmacs in the Boston area.

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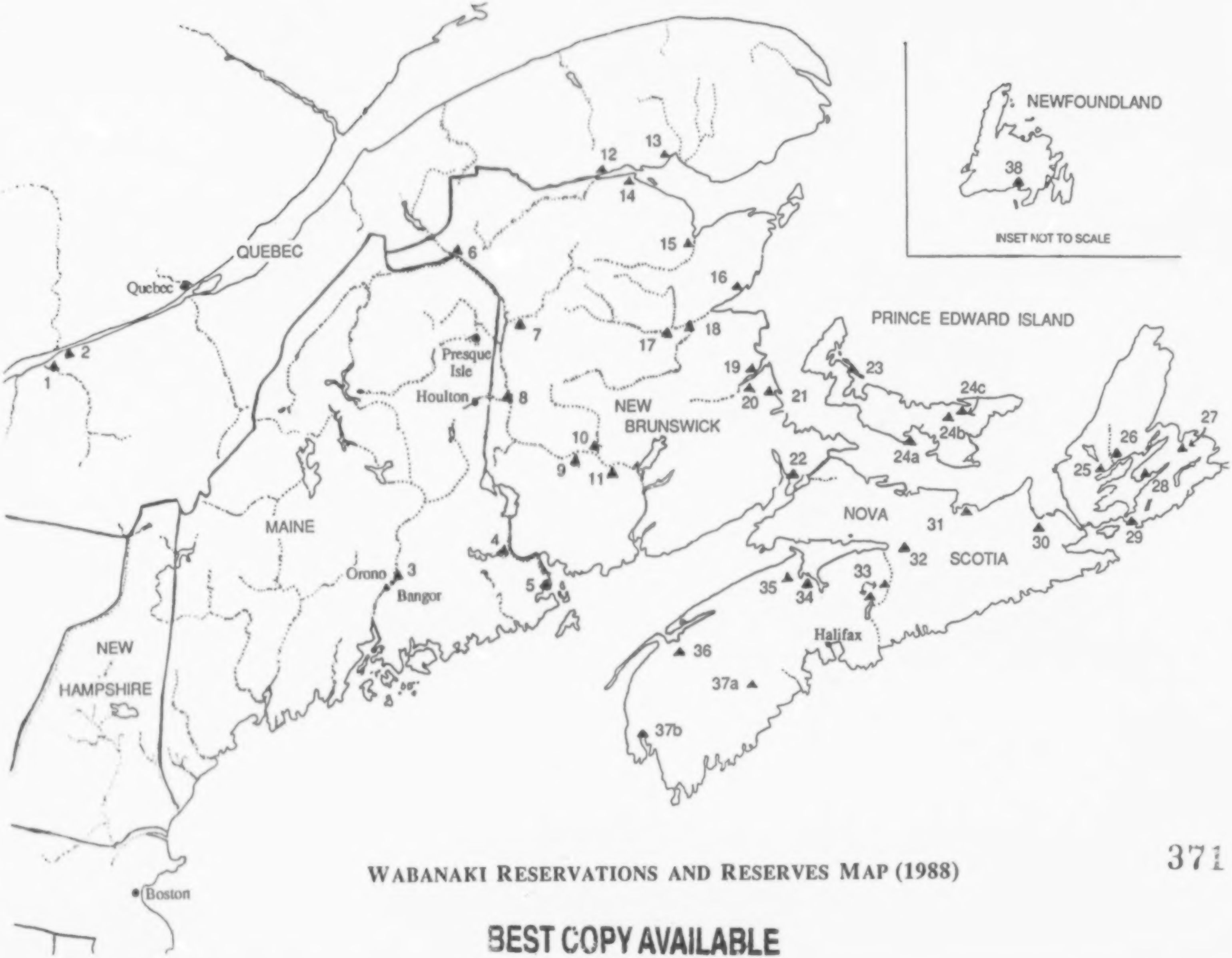
[10] The population figures in this paragraph are imprecise. There is much movement among the Micmac communities. The band membership figures do not include Micmacs with no Native status in Canada, including many Micmac women who married men not registered as Micmacs, and their children, who were not entitled to Native status in Canada until 1985.

[11] See the "Calendar of Present-Day Micmac Seasonal Activities," D-27.

[12] Just a few are mentioned here.

D-16


QUEBEC
Quebec
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36
37a
37b
38
Presque Isle
Houlton
MAINE
Orono
Bangor
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Boston
NEW BRUNSWICK
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
NOVA SCOTIA
Halifax
NEWFOUNDLAND
INSET NOT TO SCALE

WABANAKI RESERVATIONS AND RESERVES MAP (1988)

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WABANAKI RESERVATIONS AND RESERVES[1] OF 1988

Abenaki
1. Odanak (St. Francis)
2. Wôlinak (Bécancour)

Penobscot
3. Indian Island

Passamaquoddy
4. Indian Township (Motahkomikuk)
5. Pleasant Point (Sipayik)

Maliseet
6. St. Basile (Edmundston)
7. Tobique (Maliseet)
8. Woodstock
9. Kingsclear
10. St. Mary's (Devon)
11. Oromocto

Micmac
12. Restigouche
13. Maria
14. Eel River Bar
15. Pabineau
16. Burnt Church
17. Red Bank
18. Eel Ground
19. Indian Island
20. Big Cove
21. Buctouche
22. Fort Folly
23. Lennox Island
24. Abegweit
    - 24a. Rocky Point
    - 24b. Scotchfort
    - 24c. Morrell
25. Whycocomagh
26. Wagmatcook
27. Membertou (Sydney)
28. Eskasoni
29. Chapel Island
30. Afton
31. Pictou Landing
32. Millbrook (Truro)
33. Indian Brook (Shubenacadie)
34. Horton
35. Annapolis Valley
36. Bear River
37. Acadia
38. Conne River (Miawpukek)

This map shows organized or occupied reservations and reserves in the region. Not indicated are the many off-reservation or off-reserve communities, the unoccupied or seasonally occupied Maliseet and Micmac reserves, or Passamaquoddy and Penobscot territory acquired since the 1980 Land Claims Settlement.

There are, in addition, various Wabanaki organizations in the region. Some of the most important in Maine, for example, are the Aroostook Band of Micmacs, an organization of off-reservation Micmacs in Aroostook County; the Houlton Band of Maliseets, which represents those Maliseets in Maine who are "recognized" by the U.S. government and which has begun to acquire land; the Central Maine Indian Association in Bangor, which represents all Native Americans in Maine who do not live in Aroostook County; and Tribal Governors Inc., in Orono, an organization which includes representatives from five major Wabanaki communities in Maine. (See Resources, E-1, for names and addresses of Wabanaki organizations in Maine and the Maritimes.)

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[1] "Reserve" is the equivalent in Canada of "reservation" in the U.S. Both have special legal status with their respective federal governments.

RIVERS

It would be difficult for us to imagine life in Maine and the Maritimes without roads and cars. It would have been no less difficult for the Wabanakis to imagine life without rivers and lakes and canoes. Vehicles with wheels -- wagons, for example -- would have been useless in the dense forests of Maine and the Maritimes. And in contrast to southern New England (and the coast of Maine between the Piscataqua and Saco Rivers), where the Native people burned the undergrowth and the woods were more open and park-like, paths through the forest were hard to open up and travel by foot was laborious. Yet the geography of the region was such that people could travel extensively by water, and the birchbark canoe was perfectly suited to their needs.

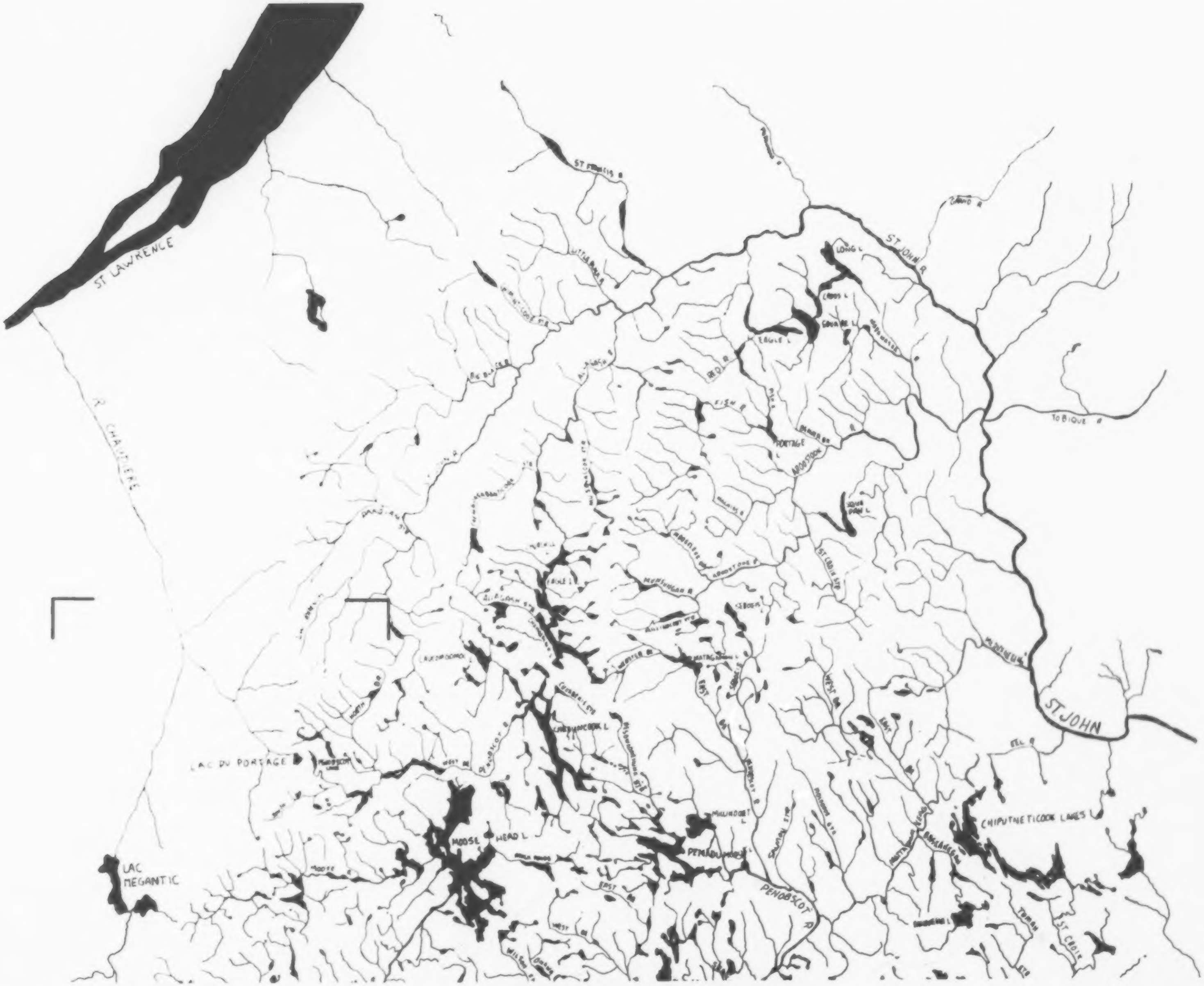
Most of the major rivers of Maine -- the Androscoggin, Kennebec, Penobscot, and Saint John (as well as the Chaudière of Quebec and the Connecticut) -- rise close to one another in the plateau region of northwestern Maine and southern Quebec. The headwaters of streams that flow into these large rivers interlace in many places. This network permitted people to penetrate the forest in any direction and to paddle and portage without difficulty the short distances that separated one watershed from another. In a few days a traveler could go from the St. John to the mouth of the Penobscot. It would take only about three weeks to paddle from the Maine coast to the city of Quebec and back. And Jesuit records show that under optimum conditions Maliseet canoeists could travel the route from Quebec to the mouth of the St. John in five days.

There were rivers and lakes in southern New England, too, but not enough to permit canoe travel on such a large scale. Also, because the white (or paper) birch did not grow large enough there, people did not manufacture bark canoes. Dugouts, which were made from single logs, were used instead, but they were cumbersome and were not suited to fast or shallow water.

When one compares travel by birchbark canoe with travel on foot and with dugouts and European rowboats, one can begin to understand its advantages. A canoeist could transport many hundreds of pounds; a hiker could not. Where the ground was rocky or hilly or densely wooded, a canoeist could move unimpeded on rivers or ponds or streams. When traveling with the current, a person with a canoe could double or triple the speed of someone on foot. Unlike dugouts or European rowboats, the birchbark canoe could be carried easily on portages and paddled in shallow water. Lighter and sleeker, it could be poled upstream through rapids more easily, and if damaged it could be repaired quickly, on the spot, with birchbark and spruce resin. And a canoe, unlike a rowboat, had the advantage in shallow and rocky waters because it faced in the direction it was traveling, and the canoeist could see what was in front of the boat. It is no accident that the canoe, its design essentially unchanged, remains a popular means of transportation in the forests of Maine and the Maritimes.

The rivers were also a source of life. Animals were drawn to them to drink, which sometimes made it easier for the hunters. And the rivers contained permanent residents that the Wabanakis relied on heavily for their sustenance: many varieties of fish, as well as turtles and water birds, otters, beavers, and so on. Wabanaki village sites, therefore, were usually located on or near rivers or their smaller tributaries.

It is interesting to note that the importance of the rivers was reflected in their names. The names of rivers, or places on the rivers, functioned not only to tell one from another, but also to characterize the sorts of activities that occurred there. For instance, the Wabanakis along the Kennebec fished for sturgeon at Cobbosseecontee Lake and Stream, and the Penobscot name for it, kapahséhkɑhti, means "sturgeon gathering place". In Skowhegan there was a falls; skówhikan means "fish ladder" (where salmon leap up).


ST LAWRENCE
R. CHAUDIERE
ST FRANCIS R
LITTLE BLACK R
ST JOHN R
GRAND R
LONG L
CROSS L
SQUARE L
EAGLE L
RED R
FISH R
PORTAGE L
AROOSTOOK
TOBIQUE R
BIG BLACK R
ALLAGASH R
SQUA PAN L
ST CROIX STR
MUNSUNGAN R
AROOSTOOK R
EAGLE L
ALLAGASH STR
SEBOEIS L
WEBSTER BR
MATAGAMON L
LAC DU PORTAGE
PENOBSCOT R
WEST BR
NORTH BR
CHESUNCOOK L
MOOSE HEAD L
MOOSE R
MILLINOCKET L
PEMADUMCOOK L
EAST BR
WEST BR
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ST JOHN
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TOMAH
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LAC MEGANTIC

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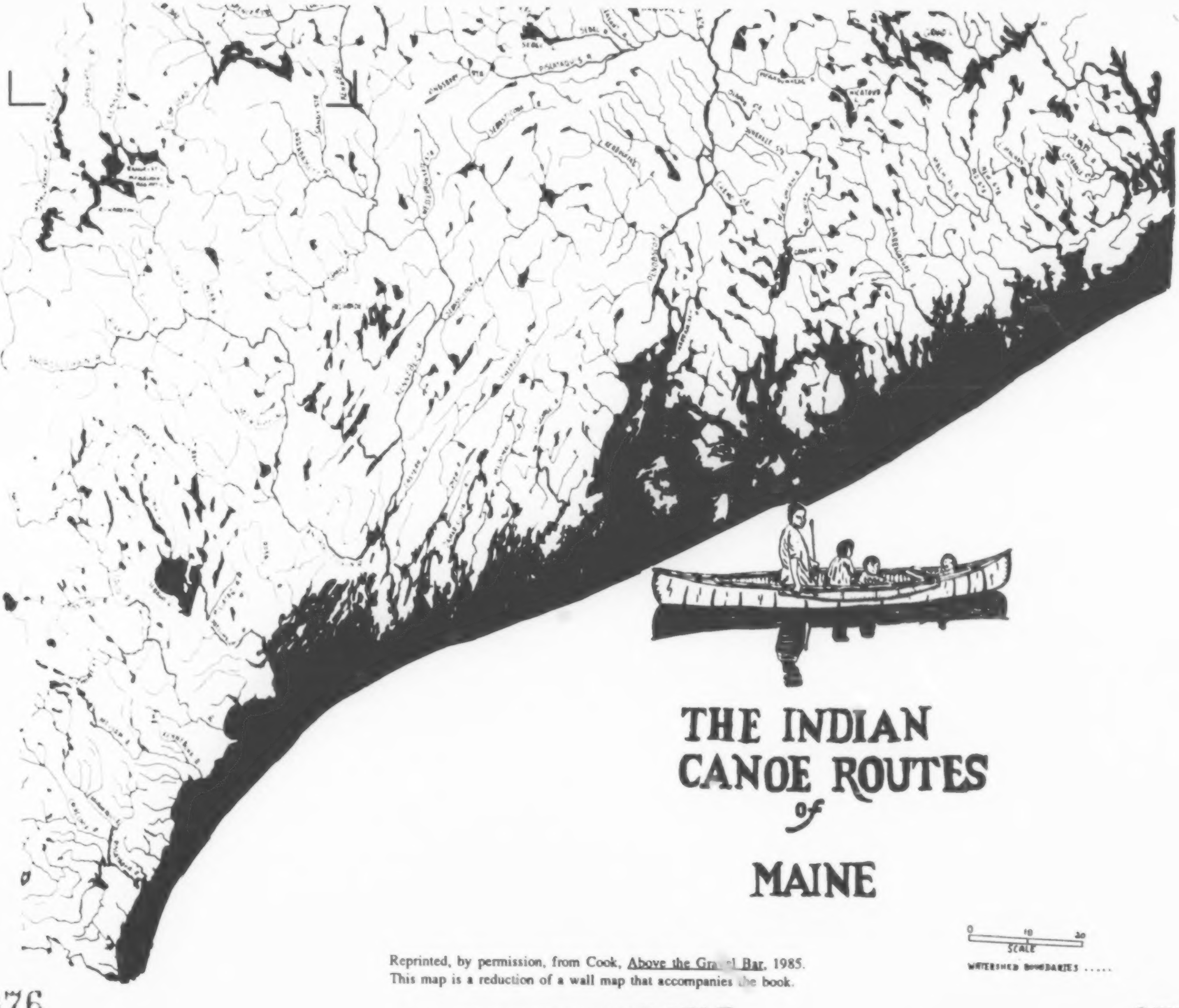
0 10 20
SCALE
WATERSHED BOUNDARIES .....

THE INDIAN CANOE ROUTES of MAINE

Reprinted, by permission, from Cook, Above the Gravel Bar, 1985.
This map is a reduction of a wall map that accompanies the book.

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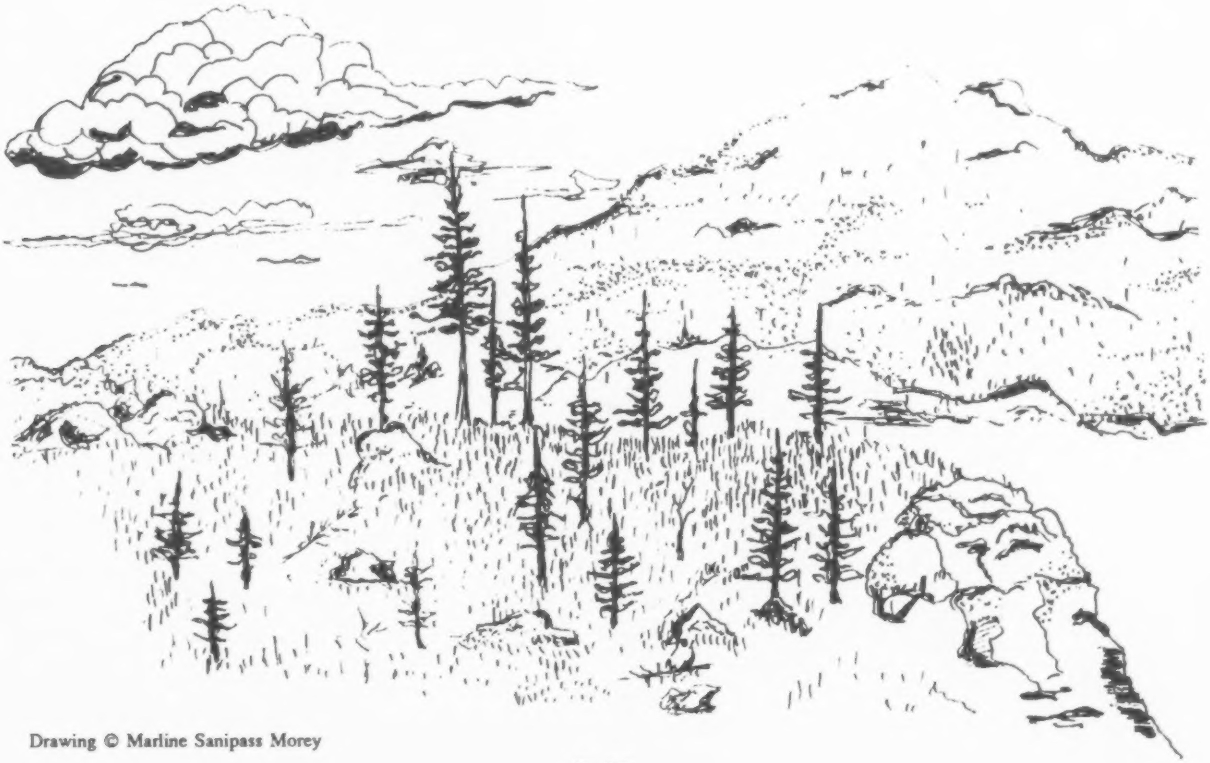
PLACE NAMES

Wabanaki place names were almost always descriptions of the place in question, unlike English place names, which usually are names of events, people, or even of places somewhere else in the world. If you look at several books of Wabanaki place names, you may notice that the names do not always agree. There are several reasons for this. First of all, the Wabanaki place names adopted by English speakers were usually shortened or modified to match sounds in English. Especially if the original Wabanaki word had fallen out of use or was used infrequently, informants might then have different ideas about how the names came into being. The more the word was distorted from its original Wabanaki pronunciation, the more open to interpretation it would be. Sometimes even the original place names used by Native speakers were open to interpretation if the Wabanaki pronunciation had been shortened or changed over the years.

The following place names were taken from a dictionary soon to be published by the Penobscot Nation. The dictionary was written and the orthography devised by Frank Siebert, Penobscot Language Department linguist. You can see several things besides the ways in which places were named from the list. Some of the English names are nothing like the Penobscot names. Some bear only a little resemblance to the Penobscot, and others are fairly close. (For a pronunciation guide to Penobscot sounds, see D-75.)

Note: Each word has an accent. Accents placed over the letter "i" are difficult to see.



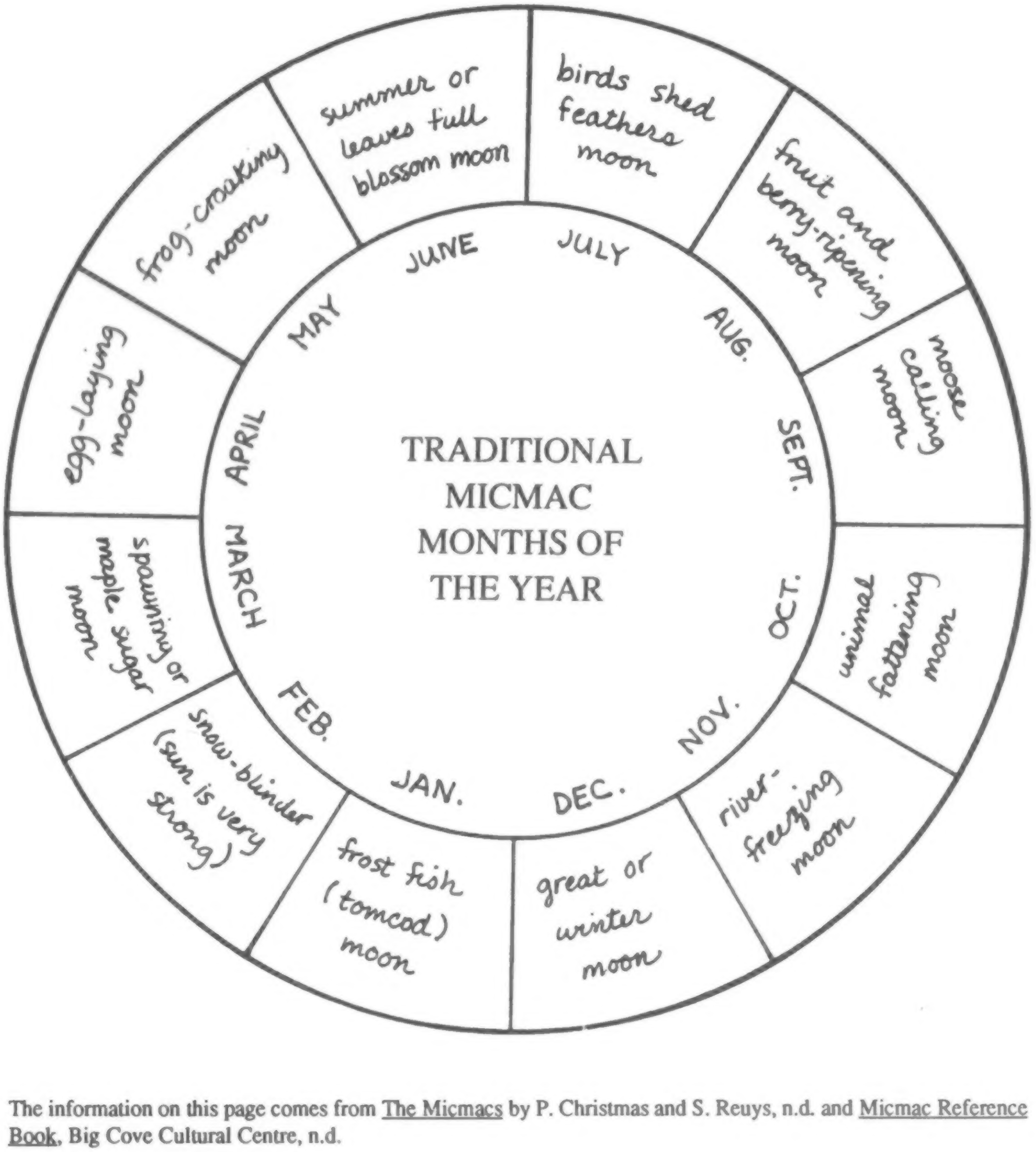
Drawing © Marline Sanipass Morey

ENGLISH NAME	PENOBSCOT NAME	PENOBSCOT MEANING
Androscoggin River	aləssíkɑntəkʷ	river of rock shelters
Pigwacket (present Freyburg and vicinity)	apíkʷehkik	at, in the land of hollows
Ossippee River (Maine and NH)	ásəpi·htəkʷ	river alongside
Farmington Falls	ɑməssóhkɑhti	smelt gathering place
Cobbosseecontee Lake and stream	kapa·hséhkɑhti	sturgeon gathering place
Chesuncook Lake (lower portion of lake and outlet)	kcí-sɑkok	location at the big outlet
Quebec	képəpekek	where the water narrows
Narramissic (present Orland)	nɑ́lɑ·məssək	at/in the chasm, crevice
Kenduskeag Stream (Penobscot Co.)	kkɑt·áskkihtəkʷ	stream with water parsnips
Indian Island village	kʷen·skʷahkámikek	where there is a point or end of land
Debsconeag	ketéhpskənik	where rocks outcrop or protrude from the water
Gassabias Stream (Hancock Co.)	kəya·hsópihtəkʷ	stream where water is shaded from the moonlight
Pockwockamus Pond (Piscataquis Co.)	pɑ́kʷɑkamis	little, seasonally shallow or turbid lake
Penobscot (region of Verona Is. and Orland)	pɑnáwɑhpskek	where the rocks widen, spread out, open out

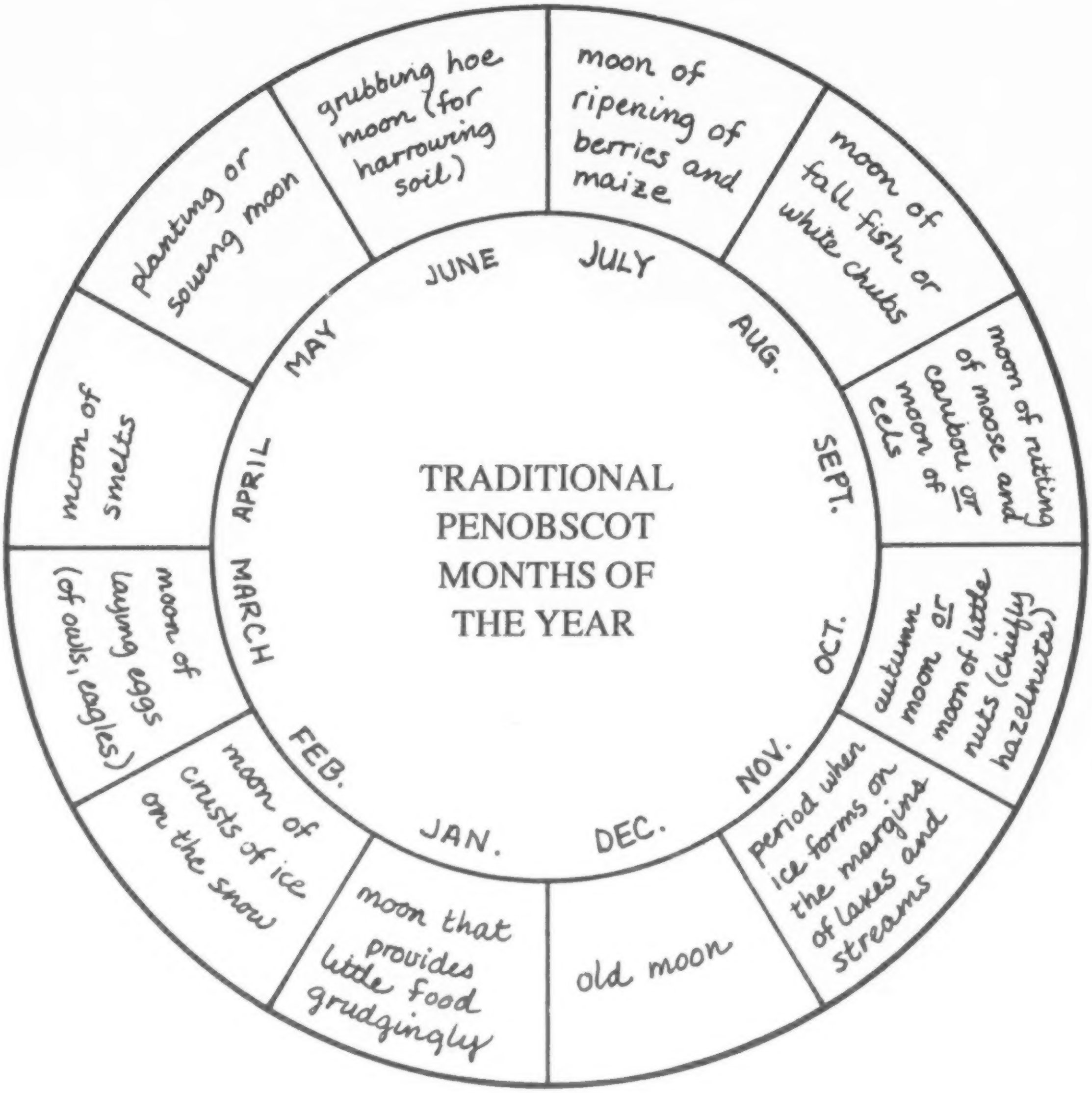
For a list of names of Wabanaki origin in Maine and New Brunswick, see B-51 and 52.

WABANAKI MATERIAL CULTURE

THE WABANAKI CALENDAR


TRADITIONAL MICMAC MONTHS OF THE YEAR
JUNE
summer or leaves full blossom moon
JULY
birds shed feathers moon
AUG.
fruit and berry-ripening moon
SEPT.
moose calling moon
OCT.
animal fattening moon
NOV.
river-freezing moon
DEC.
great or winter moon
JAN.
frost fish (tomcod) moon
FEB.
snow-blinder (sun is very strong)
MARCH
spawning or maple sugar moon
APRIL
egg-laying moon
MAY
frog-croaking moon

The information on this page comes from The Micmacs by P. Christmas and S. Reuys, n.d. and Micmac Reference Book, Big Cove Cultural Centre, n.d.



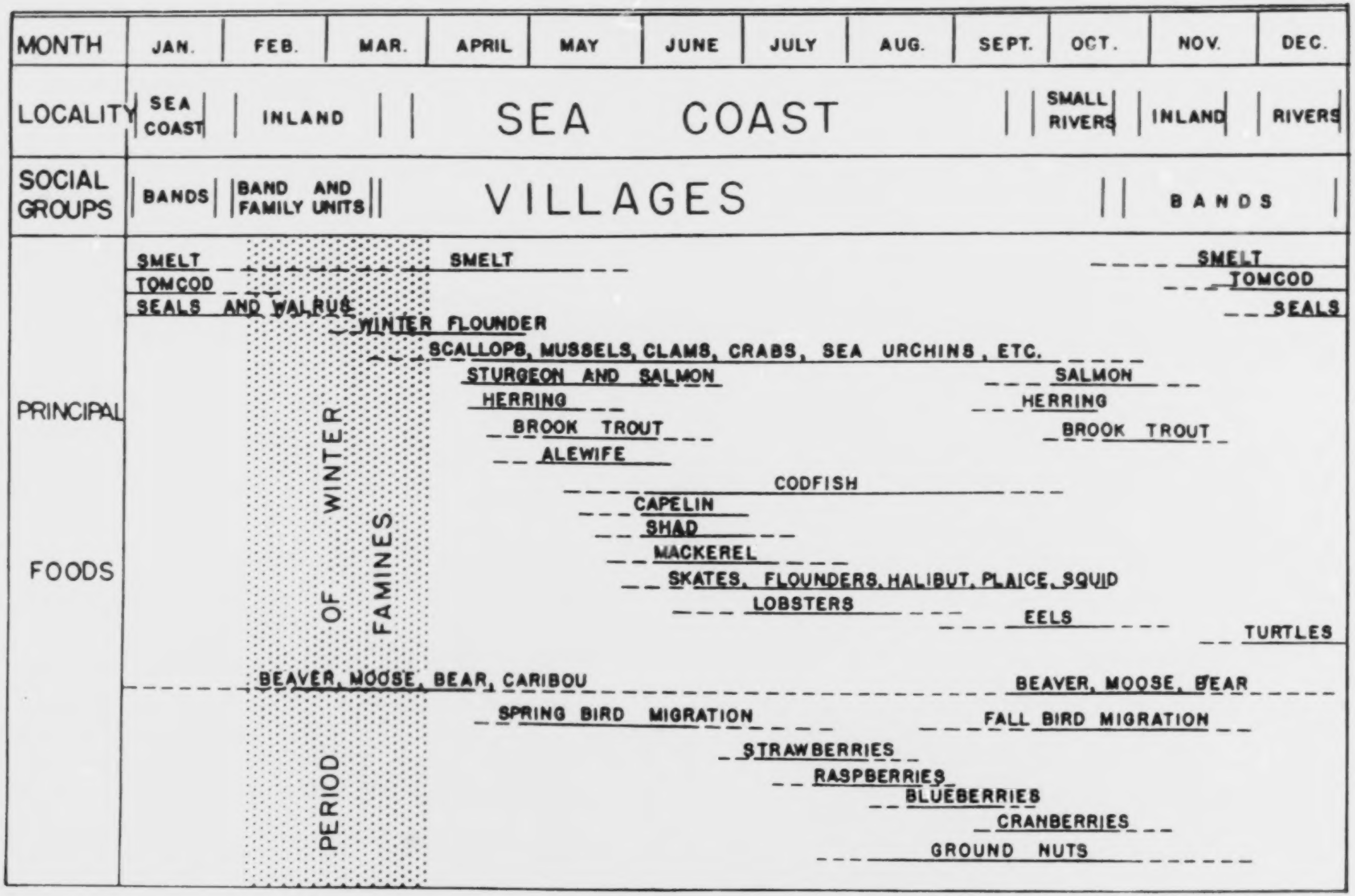
TRADITIONAL PENOBSCOT MONTHS OF THE YEAR

JUNE
grubbing hoe moon (for harrowing soil)
JULY
moon of ripening of berries and maize
AUG.
moon of fall fish or white chubs
SEPT.
moon of rutting of moose and caribou or moon of eels
OCT.
autumn moon or moon of little nuts (chiefly hazelnuts)
NOV.
period when ice forms on the margins of lakes and streams
DEC.
old moon
JAN.
moon that provides little food grudgingly
FEB.
moon of crusts of ice on the snow
MARCH
moon of laying eggs (of owls, eagles)
APRIL
moon of smelts
MAY
planting or sowing moon

The lunar year consists of 354 days. On the average the first moon (or "old moon") of the Penobscot calendar began on December 21, but it could begin anywhere from December 5 to December 30. Every third year Penobscots added a thirteenth month, "the inserted moon". Further adjustment was needed two or three times per century, when the thirteenth moon was inserted in a second year instead of a third year.

The information on this page came from Frank Siebert, Penobscot Nation Language Department.

SEASONAL CYCLE CHART



This chart of the aboriginal seasonal cycle of Micmacs comes from Hoffman, The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1955.

CALENDAR OF PRESENT-DAY MICMAC SEASONAL ACTIVITIES

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
SPLINT BASKETRY all res., esp. N.B., Quebec, Aroostook	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
STRAWBERRIES So. Nova Scotia						●						
BLUEBERRIES Washington Co. & Hancock Co., ME							◐	◐				
APPLES So. NS & So. Maine								●	●	◐		
POTATO HARVEST Aroostook Co., ME									◐	◐		
POTATO HOUSE Aroostook Co., ME	●	●	●	●						◐	●	●
LOGGING NB, Quebec, Maine	●	●	●							●	●	●
CHRISTMAS TREES Red Bank Reserve, NB (Miramichi R.)												●
CONSTRUCTION cities of Atlantic Seaboard				●	●	●	●	●	●	●		
INDUSTRY cities of Atlantic Seaboard	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
CLAMMING Coastal Reserves				●	●	●						
LOBSTER TRAPPING NS, NB, Cape Breton				●	●	●	●	●	●	●		
TRAPPING Maine, NB, Quebec	●	●	●									
TOURISM NB (Big Cove), Quebec (Restigouche)						●	●	●				

The information on this page comes from Micmac Redbook: Resource Manual for the Micmac Recognition Effort, by Bunny McBride and Harald Prins (1982).

FISHING

Among the most abundant foods available to the Wabanakis were fish and shellfish. European observers in the seventeenth century were astounded by the numbers of fish and shellfish that they saw in New England and the Maritimes.

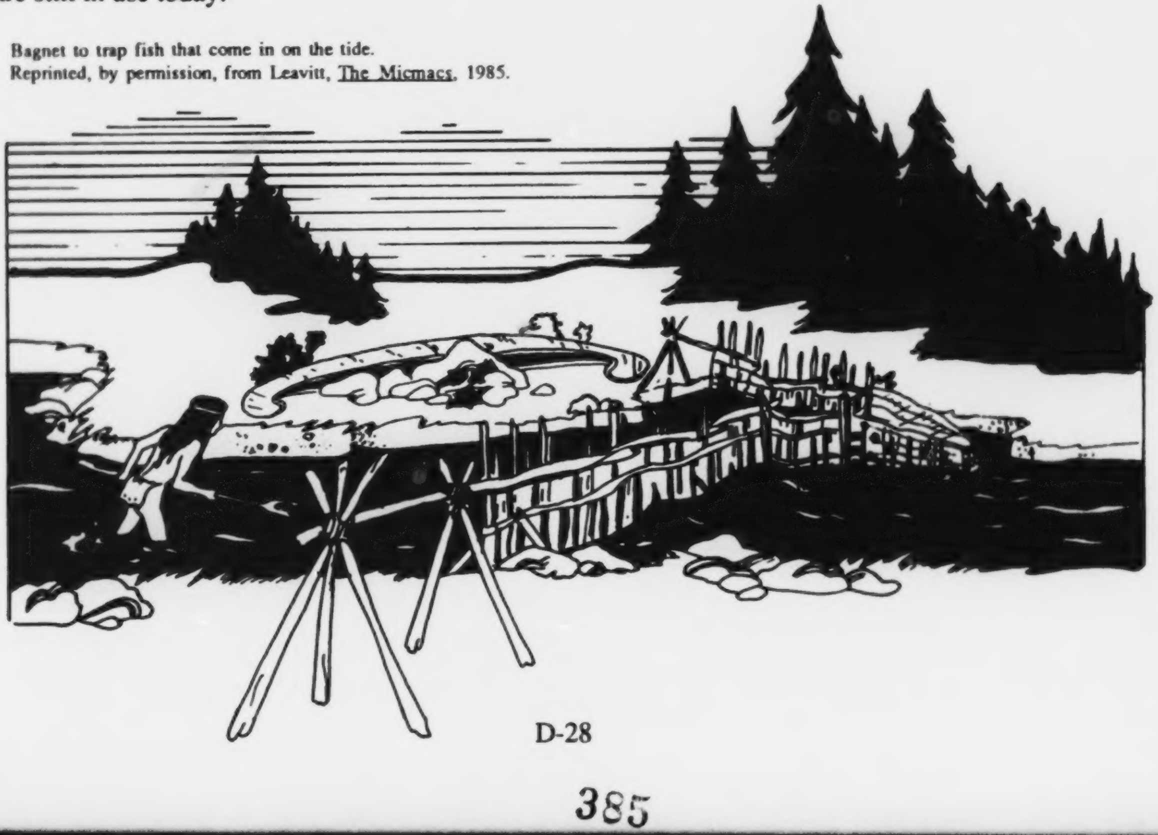
> In the middle of March the fish began to spawn, and to come up from the sea in certain streams, often so abundantly that everything swarms with them. Any one who has not seen it could scarcely believe it. You cannot put your hand into the water without encountering them. (Jesuits: 1959)

> In April [at New Plymouth] there is a fish much like a herring that comes into the small brooks to spawn, and when the water is not knee deep they will press up through your hands, yea thow you beat at them with cudgels, and in such abundance as is incredible.... (in John Oliver LaGorce's "Fishes and Fisheries of Our Eastern Seaboard," The National Geographic Magazine, Vol. 54, No. 6, Washington, D.C.)

> Lobsters were in unbelievable abundance in the early days. Those thrown up on the beaches were a nuisance, and were used as fertilizer.... In early Plymouth days any youngster could wade out and capture by hand all [he or she] needed. An early report records that lobsters five and six feet long were caught in New York Bay. (T. M. Prudden, About Lobsters, The Bond Wheelwright Company, Freeport, ME, 1973.)

The fishing methods most frequently used by the Wabanakis at the time of European arrival were weirs, fish traps, spears or harpoons, hooks and lines, and nets. Some of these, such as weirs, are still in use today.

Bagnet to trap fish that come in on the tide.
Reprinted, by permission, from Leavitt, The Micmacs, 1985.



Weirs and Fish Traps

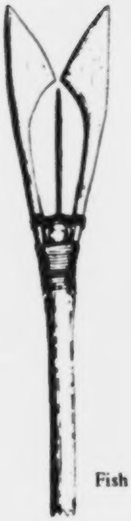
A variety of weirs or fish traps were placed by men and women across rivers or streams or in shallow parts of the ocean. Nicholas Denys describes fish traps used in streams or rivers in the Maritimes in the seventeenth century:

> ...at the narrowest place of the rivers, where there is the least water, they make a fence of wood clear across the river to hinder the passage of a fish. In the middle of it they leave an opening in which they place a bag-net...so arranged that it is inevitable the fish should run into them. These bag-nets...they raise two or three times a day, and they always find fish therein. It is in the spring that the fish ascend, and in autumn they descend and return to the sea. At that time they placed the opening of their bag-net in the other direction.... (Denys: 1908)

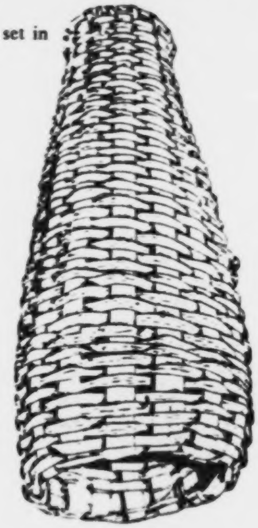
The Wabanakis caught eels in a similar fashion. A sluice of wood lined with birchbark placed in the opening of the dam of stakes and boughs would direct the eels into a box or bag.

In ocean waters the Wabanakis would erect a weir in a shallow place or across a small bay or stream. The weir would be made of stakes

> ... which they place almost erect, propped up by wooden bars, like buttresses, [with] a space therein for the fish to pass which find themselves caught at the fall of the tide in such numbers that [the Indians] allow them to rot. (Lescarbot: 1910)



Fish spear or leister.



Splint basket trap set in streams for fish.

Both reprinted, by permission, from; Penobscot Man: The Life History of a Forest Tribe in Maine, Frank G. Speck, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940.

The spaces between stakes were wider higher up where the fish swam in. When the tide fell, they could not get out through the narrower spaces. Sometimes weirs were partly made of stone.

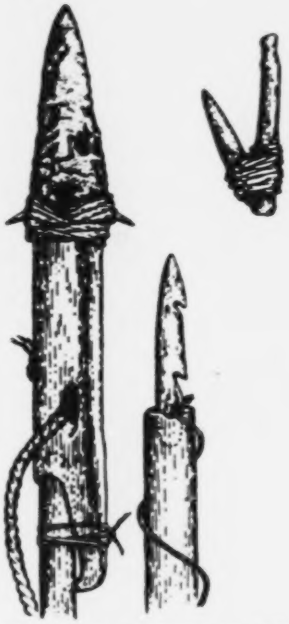
Weirs or fish traps were used to catch fish such as flounder, skate, sturgeon, cod, tomcod, white and squirrel hake, sculpin, plaice, brook trout, smelt, striped bass, and sea perch.

Spearing and Harpooning

Spearing was preferred for certain fish, including salmon, sea or brook trout, and striped bass. A person could stand quietly in a stream and spear a passing fish with a short, quick stroke of a leister, which was made by attaching two flexible prongs of hardwood to a shaft; at the end of the shaft and between the prongs was a rigid, sharp point of bone or sharpened hornbeam that speared and killed the fish. A lobster leister, similar to the fish leister but lacking the bone point, was used to catch lobsters.

A harpoon was used to spear larger prey such as sturgeon, porpoises, or even whales. This kind of fishing was done from canoes and could be exciting, to say the least. Nicholas Denys describes fishing for sturgeon, which could be as long as a canoe, using a harpoon:

> ...it is taken with a harpoon, which is made like a barbed rod, of eight to ten inches long, pointed at one end, and with a hole at the other in which is attached a line. Then it is fastened at the end of a pole, so that it may be used as a dart. The fishery is made at night. Two Indians place themselves in a canoe; the one in front is upright, with a harpoon in his hand, the other is behind to steer, and he holds a torch of birch bark, and allows the canoe to float with the current of the tide. When the Sturgeon perceives the fire, he comes and circles all around, turning from one side to the other. So soon as the harpooner sees his belly, he spears it below the scales. The fish, feeling himself struck, swims with great fury. The line is attached to the bow of the canoe, which he drags along with the speed of an arrow. It is necessary that the one in the stern shall steer exactly as the surgeon goes, or otherwise it will overturn the canoe, as sometimes happens. It can swim well, but with all its strength it does not go with fury more than a hundred and fifty or two hundred paces. That being over, the line is drawn in, and it is brought dead against the side of the canoe. Then they pass a cord with a slip-knot over the tail, and they draw it thus to land, not being able to take it into the canoe because it is too heavy.... (Denys: 1908)



Bone fishing gear from coastal Maine archaeological sites. Reprinted, by permission, from Snow, Handbook of North American Indians, 1978b.

Hooks and Lines

Hooks and lines were used for fishing, even in winter through the ice. For mackerel, pollock, and other fish in schools, sometimes a hook was made "from a crotch of willow about 4 or 5 inches long, its point hardened by charring. To the back of this, a long thin stone was lashed" for weight. (Speck: 1940) It was attached to a line of braided basswood fiber and used to snag fish in the belly by jerking the hook up and down.

Several kinds of baited hooks and lines were used. For instance, as instructed by Gluskap, people used a sharpened wishbone attached to a line of basswood that was fastened to a hardwood pole. This type was baited with meat. Tufts of deer hair or duck down were used as a lure with casting hooks for bass and pickerel.

Nets

Nets, too, were used, made of basswood fiber. Stone net-sinkers have been found at old Penobscot sites. Dip-nets were used, also, for scooping fish in shallow places.

Choosing Fishing Methods

Each fishing method was used with the habits of the animal to be caught in mind. For example, besides being used for sturgeon harpooning, torches were used to lure salmon and sea bass to canoes in freshwater ponds, or to lure squid to the shore of the ocean where they would be stranded. In winter, when hibernating eels were buried in the mud in a cove, holes were made in the ice, the mud was prodded with spears, and eels were drawn out in great quantities. Speck describes a method of obtaining eels by poisoning a section of stream with pokeberry and Indian turnip root, then stirring the muddy bottom of the stream. The stupefied eels would float to the surface of the water where they were collected.

After European Arrival

Wabanaki people began to rely less heavily on fish during the fur trade, when they spent more time inland, trapping. As more and more English colonists settled in the region, the coast became less accessible to Wabanakis for summer fishing and gathering, and dams on the rivers blocked the spring and fall spawning runs. In Maine, in 1912 game laws were passed that put an end to fish spearing.

However, even today many Wabanakis fish inland waters and the ocean. Communities such as the Maliseet Tobique Reserve in New Brunswick and the Micmac Restigouche Reserve in Quebec still rely on the salmon runs, and fishing there is an important part of community life.

Joe Pielpole, Passamaquoddy, spearing whitefish by torch light. The wooden spear is three-pronged. The torch is burning birchbark held in the split end of a stick. From the Erickson Collection held by the University of New Brunswick Archives.

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HUNTING

Before Europeans settled Wabanaki territory, animals were much more numerous than they are today. Migrating birds such as geese, ducks, snipe, plover, and curlew, for example, were so numerous that they were very easy to kill for food. Nicholas Denys, writing in the seventeenth century of Halifax harbor, Nova Scotia, said that he and his crew easily killed more birds than they could carry, and that those "which were spared and which rose into the air made a cloud so thick that the rays of the sun could scarcely penetrate it." He also wrote that waterfowl "made so much noise at night that one has trouble to sleep."

Stalking Birds

In certain seasons some birds, like ruffed grouse, could be stalked and caught with a noose at the end of a pole. Geese were stalked on land or on water and were struck down. Children often hunted using this method.

Torch Hunting from Canoes

Waterfowl that slept on water at night were often hunted from canoes that were allowed to drift into the midst of the birds, which were not afraid of them, according to Denys,

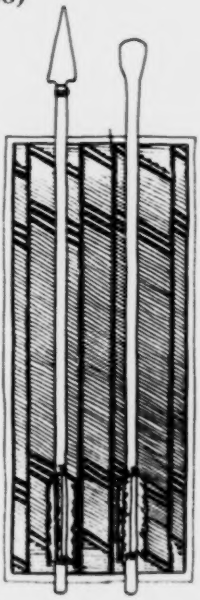
> ...supposing them to be logs of wood which the sea was carrying from one place to another.... When the Indians were in their midst they lighted torches at once. This surprised the birds and obliged them all at the same moment to rise into the air... They all proceeded to wheel in confusion around the fire, and so close that the Indians, with sticks they held, knocked them down as they passed. (Denys, 1908)

Slingstones

A pear-shaped stone about 3" long was attached to a three-foot long leather thong and thrown at birds on the water. The stone with the attached thong knocked the birds over by winding around them.

Bows and Arrows and Lances

Most mammals larger than a hare, and also waterfowl, were often hunted with the bow and arrow. The bow was simple, with one curve, and often made from a length of rock



Two kinds of arrows, the one on the left for hunting game, and the one on the right for hunting birds. Reprinted, by permission, from Whitehead and McGee, Illustrations by Kaulbach, The Micmac, Nimbus Publishing, Nova Scotia, 1983.

maple or spruce about five feet long. It was tapered, and notched at each end for the string, which was made of two strands of sinew, or of gut or woven hair. With this bow arrows could be shot about 100 yards. Arrows were about two feet long. The shaft was often of ash and had two or three sections of feathers lashed to one end. Arrows might have a blunt end for shooting birds, or a tip of bone or stone for hares or larger animals.

Styles of lances varied according to the animals that they were to kill. A moose lance, for instance, was a large, pointed bone lashed to a long shaft. Lances were thrown at animals when they were within range.

Small groups of Wabanaki men hunted large game such as caribou and moose, especially in the winter. Then moose, and to a lesser extent caribou, sank deeper in the snow than the hunters, who were wearing snowshoes. Here Denys describes moose hunting when there was no snow on the ground.

> ...they beat the woods, going from one part to another to find their tracks. Having found one they followed it, and they knew by the track, and even from the dung, whether it was male or female, and whether it was old or young. By its track they knew also whether they were near the beast; then they considered whether there was any thicket or meadow nearby where the beast would be likely to be, judging from the direction it was taking. They were rarely mistaken. They made a circle around the place where it was, in order to get below the wind so as not to be discovered by the Moose. They approached it very softly, fearful of making noise enough to reveal themselves to it. Having discovered it, if they were not near enough they approached closer until within arrow-shot.... Then they launched their blow against the beast, which rarely fell to a single arrow. Then it was necessary to follow its track. Sometimes the beast would stop, hearing no more noise. Knowing this from its pace, they went slowly and tried to approach it yet again, and gave still another arrow shot. If this did not make it drop, they had again to follow it, even to evening, when they camped near the beast, and in the morning went again to take up the track. The animal being sluggish in rising because of the blood it had lost, they gave it a third shot, and made it drop [thus] accomplishing the killing. They then broke off some branches to mark the place, in order to send their wives to find it.... (Denys: 1908)

Moose and deer were often hunted in their runways, especially in winter, when they "yard" together. If several animals were following each other in such a path, one hunter might chase the herd while other hunters lying in ambush would spear them as they passed by farther down the path.

Dogs

Dogs were extremely important for tracking and worrying large animals such as moose, caribou, and deer, as well as other animals. When snow conditions were right, they could run on the crust of the snow while the large animals sank in and were slowed. Bears were sometimes located by dogs and then flushed out of their dens and killed with spears and arrows.

Luring Animals with Calls or Light

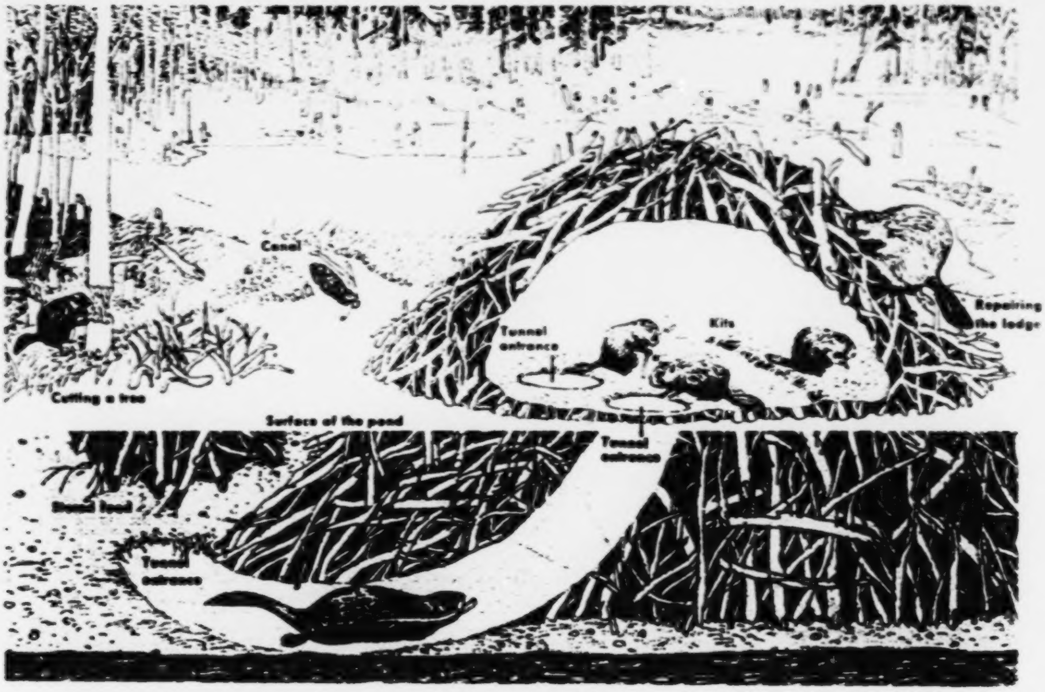
During mating season moose were called with the aid of birchbark calls. The call of a male was imitated to attract the female, and the female cry and other noises were imitated to attract the male. Other animals, such as caribou and muskrat, were attracted using calls, too. Various waterfowl were lured by calls made by the voice alone. Deer were often lured into range by lighting a torch in the bow of a canoe.

Hunting Beavers

Sometimes in summer and autumn hunters broke open a beaver dam to lower the water and expose the beaver lodge, which was also broken open. The escaping animals could be shot with arrows unless they left the pond through an escape tunnel.

Denys gives a description of a winter beaver hunt that shows how well Wabanakis understood beavers' habits. It also shows how difficult hunting beavers could be and the hard work that went into getting furs for trading.

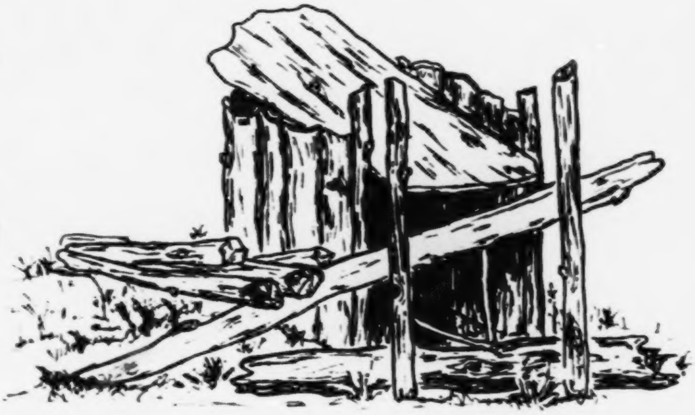
> ...As for that [hunting] of the Beavers, it also was done in winter with Dogs, but they were only used to find the houses in which they smelled the Beavers through the ice. Having found them, the Indians cut through the ice and made a hole large enough to let through a Beaver. Then they made another hole twenty-five or thirty paces away, on the open surface of the lake. In this place an Indian or two took their stand with a bow and an arrow which has a harpoon of bone at the end, made like a barbed rod, like that which was used in fishing the Sturgeon, but smaller. It has also a cord to which it is attached at one end, and the Indian took hold of the other. Everything being ready, another Indian went to the other [hole] near the house of the Beavers. Lying down on his belly upon the ice, he placed his arm through the hole to find the Beavers' opening, that by which they place their tail in the water. There they are all arranged one against the other, that is to say, all those of one Beaver family. Having found them, the Indian passed his hand very gently along the back of one several times, and approaching little by little to the tail, tried to seize it.
>
> I have heard it said by the Indians that they have kept the arm so long in the water that the ice froze all around the arm. When they once seized the tail they drew the Beaver all at one swoop out from the water upon the ice, and at the same time gave it the axe upon the head. They killed it for fear lest the Beaver bite them, for whenever these set their teeth they take out the piece. Having thus drawn one out they tried to obtain another, which they did in the same way, rubbing them gently. That does not put them to flight, for they imagine they are touching one another. But nevertheless three or four of them having been removed, the remainder take to flight and throw themselves into the water. Not being able to remain long without breathing, the daylight which shows over the hole out on the surface leads them to go there to get the air. The other Indians who are there in ambush, so soon as they appear, give them an arrow shot; the harpoon, which has teeth, holds in some part of the beaver from which it cannot be drawn out. The cord is then pulled and the Beaver is drawn out through the hole; then they raise it upon the ice and kill it. Some time after there comes another which is taken in the same way. (Denys: 1908)


Canal
Cutting a tree
Tunnel entrance
Kits
Repairing the lodge
Surface of the pond
Tunnel entrance
Stored food
Tunnel entrance

A beaver colony in summer. Not shown is the small breathing hole at the apex of the lodge. Reprinted, by permission, from The World Book Encyclopedia, Chicago, 1984.

Deadfall Traps

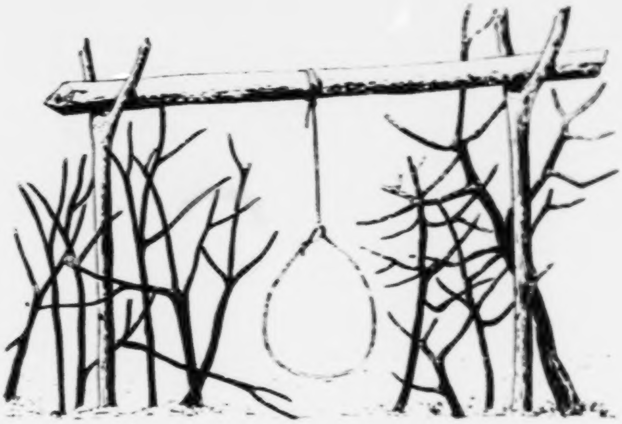
Deadfall traps were used for bear, beaver and lynx, and smaller animals such as muskrat, otter, mink, marten, and fisher. A deadfall was made by supporting a heavily weighted log above some bait on an unstable prop. An animal moving the bait would disturb the trigger branch, and the log would fall and crush the animal. A trap intended to kill a bear would be weighted with nine loads of as many logs as a person could carry. Sometimes an enclosure was built to prevent the animal from taking the bait without reaching under the beam.



Deadfall trap with enclosure. Drawing by Mark Ireland.

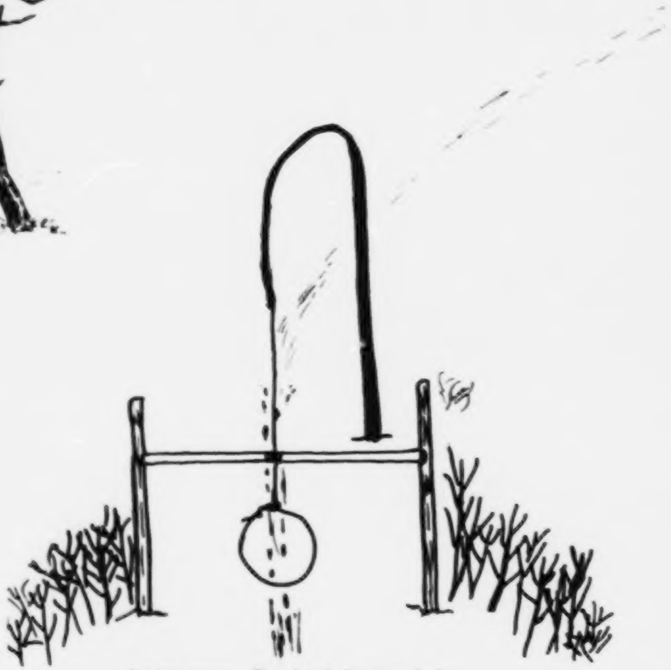
Snares

A snare and drag consisted of a rawhide noose hanging from a horizontal stick that was supported by two vertical forked posts. The structure was built just high enough so that its intended prey would catch its head in the noose when traveling down its runway. As the animal continued, the horizontal stick would pull free and catch in trees or bushes, choking the animal. This snare could be used for all kinds of game, including rabbit, partridge, wildcat, and even deer, caribou, and moose.



Snare and drag. Reprinted, by permission, from Penobscot Man: The Life History of a Forest Tribe in Maine, Frank G. Speck, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940.

Another kind of snare, the spring snare, was used for small mammals and birds. Here the noose would be suspended from a bent-over sapling fastened with a trigger that would release when the animal was caught in the noose. The animal would be choked and suspended in the air, above the reach of predators, until the person who set the snare returned.



Spring snare. Reprinted, by permission, from Dana, Kəlósəwakanal, 1987.

After European Arrival

There were numerous other hunting methods, traps, weapons, and ways to attract animals in use before Europeans came to Wabanaki country. Once Europeans came to trade for furs, many more animals were hunted, but hunting was made easier with European guns, which were quickly adopted by Wabanaki hunters. Metal traps were used as an additional method of trapping animals.

Hunting and trapping became more difficult for Wabanaki people as animal populations declined or, like caribou, disappeared entirely in Wabanaki territory. Also, state and provincial governments passed laws prohibiting certain hunting and trapping practices, restricting hunting to certain seasons and limiting the number of animals taken. Today Passamaquoddies and Penobscots in Maine set most of their own hunting and fishing regulations on their reservations and in much of the territory they have acquired since the land claims settlement of 1980.

PREPARING SKINS FOR CLOTHING

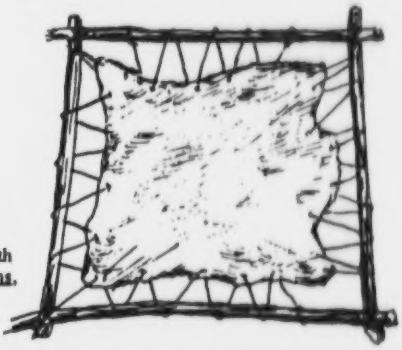
Before European arrival Wabanaki clothing was made from animal skins -- even bird and fish skins. Women and girls made most of the clothing, however, from mammal furs and hides.

After an animal was skinned, its fur or hide was tanned by rubbing it with animal brains, birds' livers, and oil. Then the lengthy process of stretching and working the skin began. If the hair were left on, a soft fur hide was the result, but if the hair were scraped off, soft leather was the product.

If the skin were smoked, it turned tan or brown; if not it was pure white. A white skin darkened with wear.

Nicholas Denys observed Micmacs dressing skins in the seventeenth century:

> To dress their skins, these are soaked and stretched in the sun, and are well-heated on the skin side for pulling out the hair. Then they stretch them and pull out the hair with bone instruments made on purpose.... Then they rub it with bird's liver and a little oil. Next, having rubbed it well between the hands, they dress it over a piece of polished wood. They rub it until it becomes supple and manageable. Then they wash it and twist it with sticks many times, until it leaves the water clean. Then they spread it to dry.
>
> For the skins dressed with hair, these are only treated with the livers, with which they are well rubbed by hand; they are passed repeatedly over the sticks to dress them well. If they are not soft enough, more of the livers is added and they are once more rubbed until they are pliable; then they are dried.... (Denys: 1908)

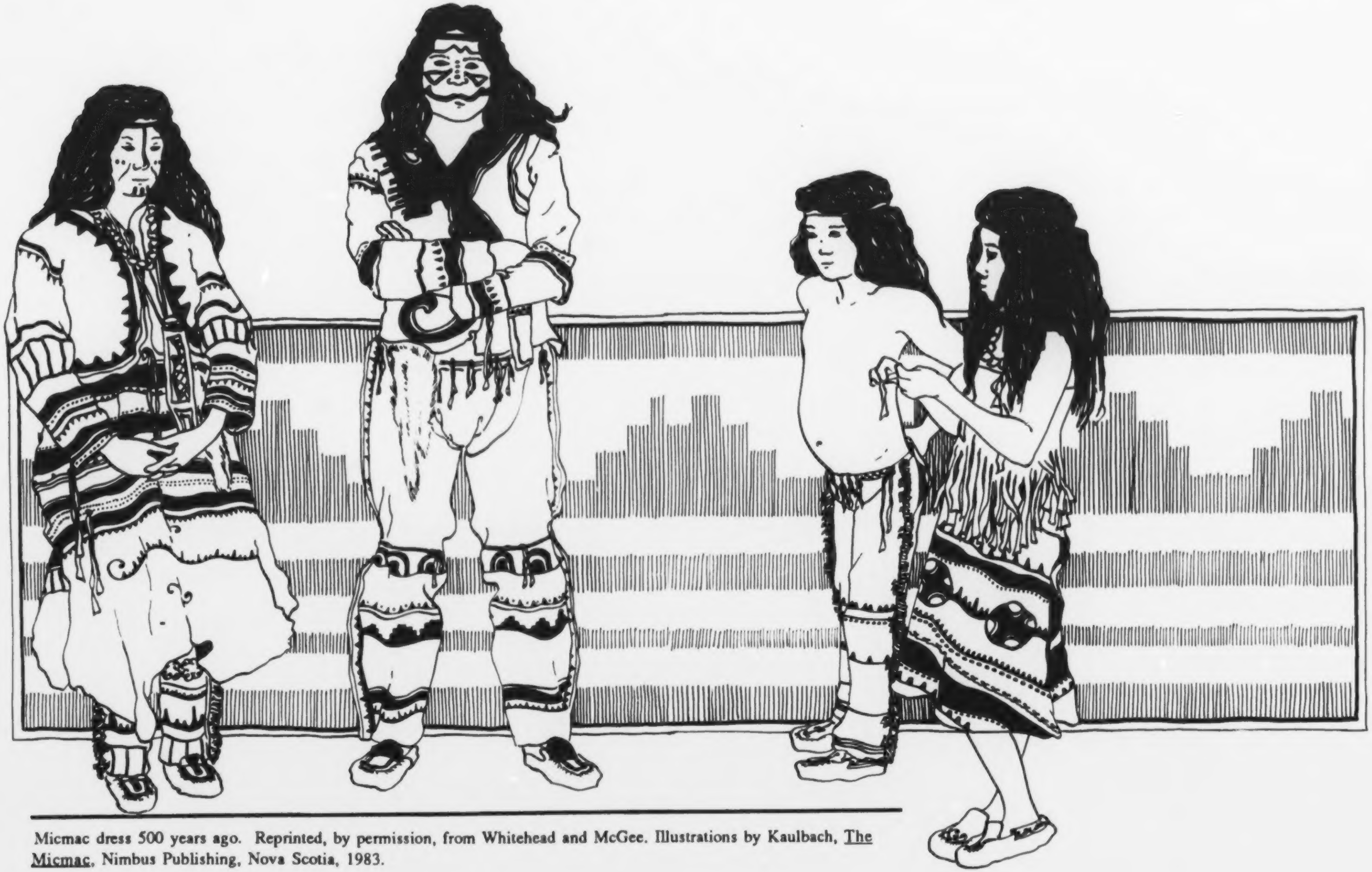


Hide stretched on a frame. Reprinted with permission from The New England Indians, by C. Keith Wilbur, copyright 1978, published by The Globe Pequot Press, Chester, CT.

Most of the information on this page comes from Elitekey: Micmac Material Culture from 1600 A.D. to the Present, by Ruth Holmes Whitehead.

WABANAKI CLOTHING WORN AT THE TIME OF EUROPEAN ARRIVAL

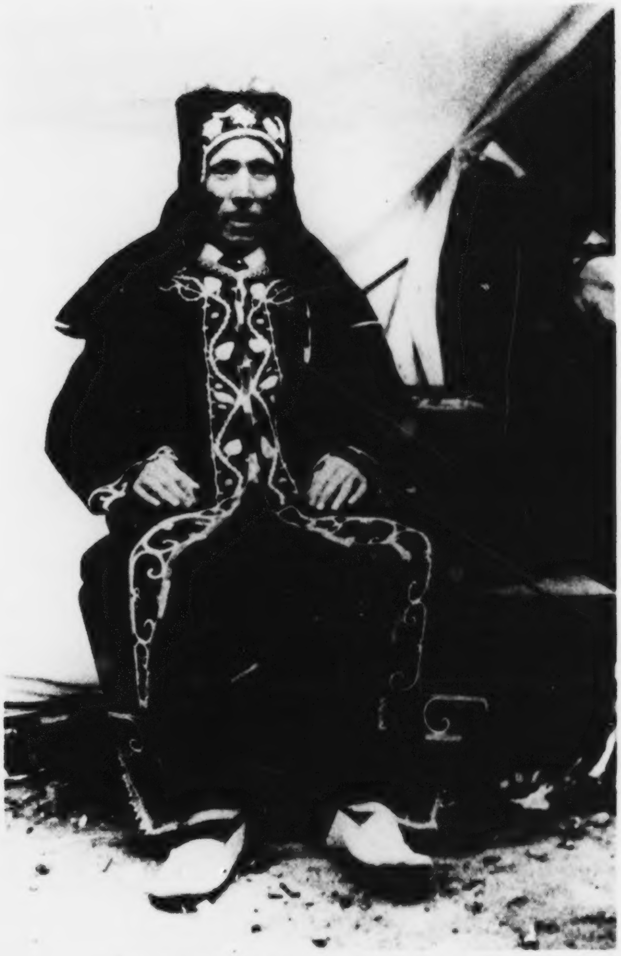
ARTICLE OF CLOTHING	DESCRIPTION
Belt or girdle	A thin strip of leather was tied around the waist as a belt.
Loin cloth	A wide strip of very soft, thin, supple skin passed between the legs and was fastened at either end to the belt at the waist or draped over the belt to hang down in flaps in front and in back.
Leggings	One for each leg was made from a single strip of thick leather from an animal such as moose, caribou, deer, or seal and sewn with the seam on the outside; the pair were tied with leather straps to the belt at the waist and the lower ends fastened inside the moccasins.
Moccasins	These were footwear made from thick leather such as moosehide (sometimes from used robes), puckered and sewn with small stitches to keep water out. Sometimes they were made from the long tubes of hide removed from moose legs, sewn across the toes. For very wet conditions they were often made of sealskin.
Sleeves	Made of fur or leather, often of beaver, a pair "resembled two separate halves of a bolero jacket cut down the middle and were tied together at the back and front." (Whitehead: 1980) They covered arms, shoulders, and upper torso.
Robe	This blanket-like piece of clothing, made of leather or thick fur from animals such as moose, bear, beaver, or rabbit, was draped across both shoulders and tied with leather thongs. Sometimes men wore it draped over one shoulder and under the other. It reached to the knees and was sometimes belted at the waist.
Additional robe for women and girls	A rectangular skin or fur was worn wrapped around the body and "tucked under the arms like a bathtowel." (Whitehead: 1980) Leather strips over the shoulders were fastened to the front and back of the robe. Or two skins were joined with thongs at the shoulders and sides, leaving holes for the head and arms. Both styles were belted at the waist and reached below the knees.
Tobacco pouch	This was usually made from a whole animal, such as a mink or squirrel, and attached to the belt at the waist.



Micmac dress 500 years ago. Reprinted, by permission, from Whitehead and McGee. Illustrations by Kaulbach, The Micmac, Nimbus Publishing, Nova Scotia, 1983.

WABANAKI CLOTHING AFTER 1600

After 1600 changes in Wabanaki clothing reflected Wabanaki contact with Europeans and the new materials available to them. At first styles did not change as much as the materials used to make clothing. For instance, cloth capes and blankets replaced skin robes. These were girdled at the waist with a beaded belt. In the late eighteenth century many men wore leggings and cloth coats with separate sleeves, in the old style. At this time women often wore a cloth robe that reached to the knee and leggings, as well as a cloth cloak worn around the shoulders.



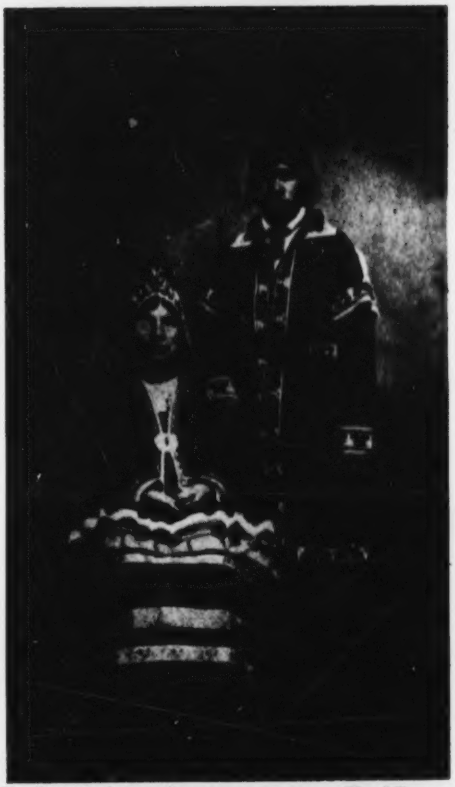
This photo of a Penobscot man was taken in 1917 by Frank Speck. Courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, NY.

Gradually styles changed to coats for men. Leggings were eventually replaced with long trousers. One item that men sometimes wore was a richly decorated kilt, which Frank Speck believes replaced a hide kilt that was worn before European arrival. Caps or beaver hats were worn by men, or for festive occasions some Wabanaki men wore "a headdress of beaded wool, in the shape of a hood with two pointed ears at the top. These also had long capes behind, which completely covered the back and sides of the neck." (Whitehead: 1980) This headdress resembled the kind used for hunting in earlier times.

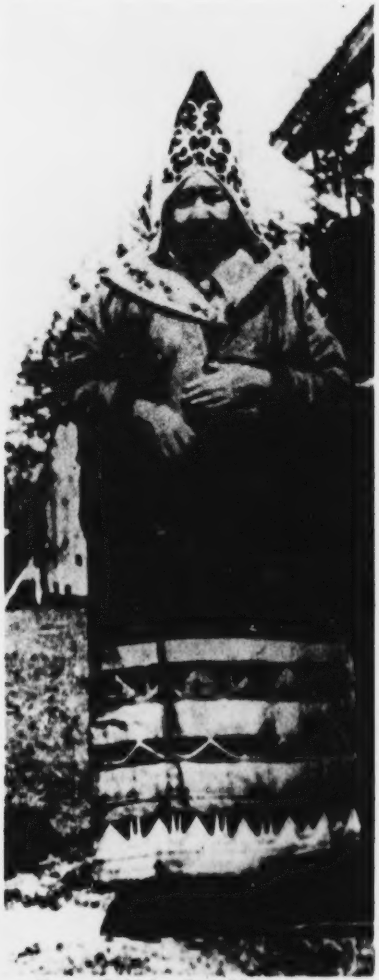
Women were slower than men to adopt European clothing. For most of the nineteenth century women wore a skirt, short jacket, leggings, moccasins, a tobacco pouch, and a blanket in winter. The ankle-length skirt was a tube of cloth, sewn up one side. About a quarter of its length was folded over a girdle at the waist, and hung down outside. Permanent suspenders were attached to the skirt at the waist. The skirt was similar to the older hide or fur skirt that it replaced, except that the earlier robe went from armpits to just below the knee, with shorter straps or suspenders. Often women wore a short cloth jacket shaped somewhat like a T that looked like the older style of sleeves, except that the jacket was all one piece. Often a peaked hat, beaded or embroidered, was worn on the head.

Seams and selvages on both men's and women's clothing were often piped with silk ribbons, and openings were fastened with silver brooches, sometimes very large. The most common colors of cloth were blue, red, and black. Two of the last articles of clothing to change were moccasins and tobacco pouches.

Although Wabanaki women created new techniques so they could embroider the cloth from the Europeans with the traditional moosehair and porcupine quills, more and more they turned to the use of beadwork, ribbon, and silk or wool thread to decorate clothes. Most designs made with beads on cloth were double-curve designs. (See fact sheet on "Double-Curve Designs," D-118.) Beaded work looked similar to the raised effect produced previously by moosehair embroidery or quill weaving. On cloth, borders of ribbon, often "cut in peaks, scallops, curves, or triangles" (Whitehead: 1980) replaced similar borders on leather clothing.



Traditional nineteenth-century costumes. **The Micmac couple is thought to be Mary Christianne (Paul) Mollise and her adopted son Joe. Photo by J.S. Rogers, Halifax, c. 1863-1874. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution, Photo No. 56,827. (The peaked hat which the woman wears is thought to have been modeled after some sort of French trade cap.)**



Above. **Catherine Sack Maloney of Shubenacadie, N.S. c. 1905. Courtesy of Nova Scotia Museum.**

By the early twentieth century, at least for everyday wear, Wabanaki clothing more and more resembled non-Native clothing. On festive occasions, however, Wabanaki people wore, and wear today, more traditional Wabanaki clothing, and also traditional clothing of other Native peoples, such as feather headdresses of Plains Indians.

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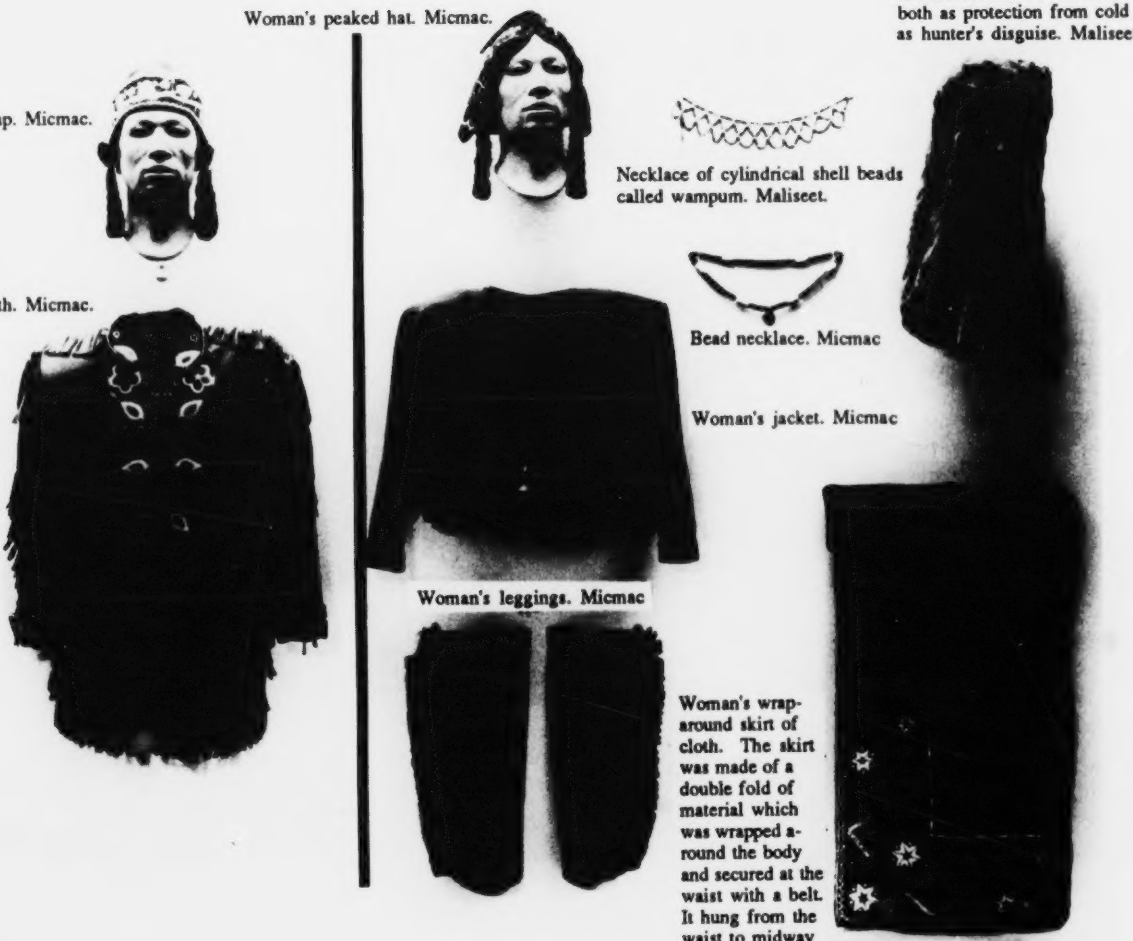

Man's beaded cloth cap. Micmac.

Man's shirt of red cloth. Micmac.

Woman's peaked hat. Micmac.

Woman's jacket. Micmac

Woman's leggings. Micmac

Necklace of cylindrical shell beads called wampum. Maliseet.

Bead necklace. Micmac

A beaverskin head which served both as protection from cold and as hunter's disguise. Maliseet.

Woman's wrap-around skirt of cloth. The skirt was made of a double fold of material which was wrapped around the body and secured at the waist with a belt. It hung from the waist to midway between the knee and the ankle. The skirt was decorated on one edge and the bottom. The pre-European wrap-around skirt was made of deerskin, and the designs were painted or embroidered in dyed moosehair or porcupine quills. Penobscot.

Various types of clothing (an exhibit). Neg. No. 331827 (Photo: Rota) Courtesy of Department of Library Services, American Museum of Natural History.

USES OF ANIMALS

Wabanaki people, before Europeans settled in North America, made use of nearly every part of the animals that they killed. A moose, for instance, was rough-gutted to feed the dogs. After the liver, heart, and sometimes the nose and tongue were removed to be eaten immediately, the women would skin the animal, butcher it, and carry it home. They were careful to avoid cutting across muscle fibers to keep as much of the nutritious blood as possible in the meat. The following list, although incomplete, gives an idea of how parts of a moose were used.

Uses of Parts of a Moose

meat and blood	food
liver and heart	food
nose and tongue	food delicacies
fat and bone marrow	food
	seasoning
sinews	sewing thread
	bowstrings
tendon from spine	used to string wampum
brains	tanning hides
bladder	sack for storing seal oil
intestines	skin for sausage
	snowshoe webbing
	bowstrings
teeth (incisors)	pendants
hooves	ingredient in medicine for epilepsy
dewclaws	rattles
hide	clothing; moccasins
	bags and containers
	rawhide for snowshoe webbing and for lashing
	skin canoes
	bed coverings
	wigwam coverings
hair	embroidery thread
	used to blow into the air to tell wind direction when hunting
bones	needles
	awls
	spear points
	pipes
shin bones	dice for waltes game (see "Waltes, A Dice Game," D-113.)
antlers	tools such as chisels
perforated toe bones	games

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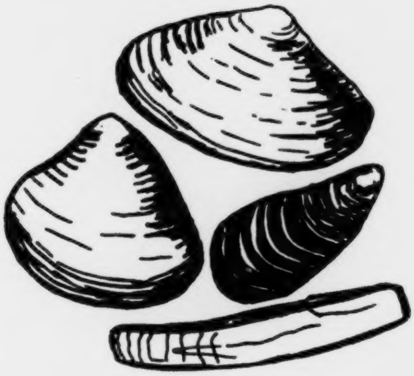
Uses for Other Animals -- Some Examples (other than for Food and Clothing)

Tools

oyster shells	bow polishers
whale ribs	bark peelers wedges
walrus ivory	harpoon points
beaver incisors	knives, chisels
bones of large animals	harpoon points arrow points
bones of birds	needles awls
bird feathers	arrow fletching
caribou ribs	scrapers knives
alna (leg bone) of red fox	awls
large animal intestines	bowstrings

Other Uses

lobster claws	pipes
shells, powdered	temper for manufacturing pottery
shellfish	bait
shell of snapping turtle	container
porcupine quills	spiles for maple sap
fish	fertilizer
seal oil	fuel
deer hair, duck down	fish lures
birds' livers	tanning hides

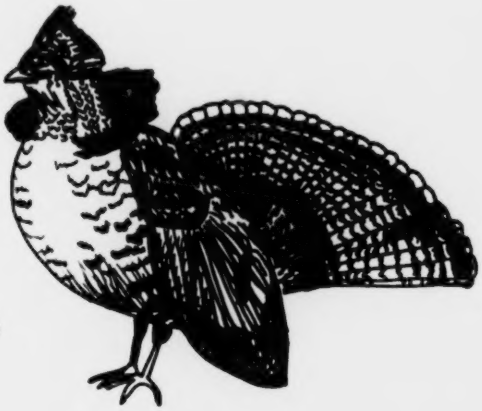


Medical Uses

eelskin	bandage
seal oil	conditioner to "harden" skin to cold and insects
oils, fats, other parts of many animals	medicine ingredients

Recreation

walrus ivory	dice
sturgeon or striped bass nose	rubbery ball



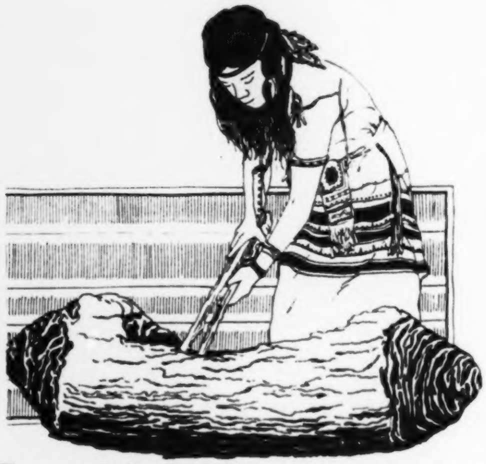
Ornaments

shells	necklaces sewn onto clothes
teeth of bear, wolf	pendants
porcupine quills	embroidery
bird feet	pendants
bird feathers	decorations on clothes head ornaments

Above. Clam, bivalve shell, bivalve, mollusk. *Below.* Partridge or ruffed grouse. Reprinted, by permission, from Dana, Kəlósəwαkanal, 1987.

ANIMAL FOODS

A large part of the Wabanaki diet came from fish, shellfish, mammals, and birds. These animal foods were prepared in a variety of ways.

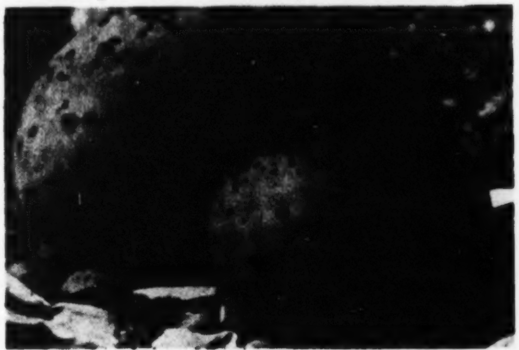


The woman is dropping in hot rocks to make the stew boil. Reprinted, by permission, from Whitehead and McGee. Illustrations by Kaulbach, The Micmac, Nimbus Publishing, Nova Scotia, 1983.

Probably the most common way of preparing food was by boiling in soups or stews, which were made of various combinations of fish and shellfish, turtles, eggs, and meat of mammals and birds with wild and cultivated vegetables. Stews and soups could be cooked in birchbark or wooden kettles by dropping hot rocks into them, in pottery vessels placed right into the coals,[1] or even in green birchbark kettles placed directly over the fire.

There were many other ways of preparing animal foods as well. Strips of meat or fish fillets were often skewered on upright, forked sticks near the fire, where they would roast. A piece of meat could be suspended on a twisted cord over the fire where it slowly rotated as the cord wound and unwound. Fish and meat could be baked in the coals of a fire. Sometimes ducks or other birds were placed in mud balls and put on the coals to cook. When the mud was peeled off, it removed feathers and skin. Shellfish were often steamed in seaweed.

The most common ways of preserving fish, mammal and bird meat, and shellfish were by smoking and drying. To smoke food Wabanakis used racks placed over a fire, either outside or inside a structure built like a wigwam. To dry food Wabanakis hung it on branches or racks, or put it on reed mats that were placed on bushes in the sun. The dried or smoked animal foods were stored, along with dried corn, beans, and other vegetables and fruits, in birchbark-covered caches, either buried or placed in trees, or in baskets buried in sand. Dried or smoked meat mixed with dried fruit was a favorite travel food. Sometimes meat was packed into moose intestines with fat and berries and dried or smoked to make a sausage.



Eggs of the common tern. Eggs of waterfowl and most other large birds were eaten boiled or raw, or added to stews. Reprinted, by permission, from Michael J. Ursin, Life In and Around the Salt Marsh, New York: Crowell, 1972.

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[1] Pottery was used by Wabanakis from about 2500 years ago to a time shortly before the French and the English settled in the area.

Animal fat was valued as a seasoning, as well as a quick source of energy, especially when traveling. Sea mammals were especially valued as a source of fat. One kind of animal fat, moose butter, was made by pulverizing moose bones and then boiling them until the marrow rose to the top of the kettle where it was skimmed off and left to solidify.

The diversity of animal foods available to Wabanaki people was enormous. Only the most important animals in each category are included here. Some of the animals that Wabanaki people ate are no longer found in Maine and the Maritimes. Others included on this page lived only in parts of Wabanaki territory. For instance, deer did not live in parts of the Maritimes until relatively recent times.

Land Mammals

moose
deer
caribou
beaver
bear
muskrat
hare
porcupine
otter
dog

Sea Mammals

seal
porpoise
whale
walrus

Birds

partridge
turkey
geese
brant
ducks
passenger pigeon
mourning dove
plover
curlew
lesser yellowlegs
eggs of most large birds

Fish

smelt
alewives
sturgeon
herring
salmon
cod
brook trout
striped bass
eels
mackerel
shad
tomcod
pollock
white perch
haddock
capelin
skate
halibut
sculpin
plaice
swordfish
pickerel
tuna
cusk
yellow perch
hake
sea perch
flounder

Shellfish

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lobsters
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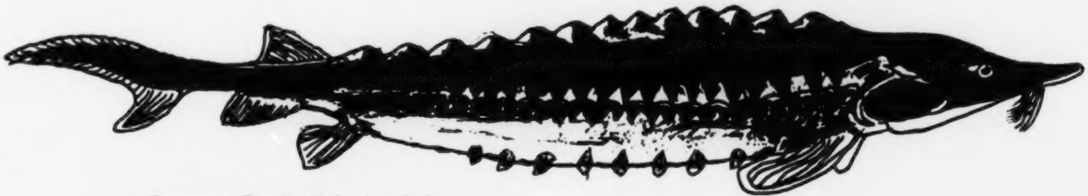
oysters
sea urchins
whelks
periwinkles
squid



Sturgeon. Reprinted, by permission, from Dana, Kəlósəwɑkanal, 1987.

PLANT FOODS

> I went ashore to see their tillage on the bank of the river, and I saw their corn, which is Indian corn. They make gardens of it, planting three or four grains in a place, then heaping up a quantity of earth with the shells of [horseshoe crabs]..., then planting again as much as three feet off, and so on. Among the corn they plant three or four...beans, which are of various colors. When they are grown they intertwine among this corn, which grows five or six feet high, and can keep the field very free from weeds. We saw there many squashes, and pumpkins and some tobacco, which they also cultivate. The Indian corn...they sow...in May and harvest...in September.

The gardens which Samuel de Champlain describes in 1605 were gardens of the "Armouchiquois" along the banks of the Saco River near the coast. These people, and other people to the south, had larger settlements and relied more on agriculture than did other Native people in Maine and the Maritimes. In fact the area in which they lived even looked different; they burned the underbrush in vast areas around their settlements, which resulted in an open, park-like woods, making walking easier and providing tender young shoots that attracted deer and other animals.

Even so the gardens of Wabanakis to the east, although less extensive, were probably similar to the gardens of the Armouchiquois. Most of the gardening was done by women. Gardens to the east of the Saco were planted near inland villages. When a new field needed to be cleared, village people gathered together. Trees were cut off about three feet from the ground, and the branches were piled against the trunk and burned, returning some nutrients to the soil. Eventually the stumps were removed after the roots began to rot and loosen. Until then the garden was planted among the stumps.

By planting all the crops together several things were accomplished. Planting beans, which fix nitrogen, with the corn meant that it took longer for the corn to deplete the soil. The squash and pumpkin vines covered the soil, protecting it from heavy erosion, and keeping it moist. Bean, squash, and pumpkin plants in the cornfields helped to keep down the weeds. (There were not so many weeds when Champlain visited the coast as there are now, since many of today's common garden weeds in Maine are European plants. Their seeds came on the clothes and in the baggage of European settlers.)

Even though the more southerly Wabanakis probably used fish as fertilizer, after several years enough of the soil nutrients would be used up so that a new place for the garden would have to be cleared. The old garden returned to forest.

People in Maine who lived along the Androscoggin and Kennebec Rivers and farther south could eat garden vegetables most years, and sometimes had a surplus for trade. However, Wabanakis depended less and less on garden products the farther north and east they lived, since the chance of a good harvest was poorer and poorer. Micmacs in Nova Scotia grew little or no food in gardens.

Wabanaki people everywhere, however, did harvest many wild fruits and vegetables. Many were eaten raw, and many were added to stews, just as garden vegetables often were. Many of these foods had medicinal properties. Unfortunately, most of the Europeans who wrote accounts of what Wabanakis ate did not pay much attention to plants that were gathered, so there is not a very good record of what they were. Some of the information about Wabanakis must be inferred from what nearby peoples ate.

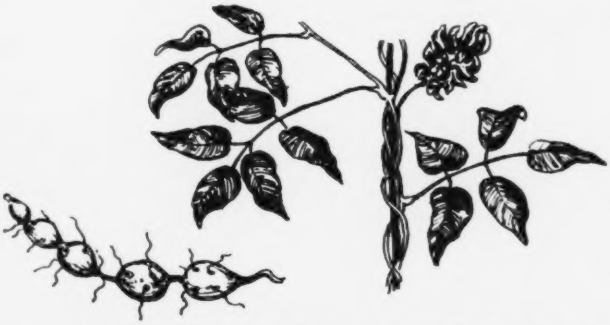
The following list is included to give readers an idea of the wide range of edible plants available to Wabanaki people. Parts of some of them are toxic. Some plants resemble other plants that are poisonous. And sometimes there is confusion over common names. **For these reasons, students (and teachers) should not try these plants without the supervision of an expert.**

FOODS[1]

Roots and Tubers
common cattail
narrow-leaved cattail
common (broad-leaved) arrowhead
bulrushes
groundnut
Jerusalem artichoke
Indian cucumber root
ginseng
dwarf ginseng
yellow nut grass
woodland Jack-in-the-pulpit
northern Jack-in-the-pulpit
skunk cabbage
wild calla
sweetflag, calamus
arrow arum
trout lily
hairy Solomon's seal
Turk's cap lily
wood lily
Canada lily
fragrant water lily
spatterdock
bullhead lily
puttyroot
Alpine bistort, Alpine smartweed
spring beauty
toothwort, pepperwort
large toothwort
common evening primrose
spikenard
harbinger-of-spring
northern bugleweed

Nuts
hazelnuts
beech
chestnut
white oak (acorns)
butternut
black walnut
shagbark hickory

Seeds
beach pea
wild rice
hog peanut
black locust
dog wheat
sand oat



Groundnuts. Reprinted with permission from The New England Indians, by C. Keith Wilbur, copyright 1978, published by The Globe Pequot Press, Chester, CT.

DO NOT SAMPLE THESE PLANTS WITHOUT THE HELP OF AN EXPERT.

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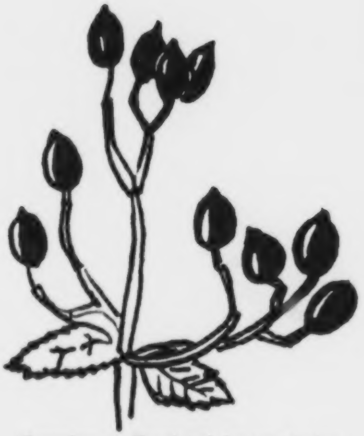
[1] Plurals are used here to indicate more than one species.

Fruits

strawberries
raspberries
blackberries
dewberries
blueberries
huckleberries
cranberries
currants
gooseberries
cherries
plums
grapes
chokeberries
mountain ashes
wild crabapples
Juneberries
hawthorns
roses
ground cherries
baked-apple berry
wintergreen, checkerberry
creeping snowberry
false Solomon's seal
Mayapple
bunchberry
hobblebush
wild raisin (witherod)
nannyberry
maple-leaved viburnum
squashberry
highbush cranberry
partridgeberry
mountain (northern) fly honeysuckle
common elderberry



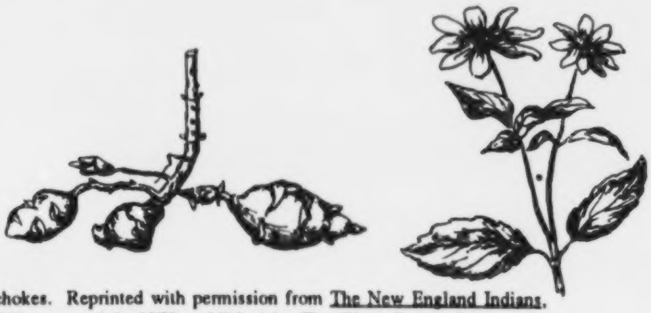
Nannyberry. Reprinted, by permission, from Dana, Kolósowokanal, 1987.

Greens

cinnamon fern
ostrich fern
bracken fern
yellow clintonia
wild oats
hairy Solomon's seal
carrion flower
common greenbriar
maple-leaved goosefoot
coast blite
strawberry blite
orach
slender glasswort
low sea blite
pokeweed
marsh marigold
sea rocket
poor man's pepper, wild pepper-grass
toothwort, pepperwort
roseroot
common wood sorrel
evening primrose
fireweed, great willow herb
common milkweed
wood betony
seaside plaintain
cleavers
large-leaved aster
Virginia waterleaf

CULTIVATED PLANTS

corn
squash
beans
pumpkins
Jerusalem artichokes
tobacco (for smoking)



Jerusalem artichokes. Reprinted with permission from The New England Indians, by C. Keith Wilbur, copyright 1978, published by The Globe Pequot Press, Chester, CT.

DO NOT SAMPLE THESE PLANTS WITHOUT THE HELP OF AN EXPERT.

BEVERAGES

Sap
quaking aspen
black birch
yellow birch
box elder
sugar maple
Virginia creeper
American basswood

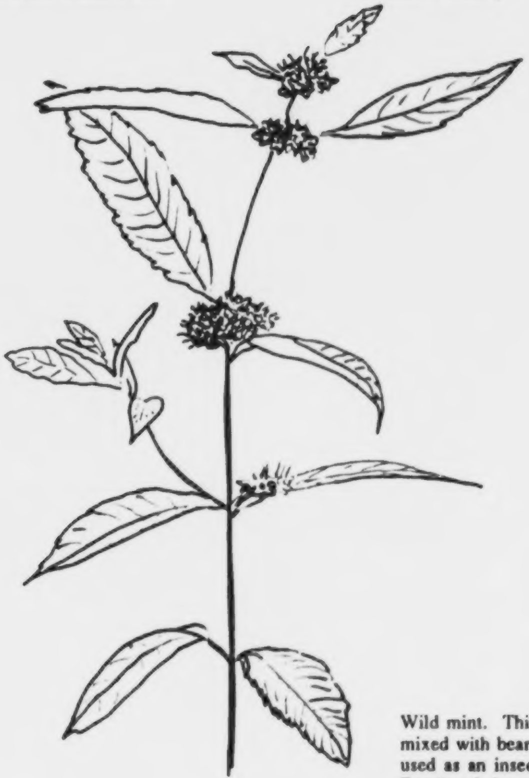
Tea - twigs
white spruce
red spruce
black birch
yellow birch
raspberry
chokecherry
black cherry

Tea - roots
sassafras
wild sarsaparilla

Tea - fruit
staghorn sumac
smooth sumac

Tea - leaves
white pine
white cedar
eastern red cedar
eastern hemlock
sweetfern
narrowleaf meadowsweet
raspberry
New Jersey tea
bog rosemary
Labrador tea
creeping snowberry
wintergreen, checkerberry
wild bergamot
American pennyroyal
Virginia mountain mint
short-toothed mountain mint
wild mint

Tea - barks
white pine
balsam fir
sassafras
hemlock



Wild mint. This plant was mixed with bear grease and used as an insect repellent. Reprinted, by permission, from Dana, Kəlósəwɑkanal.

Nearly all of the plants on these pages come from a list drawn up by Martha Gottlieb for the Maine State Museum exhibit "Twelve Thousand Years in Maine." For Latin names and pictures, consult Newcomb: 1977, Peterson and McKenny: 1968, and Petrides: 1972.

DO NOT SAMPLE THESE PLANTS WITHOUT THE HELP OF AN EXPERT.

USES OF PLANTS[1]

The following lists are only examples of some uses:

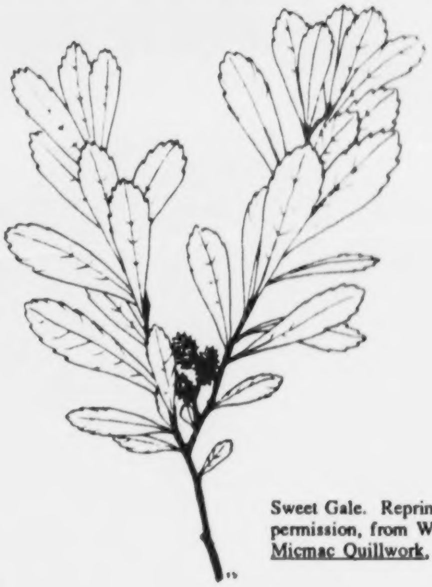
Materials for Weaving and/or Cordage

- cedar[2] (inner) bark
- basswood (inner) bark
- nettles
- reeds
- Indian hemp
- rushes
- spruce roots
- cattail leaves
- beach grass
- wood fibers
- yellow birch shoots
- witherod shoots
- willow shoots
- red osier dogwood shoots
- white ash splints
- brown (black) ash splints
- white (silver) maple splints
- red maple splints
- poplar splints
- cedar splints

Basswood cordage was especially versatile; the fiber is said to be stronger than any other natural fiber used for rope.

Dyes[3]

sweet (Myrica) gale seeds (yellow)
goldthread leaves, stalks, roots (yellow)
rotten wood of gray birch (blue)
red (Clayton's) bedstraw roots (red)
alder bark (dark red or brown)
cedar leaves and bark (olive)
ash bark (yellow)
black spruce bark (black)
hemlock bark (red-brown)
white (silver) maple (light blue)
princess pine (green)



Sweet Gale. Reprinted, by permission, from Whitehead, Micmac Quillwork, 1982.

Woods

toboggans -- sugar maple
sled runners -- yellow birch, sugar maple
paddles -- sugar maple
snowshoe frames -- white ash
wooden snowshoes for slush -- white cedar
wigwam frames -- spruce, cedar
bows -- sugar maple, hornbeam, spruce
canoe frames, ribs, slats -- cedar
arrow shafts -- cedar, sugar maple, tamarack, white ash
brooms -- yellow birch
axe and broom handles -- white ash
cup or ladle -- maple burl
pot hook -- yellow birch
waltes bowl -- maple or birch burl
pipes -- wild cherry, white birch
pipe stems -- willow, striped maple

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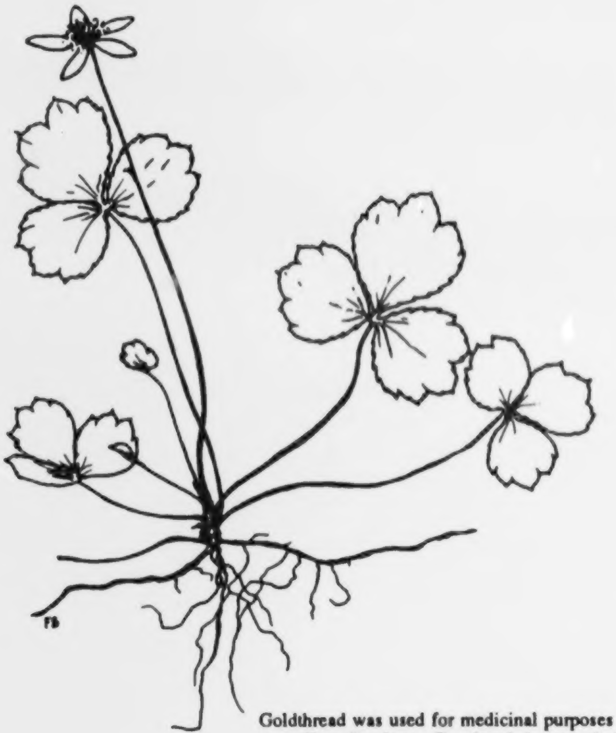
[1] Includes plants used in the twentieth century.

[2] Cedar on this sheet refers to Northern white cedar.

[3] For additional dye sources, see "Natural Dyes," D-130.

Other Uses

thread -- roots of black and white spruce and balsam fir
caulk for boat seams -- black or white spruce resin
thongs -- yellow birch twigs or wood fibers, cedar bark
tumpline straps -- basswood bark (woven)
diaper material -- sphagnum moss
filling for mattresses -- cattail down, sphagnum moss
pillows for bedding -- needles and branches of balsam fir and black spruce
tanning -- cedar bark, hemlock bark
poison to stun fish -- pokeberries and Indian turnip (Jack-in-the-pulpit)
heating pad -- peeled yellow birch wood (heated)
wigwam coverings -- birch and spruce bark, reeds
tobacco substitute -- willow leaves, bearberry leaves, lobelia, red cornel



Goldthread was used for medicinal purposes as well as for dyes. Reprinted, by permission, from Whitehead, Micmac Quillwork, 1982.

WABANAKI HEALING

Wabanaki people had many methods of preventing and treating diseases. People ate and drank what they needed to stay healthy; they also employed such things as sweat lodges (similar to saunas), massage, and dancing.

When someone was injured or ill there were many kinds of treatment. Often Wabanakis believed an illness was caused by a disruption in the balance of things, or the way a person related to people or the world around him or her; a shaman could help determine what had gone wrong. There were other methods, too. For instance, Wabanaki people bandaged wounds, set broken bones, and amputated limbs, when necessary, cutting with flint knives and searing severed blood vessels with hot rocks to stop bleeding. Deep cuts were sutured using the inner bark of certain trees or deer tendon as thread, and the stitches were removed after several days. Wabanakis used sweat ceremonies to break fevers, and used water with healing powers from a place near Canso, Maine.

Some Wabanaki people, usually women, were specialists in herbal medicines, just as some Wabanaki people are today. They knew all about the plants -- what time of the year to gather them, which parts of the plants to use, how to prepare them, how much medicine to use, and how other plants would interact with them. They treated the plants with respect.

It takes a long time to learn how to use these medicines. The following list is included only to give students an appreciation for the many ways Wabanaki people have used plants over the centuries. **It is important that students do not try to use any of these medicines, and especially that they do not ingest them. When they are not gathered and prepared in exactly the right way, many of these plants, or parts of them, act as poisons. And many of them are hard to distinguish from other poisonous plants.**

According to Arthur VanWart, before Europeans arrived in North America most diseases of Wabanaki people were due to exposure, weather, hardship, famine, and injury. Wood smoke could cause eye diseases. He believes scurvy was the most prevalent disease during the winter, although it was worse in the European colonial settlements. He points out that infectious diseases like measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, chicken pox, smallpox, typhus, typhoid, and yellow fever, were introduced to North America by Europeans. He also notes that early European travelers noticed an absence in Indian people of palsy, dropsy, gout, rheumatism, stone, gravel, gall colic, and asthma. (VanWart: 1948)

Because some of the sources for the information contained in the following list are recent, it includes medicines used for ailments brought by Europeans, as well as some plants that are not native to North America. The list does not include Wabanaki medicines made from animals and minerals.

Alder	leaves and bark	poultice on a fester or for a fever
	wood	laxative (boiled and mixed w/ porcupine fat)
	bark	for internal bleeding; tea for diptheria; tea for cramps and retching
Alder, black	bark	for ulcerated mouths
Ash, white	leaves	tea for cleansing after childbirth
Balsam fir	resin	for burns, sores, cuts, abscesses; for frostbite
	tips or combs	tea for colic
Barberry*	root or bark	mash for sores on the gums; for sore throat
Basswood	bark	for festering wounds
Blueberry	leaves	tea for rheumatism
Bunchberry	leaves	poultice for healing wounds
	whole plant	for fits
Cedar, northern white	leaves or needles	poultices for swollen hands or feet
Cherry, black	bark	tea for cough TOXIC
Cherry, pin	wood	for chafed skin TOXIC
	bark	for erysipelas TOXIC
Chocolate root (water avens)	root	tea for dysentery, colds, coughs
Chokecherry	bark	tea for diarrhea
Cohosh, black	root	cold tea for kidney trouble or fatigue
Cranberry, highbush	berry	tea for swollen glands and mumps
Dock, yellow (curled)*	root	purgative, and for cold in the bladder
Elm, slippery	bark	for draining infected wounds
Elm, American	bark	tea for bleeding at the lungs
Goldthread	stem	for cankers or sores on the gums or mouth
Ground hemlock (American yew)	twigs	tea for scurvy, colds, and fever TOXIC
Hemlock	bark	tea for colds, coughs, grippe
Indian turnip (Jack-in-the-pulpit)	root bulb	stomach medicine, treatment of TB TOXIC
Juniper	gum	for TB and lung trouble; to heal cuts; w/ eelskin bandage for sprains
	fruit	for colds
	underbark, berry juice	for ulcers
Lady's slipper	root	tea for nervousness

Do not use these plants medicinally without the help of an expert.

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* Alien plants.

Lambkill (sheep laurel)	plant	poultice for pain TOXIC
Maple, striped	bark	poultice for swelling limbs
Meadow beauty	stems and leaves	to clean throat (brew)
Mountain ash	bark	tea to cause vomiting; for stomach pain
Mullein*	leaves	to cure asthma (smoked)
Pitcher plant	root	tea for spitting up blood or kidney trouble
Pipsissewa (Prince's pine)	plant	for blisters
Poplar (quaking aspen)	bark	tea to produce sweating -- used for colds
Raspberry	runners	stomach medicine
Sarsaparilla with sweet flag	root	tea for coughs
Snakeroot, Seneca	root	colds
Spruce, black, with white maple	bark	tea for cold, coughs, flu
Spruce, white	gum	salve for cuts and wounds; poultice for boils and abscesses
	twigs	tea for scurvy
Staghorn sumac	berry	tea for sore throat; steeped for drops for earache
Sweet fern	leaves	for poison ivy (steeped)
Sweet flag (calamus)	root	for disease prevention; for colds; for indigestion; for stomach pain in babies; for cholera
Tamarack	bark	festering wounds, colds, physical weakness, consumption, gonorrhea
Water lily, white or yellow	leaves	for swellings of the limbs (mash)
White pine	bark, needles, twigs	tea for kidney or urinary trouble
	bark	poultice for wounds
White pine with hemlock	bark, needles, twigs	tea for colds, cough, grippe
White oak	bark	tea for bleeding piles
Willow	bark	tea for colds
Willow, shining	bark	for asthma (smoked)
Yarrow*	stalk	for bruises, sprains, swelling
Yellow birch	bark	for rheumatism; for diarrhea

Do not use these plants medicinally without the help of an expert.

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* Alien plants.

USES OF BIRCHBARK

Because birchbark is tough, lightweight, flexible when damp, waterproof, rot and insect resistant, and does not transfer odors, its uses were almost endless. (Some of these uses are listed below.) Birchbark could be called "Wabanaki plastic." The thick winter bark, collected before the sap ran, was used for constructing heavy items such as canoes and wigwams, while the spring and summer bark was used for making such things as containers and decorative items. The bark was often decorated with porcupine quills, moosehair embroidery, painted designs, or designs scraped into the soft underbark, as well as patterns made by biting the folded bark.

Wabanakis knew how to remove small quantities of the bark without killing or permanently injuring the tree. However, this is very difficult to do. Those who wish to experiment with birchbark should gather it from a tree that has been cut or blown down, rather than taking it from a live tree.

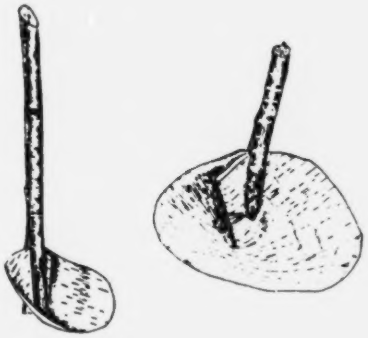
Wigwams
outside coverings (thick, heavy)
inside hangings (thin) to hold heat
doors (sometimes)
smoke hole flaps

Travel
canoes
sails (possibly post-European arrival)
packbaskets
litters to transport sick or dead

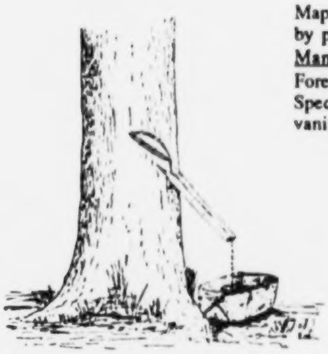
Bedding
summer bed and blanket for outdoors
pillows

Food utensils
bowls and dishes
cups
dippers
cooking kettles
spoons
trays

Containers
baskets
boxes
buckets and pails
meat bags
pouches
paint holders
powder flasks



Spoons. Reprinted, by permission, from Penobscot Man: The Life History of a Forest Tribe in Maine, Frank G. Speck, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940.

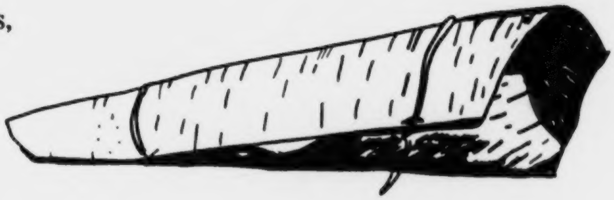


Maple sap bucket. Reprinted, by permission, from Penobscot Man: The Life History of a Forest Tribe in Maine, Frank G. Speck, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940.

Maple Sugaring
spiles
sap containers
sap kettles
sugar cones (for storage)

Other

- animal calls (moose, muskrat, caribou)
- bandages, casts for broken bones, splints
- cache linings
- cradleboards
- dolls
- flares or torches
- funnels
- grinding sheets to catch meal as corn is ground
- kindling and tinder
- mats
- paper for signs and maps
- patterns and stencils



Moose call. Reprinted, by permission, from Dana, Kalósawakanal, 1987.

- quivers
- raincoats and rainhats
- smoke rack covers
- snow goggles
- stuffing
- winding sheets to wrap dead

Assortment of birchbark Containers. Reprinted, by permission, from Whitehead, Elitekey, 1980.

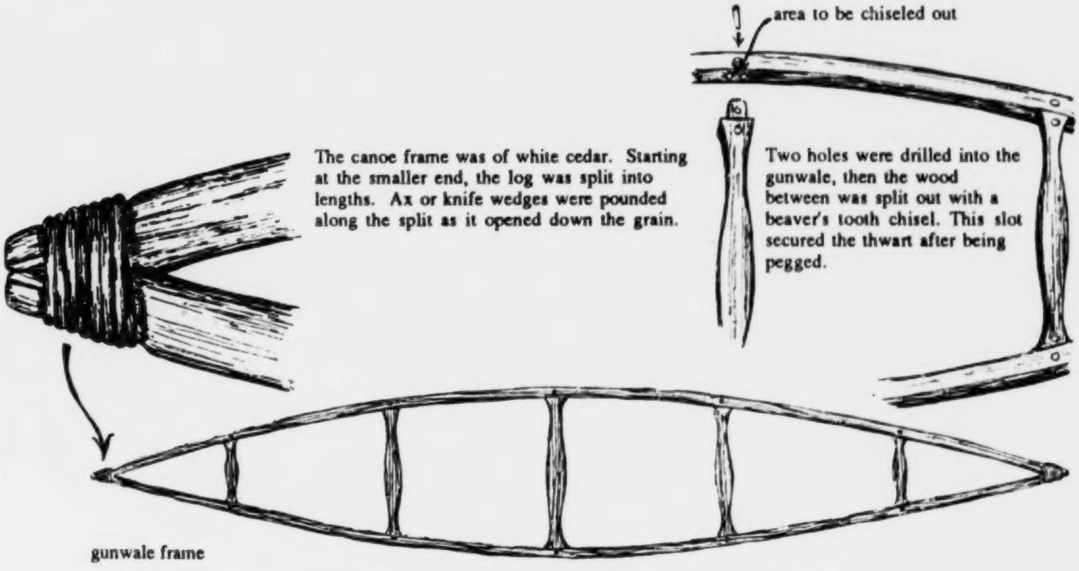
THE BIRCHBARK CANOE

Although Wabanaki canoes could be made of logs, spruce bark, or moosehide, the most common and versatile canoe was made of birchbark. The canoemaker chose a large, straight white birch tree whose bark would not split into layers easily, and from which bark at least 1/8" thick could be peeled. The canoemaker would try to find a large enough tree so that the canoe could be made from a single piece of bark. Birches of the size needed became more and more scarce after 1800 as trees were cut for lumber and then paper. The ideal time to obtain canoe bark was during a long (preferably rainy) thaw in the winter, or as soon as the tree's sap began to flow. Two cuts were made encircling the tree, and then a vertical cut connected the two. The bark was then carefully pried from the tree using wooden tools. It was stored in a pool for later use.

Besides bark, roots of a black spruce tree had to be pulled from the ground near the surface and split for use in sewing the bark. Roots in a bog were easiest to collect. Black or white spruce resin for sealing seams was collected in the spring and then heated and tempered with animal fat when it was to be used in canoe construction. Wooden parts of the canoe had to be carefully hewn from white cedar and hard maple trees.

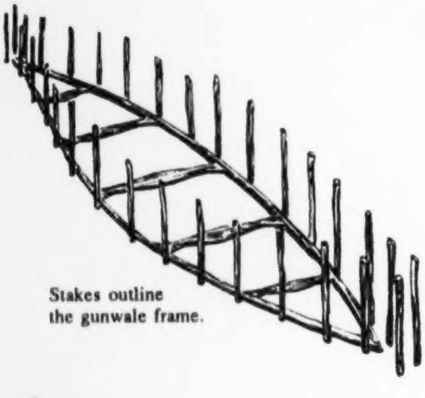
There were many sizes and styles of birchbark canoes, depending on their uses, and also there were styles typical of the different Wabanaki tribes. Styles also changed over time. A small hunting canoe might be as short as 9', while a canoe meant for open ocean might be 24' or more long. The careful drawings and descriptions which follow come from C. Keith Wilbur's New England Indians. They show the steps in constructing a nineteen-foot Maliseet river canoe.

For a much more detailed discussion of Wabanaki canoe-making, see The Bark Canoes and Skin Boats of North America, by E. Tappan Adley and Howard I. Chapelle.

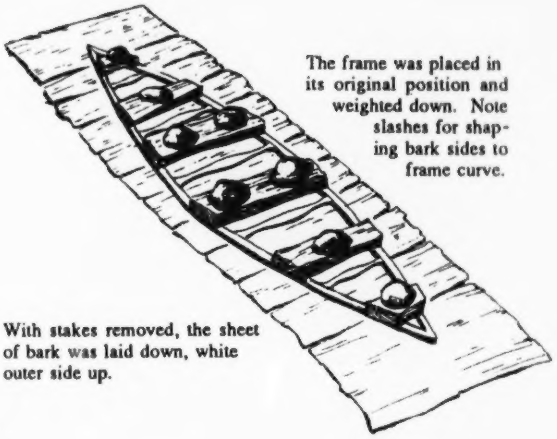


The canoe frame was of white cedar. Starting at the smaller end, the log was split into lengths. Ax or knife wedges were pounded along the split as it opened down the grain.

Two holes were drilled into the gunwale, then the wood between was split out with a beaver's tooth chisel. This slot secured the thwart after being pegged.

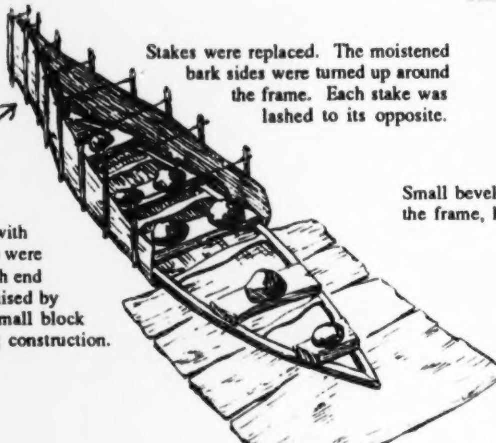


Stakes outline the gunwale frame.



The frame was placed in its original position and weighted down. Note slashes for shaping bark sides to frame curve.

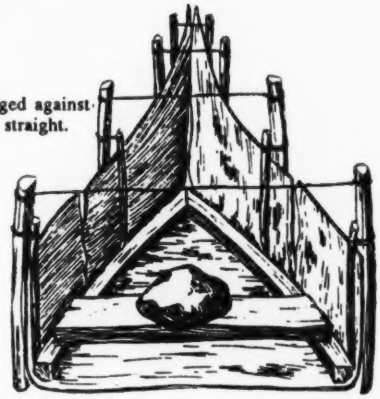
With stakes removed, the sheet of bark was laid down, white outer side up.

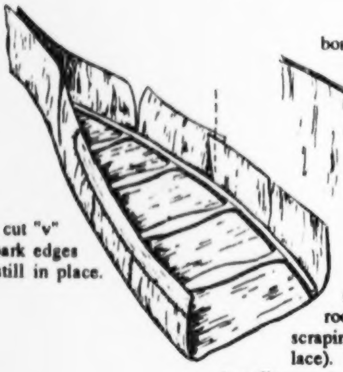


Stakes were replaced. The moistened bark sides were turned up around the frame. Each stake was lashed to its opposite.

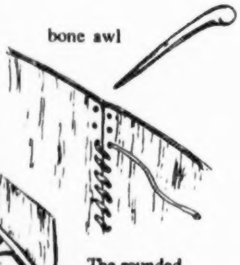
If a canoe with more sweep were desired, each end would be raised by placing a small block here during construction.

Small bevel-ended stakes, wedged against the frame, held the bark sides straight.

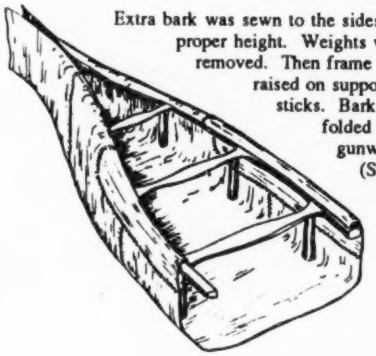




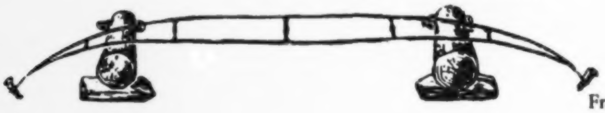
Slashed sides were cut "v" shape to butt the bark edges together. Stakes still in place.



The rounded side of the split root was flattened by scraping (resembling a shoelace). End was sharpened for threading -- no needle needed.



Extra bark was sewn to the sides for proper height. Weights were removed. Then frame was raised on supporting sticks. Bark was folded over gunwales. (Stakes still in place.)



Frame was soaked in boiling water and dried to give an upward sweep to the bows in some canoes. However, if the sweep was not large, the frame could be weighted in place while resting on the supporting sticks in such a way as to produce the needed sweep. (not shown)

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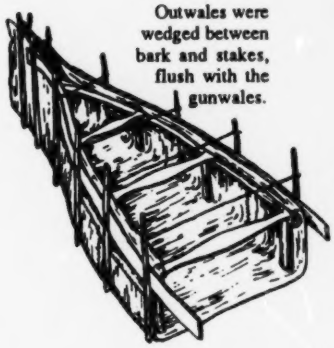
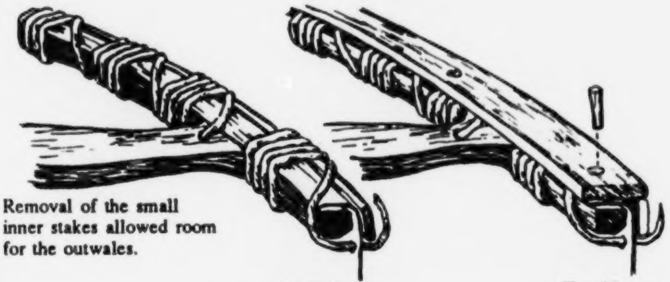


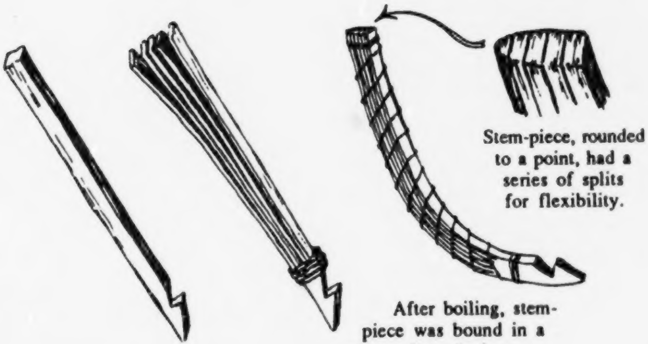
Outwales were wedged between bark and stakes, flush with the gunwales.



Removal of the small inner stakes allowed room for the outwales.

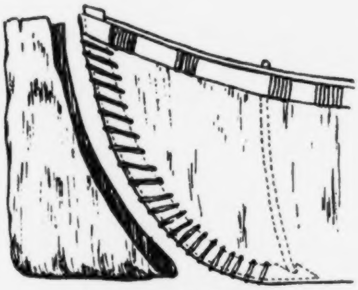
Outwales are pegged, then lashed. Spaces between lashes later received the the ribs.

Topside cap pegged, avoiding lashings.



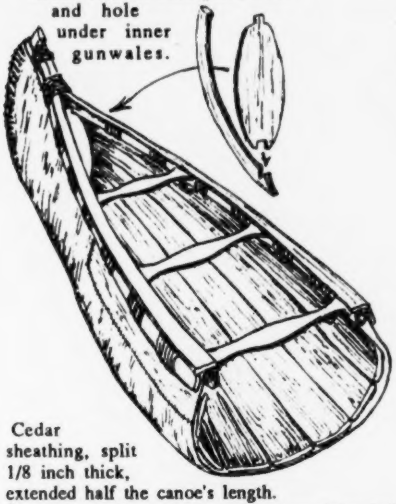
Stem-piece, rounded to a point, had a series of splits for flexibility.

After boiling, stem-piece was bound in a curve for drying.

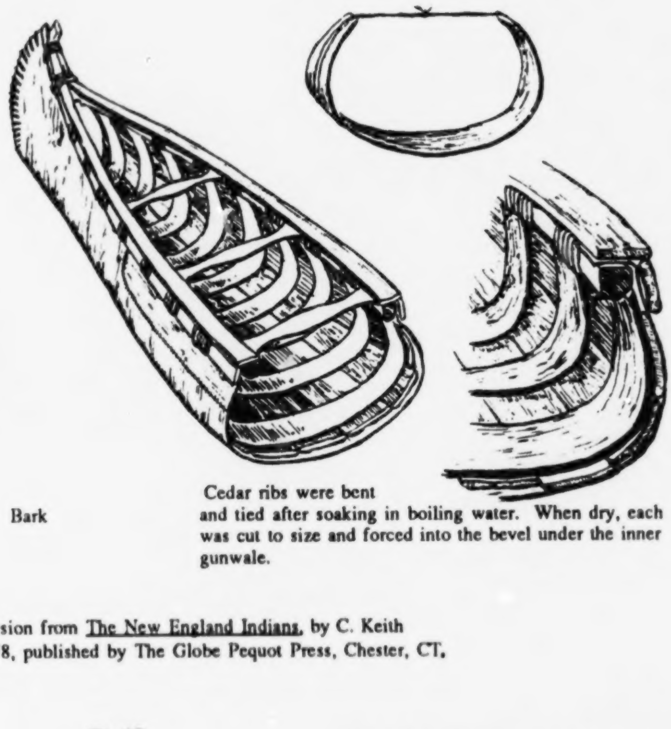


Stem-piece in place and excess bark trimmed from bow, the bow was then lashed.

Oval cedar headboard was forced between stem piece notch and hole under inner gunwales.



Cedar sheathing, split 1/8 inch thick, extended half the canoe's length. Beveled ends lapped those of the remaining half. Bark was soaked to round the bottom.



Cedar ribs were bent and tied after soaking in boiling water. When dry, each was cut to size and forced into the bevel under the inner gunwale.

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WIGWAMS

Wabanaki people lived in wigwams, which could be covered with a variety of materials, depending on the season and what materials were available. These coverings included birchbark, by far the most common covering, hides, reed mats, and sometimes bark from other trees, such as spruce. There were advantages and disadvantages to all these wigwam coverings. For instance, although hides were wind resistant, non-flammable, and easy to roll up and carry, they stayed wet for a long time. Rush mats were highly waterproof, but were bulky and heavy. Birchbark was rainproof and light and insect-proof, but became brittle when the weather was cold, and had to be warmed before it could be rolled and unrolled. It was also flammable.

There were several different styles of wigwams, including the hemisphere, the cone, the A-frame, the V-frame, and pyramidal shapes. The most common style was the cone. The frames were made of poles, often spruce or cedar, lashed together with spruce root or rawhide. Usually the frame was left so that if the family returned to the same place the frame could be reused. The wigwam covering, however, was removed when the occupants left a place, and was reused.

Either men or women erected a new wigwam frame by cutting poles and lashing them together. Women carried the wigwam covering, usually birchbark strips, from the previous campsite. Birchbark strips were made by sewing together sections of bark with spruce root and then reinforcing the ends of the strip by sewing them to strips of wood. After soaking them to make them flexible, the women would lash them to the frame, beginning at the bottom. Each of the strips to follow was placed to overlap the strip below it. A hole (or holes in the larger wigwams) was left in the top for smoke to escape. Finally, additional poles were laid over the outside of the birchbark sheets to keep them from being damaged in the wind.

Most often before the wigwam covering was put on, the hearth (or hearths) and floor were constructed. Usually a fireplace of stones was made, often with a large, flat stone placed vertically to reflect the heat. Then the women "wove" a floor of fir boughs, placed so their stems were laid one after another, pointing toward the fireplace. The result was a firm mat that did not shift easily. The boughs were overlain with furs or skins upon which the family sat in the day or slept at night. The area around the hearth was left bare.

Usually a hide was fastened to the wigwam to make a door. (Larger wigwams had more than one door.) To complete the wigwam, it was decorated with "a thousand different pictures of birds, moose, otters, and beavers, which the women sketch there themselves with their paints." (LeClerq: 1910)

Larger wigwam styles were sometimes used in the summer, and sometimes the covering was of mats.[1] However, in winter the family was likely to employ the conical birchbark wigwam, with the poles secured near the top with a wooden hoop. Usually the floor was dug out several inches below ground level. Outside, evergreen boughs about a foot deep overlaid with snow were packed against the base of the wigwam to insulate it and to eliminate drafts. Additional coverings of hides, spruce bark, or mats could be added in severe conditions. Early European writers often remarked how warm and comfortable the wigwams were -- certainly warmer than Europeans' houses in winter.

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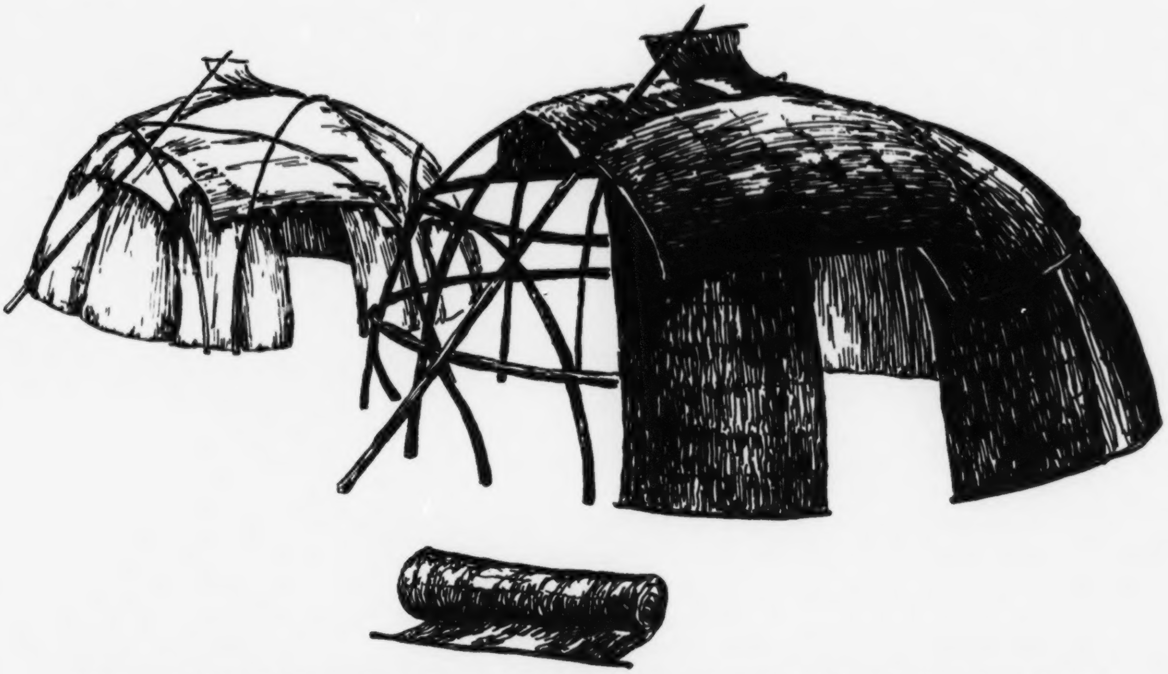
[1] Longhouses 30 to 40 feet long, possibly used only for community gatherings, are described in European colonial accounts in Maine and New Brunswick.



This illustration from The New England Indians by C. Keith Wilbur shows a hemispherical wigwam with mat coverings. The eighteen-inch smokehole flap is attached to a cord or sapling so it can be turned to the windward side. The diameter of the wigwam might be as large as sixteen feet, and the height six to eight feet. It could be covered with bark or hides. East of the Penobscot this kind of structure was used most often for a sweatlodge, covered with hides.

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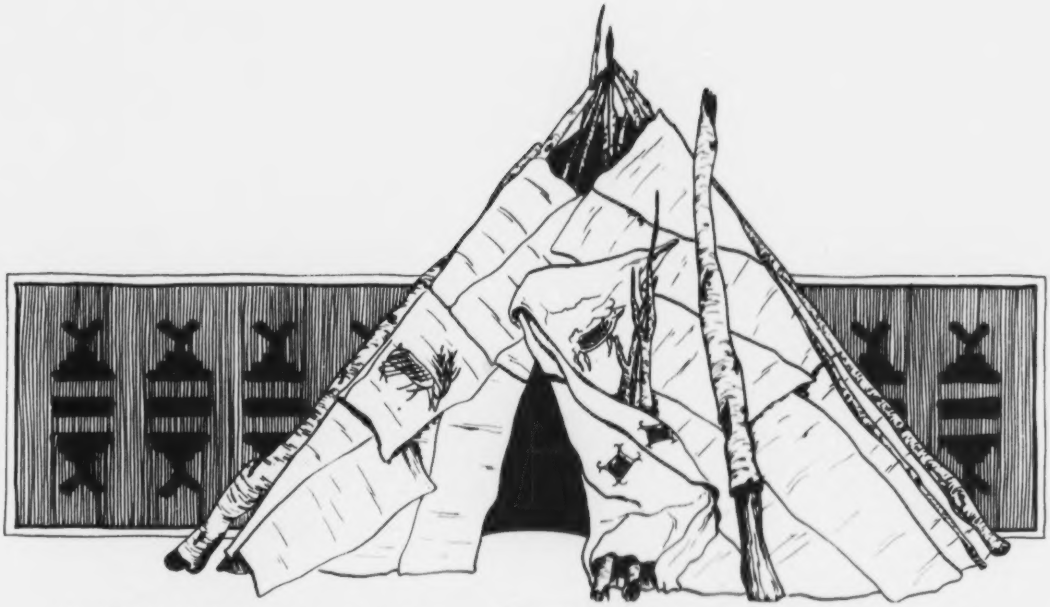
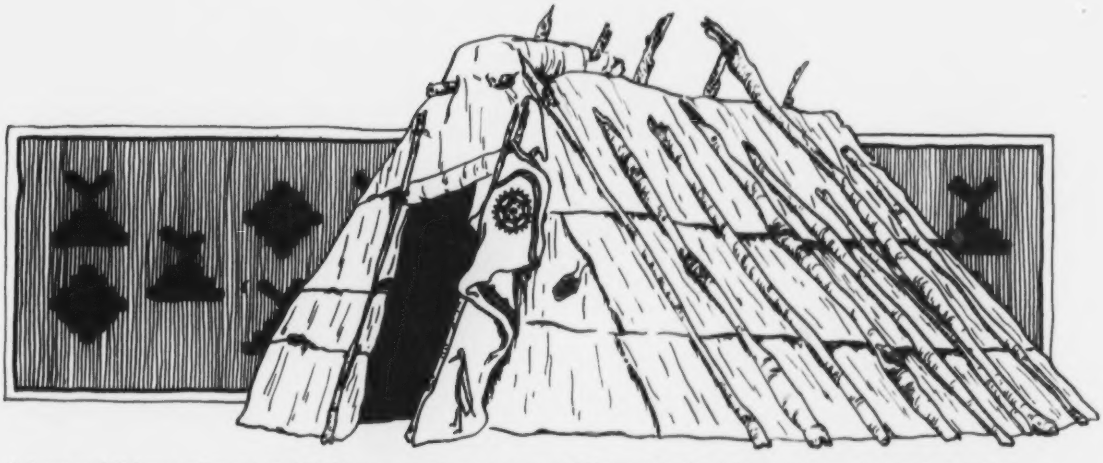


A conical birchbark structure was the most common Wabanaki wigwam. It was used especially in winter, when family groups were small, although a large conical wigwam might hold as many as thirty people. A conical wigwam usually had one door, and one smokehole at the top. In rainy weather a birchbark collar could be placed over the smokehole to keep out the rain. For information on how to build a conical wigwam see "How to Construct a Wigwam," D-138. Reprinted, by permission, from Whitehead and McGee. Illustrations by Kaulbach, The Micmac, Nimbus Publishing, Nova Scotia, 1983.



A-frame and V-frame wigwams could hold more people -- as many as 300 (rarely). An A-frame wigwam had an A-shaped frame at each end of the wigwam, with ends of a single ridge-pole attached to the tops of the two frames. A V-frame wigwam was somewhat more complicated. It had a V-shaped floor plan, with the wide end at the front. It had a somewhat narrower V-shaped arrangement of ridge-poles, too, with the two ends at the front supported by the two poles at either side of the doorway. A V-frame wigwam usually had one fire pit, one smokehole, and one door, all located at the front. Reprinted, by permission, from Whitehead and McGee. Illustrations by Kaulbach, The Micmac, Nimbus Publishing, Nova Scotia, 1983.

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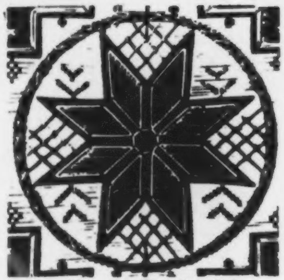
DOMESTIC AND DECORATIVE SKILLS

Before European arrival Wabanaki people used many ingenious methods to make household items, as well as other items such as tools for hunting, fishing, and gardening, from the materials of their environment. Many of the items that they used were decorated with beautiful designs (such as double-curve or geometrical designs or pictures of animals) that had special cultural significance for the person making or using them.



Micmac quillwork. Reprinted, by permission, from Whitehead, Elitekey, 1980.

> To the Micmac [decorative work] served a functional purpose. The traditional symbols and designs used, the form of an ornament, and even the raw materials involved in construction, had specific meanings, and were seen as sources of power -- power which could aid and protect the wearer. (Whitehead: 1980)

Decorating Clothing and Household Items

Clothing was made by women from furs or tanned hides. If left unsmoked, the hides would be white, and might be used for special occasions. Smoking, which made hides water-resistant, darkened the hides. They also darkened with use. Leather clothing and wigwam coverings of birchbark or reed mats were often painted. The artists used pigments such as red and yellow ocher, crushed charcoal, or ground clamshells mixed with a sticky binder such as bird-egg yolk, fish-egg roe, or a substance from the swim bladders of certain fish. Paints were made waterproof by passing heated bones over the finished designs. (Sometimes for special events face, body, and hair paints were made using these same pigments mixed with fat.)

Birchbark containers and other items made by the women might also be painted, or they might be decorated with designs by scraping away the darker underside of the bark to expose the lighter bark underneath. Birchbark, leather, or even wooden items like pipestems might be decorated with porcupine quills, and both birchbark and leather could be embroidered with moosehair. Stone, bone, teeth, claws, shells, native copper, seeds, duck feet, and feathers were some of the materials used to embellish clothes or to make jewelry.

Sewing and Embroidery

Sewing techniques varied according to the material being sewn or embroidered. Needles could be made from several different kinds of bone, or even native copper. Stiffened sinew might be used without needles when holes were poked into hide with awls. If inserted into awl holes in damp birchbark, porcupine quills or spruce roots were held tight when the birchbark dried.

The kind of thread, too, varied according to the material being sewn. Sinew was often used to sew skins and hides, hemp for cattail mats, and spruce root for birchbark. Spruce roots swelled when wet, and birchbark containers sewn with them would hold water.

Weaving

A great diversity of materials was used for weaving, from rawhide for snowshoes and porcupine quills for belts, to alder for baskets and reeds for mats. There was a variety of weaving techniques, too, including at least six basic methods plus variations. Weaving and embroidery materials such as reeds, Indian hemp, cattails, quills, and moosehair were often dyed with water-soluble dyes.

Working in Stone and Wood

Using a variety of tools made from stone, bone, or shell, or the teeth of moose, beaver, and porcupine, men fashioned many items from wood such as spoons, bowls, cradleboards, toboggans, snowshoe frames, pipes, toys, tools, and hunting and fishing implements. From bone they crafted such items as harpoons and arrow points, dice, awls, needles, and painting tools. They also made stone tools, some of which, like knives and gouges, held razor-sharp edges. Other stone items were scrapers, axes, and arrowheads. Different kinds of stone were sought after for different uses. In Maine, for instance, a special source of stone was Mt. Kineo; it was a source for all groups in the area.[1]

* * * * *

After European arrival some materials were replaced, at least partially, by new ones such as metal kettles and tools, manufactured cloth, ribbons, and glass beads. Certain items were manufactured for Europeans by Wabanaki people. Some of the once-common skills became rare, but others developed or changed because of European tastes. Snowshoes and canoe paddles were popular, for instance. For Europeans, Micmac people made tables, chairs, chests, and boxes almost completely covered with fine quillwork embroidery. Woodworkers used their skills to make barrels, axe handles, flower stands, buckets, and toys. And the well-known splint ash baskets replaced the previous wicker-style basket made from alder, elder, or witherod.

The major source of information for this fact sheet was Elitekey: Micmac Material Culture from 1600 A.D. to the Present, by Ruth Holmes Whitehead. This is an excellent source for anyone interested in knowing more about how items were manufactured and decorated by Wabanaki people.

For additional information on plants used for weaving and dyeing, weaving techniques, and items made from wood and bone, see "Uses of Plants," D-51, "Natural Dyes," D-135, "Uses of Animals," D-.43, and "Projects with Natural Materials," D-129.

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[1] Any personal or group hostilities were put aside when collecting the felsite from this mountain.

WABANAKI POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL LIFE

WABANAKI GOVERNANCE

Before 1600

Two important social units in Wabanaki society were the extended family, or family band, and the village. The village consisted of several family bands that came together for certain periods of the year, usually in spring and summer. The villages themselves were linked by family ties and friendship and by trade.

A family band often had a leader or sakom[1] [ZAH-g'm], who was considered responsible for the welfare of his relatives. Such leadership could be passed from father to son, but even when that was the case, the new occupant of the role needed to demonstrate the kind of competence that befit an outstanding man in Wabanaki society. Often a sakom was a good hunter and fisher, or had been in his youth. Perhaps he had proven himself in war. Frequently, sakoms were curers, which meant that they had unusually close ties to guardian spirits among the animals; they specialized in communicating with these powerful spirits. This gave them the power to do good, and harm. If a sakom were expert in one or more of these ways he would prosper, and his prosperity would enable him to extend his influence and increase his support. He could be generous with gifts and feasts, and he could form trade relationships with other villages. Very important, too, were his intelligence, his judgment, and his capacity as a persuasive speaker (although he could have someone else speak for him).

As a village contained several family bands, it might have several sakoms. One of these would usually be considered stronger than the others. This man might have extended his influence to other villages, and he might be considered the leader of the people in an entire river valley as well as an extensive area along the coast. This was the case with Bashaba, for example, whose village was at Kedumkeak (present-day Bangor), but whose authority was felt throughout the Penobscot valley and beyond in the first decade of the 1600s.

A sakom was first among equals. He did not so much rule as listen -- and influence, persuade. The sakom was expected to give his people good counsel whenever conflicts arose among members of the group, or when important decisions had to be made. He did this by first listening to the opinions of the members of his group, especially the elders. Every individual had a right to speak, and women were treated with respect. Older women had considerable influence in these discussions. Decision was by consensus; a sakom could not impose his way. His function was more to propose a solution that so respected the individual opinions in his group that it could be accepted by everyone. Whatever the decision, anyone could refuse to abide by it.

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[1] Passamaquoddy and Maliseet word for leader.

This sort of political process made for a loosely-jointed political system that protected its members' freedom to choose and that could expand and contract as circumstances changed. When a larger entity was needed, sakoms would meet and form alliances, and later when the need was past, they would separate again and go their own ways. This tradition of alliance was the basis for the formation of the Wabanaki Confederacy, an on-going alliance that enabled the various Wabanaki groups to come together as equal partners in a larger entity that could more effectively counter the European threat. Even here, decision was by consensus; no person or group could impose on the others. (The Thirteen Colonies would later form a very similar confederation to oppose Great Britain.)

European Influence

The European influence on Wabanaki politics was small at first, but it grew with time. Sometimes the Europeans preferred to trade with just one sakom, rather than with several. As this sakom became the only funnel in his area for desired trade goods, his power increased beyond what the traditional system had allowed.

French priests competed with the sakoms and the curers (who were often the same person) for leadership in some of the villages. Because the priests already had an acquired immunity to the epidemic diseases, they could continue to minister to the sick when the diseases struck. At such times, they were able to outperform and outlive the Wabanaki leaders. This, combined with their capacity to procure firearms and trade goods from the French authorities, enabled them to assume leadership in a number of the Wabanaki villages.

After the Wabanakis had been confined to reservations, there followed a long period of time when they had little say about many aspects of their lives. The Maine State Legislature appointed Indian Agents, who usually were not Indians, to distribute money and goods as the legislatures and agents saw fit. Favoritism and injustice resulted. In the nineteenth century the sakoms, who had held their positions for life, were forced aside, and the Wabanakis on the reservations in Maine were compelled to elect governors and councils, and on reserves in Canada chiefs and councils.

Today

In Maine today, each Passamaquoddy reservation elects a governor, lieutenant governor, and a six-member council. When matters affect both Passamaquoddy reservations, a joint council meeting is held and the host governor presides. The Penobscot Nation elects a governor, lieutenant governor, and a twelve-member council, and the Houlton Band of Maliseets elects a chairman and six council members. The governor or chairman votes only in the case of a tie. Only a simple majority is required to settle an issue, but consensus is still very highly valued. Penobscots and Passmaquoddies each send one representative to the Maine State Legislature, where they are permitted to speak, but they are not allowed to vote.

Since 1951 in Canada band councils have enjoyed broader powers, although the Department of Indian Affairs retains a veto. Each band elects a chief and councillors who serve two-year terms.

In the last half of this century there has been a move toward greater unity of Wabanaki people. In the 1970s the Wabanaki Confederacy was reorganized; meetings are held every few years. Tribal Governors Incorporated, an organization including tribes or nations as well as organizations representing some of the off-reservation population, was organized. In the last two decades the Native people of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Quebec have formed several unions that include Wabanaki people (the Union of New Brunswick Indians, Union of Nova Scotia Indians, and the Union of Quebec Indians). Each union is made up of the elected chiefs of all the Native bands in the province. United, the bands can better work toward the goals of their people.

In Nova Scotia, Micmacs also retain a more traditional union (influenced by the Catholic Church), concerned with Micmac spiritual and cultural needs, which dates at least as far back as the mid-1700s. Each of several regions chooses a captain, who usually comes from the family of the previous captain, and who serves for life. The captains elect a grand captain, similar to a prime minister, and a grand chief, who is a figurehead and spiritual leader for the combined communities.

WABANAKI LANGUAGES

A common misconception is that all North American Indian languages are pretty much the same, or that the various peoples from the Atlantic to the Pacific spoke dialects of the same language. In fact, of course, no one speaks "Indian," just as no one speaks "European" or "African." In North America, at the time Europeans reached this continent, there were well over three hundred languages spoken. Many are still heard today.

North America has a number of language families. (English belongs to the Indo-European language family.) The Wabanaki languages are members of the Algonquian family, spoken along the Atlantic coast and across Canada to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Other inhabitants of the northeast, the Iroquois peoples, speak Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk, which are Iroquoian languages, not related to Algonquian languages at all. People in one language family cannot understand people from another language family, and in most cases they cannot understand other languages within their own "family," just as English speakers cannot understand such other languages of the Indo-European language family as German, Russian, Persian, and Hindi.

In Maine and the neighboring Maritime Provinces of Canada four Native American languages are spoken today: Penobscot, Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, Micmac, and Abenaki. They are all closely related, much as French, Italian and Spanish are related. Maliseet and Passamaquoddy are so much alike that speakers of either dialect can understand the other as easily as North American English speakers understand British English, and people often refer to Maliseet-Passamaquoddy as one language. Maliseets or Passamaquoddies would have difficulty, however, following a conversation in the Micmac language.

Many children still speak Micmac as their first language, particularly on certain reserves on Cape Breton Island, eastern New Brunswick, and Quebec. On these reserves, however, as in all other Wabanaki communities, there has been a rapidly growing trend toward speaking English as a first language. Today both Penobscot and Abenaki are spoken by only a handful of elders, and Maliseet-Passamaquoddy (with very few exceptions) only by adults born before 1960. In some Micmac communities children are fluent speakers; in others only adults speak Micmac; in a few no one speaks Micmac at all.

Because they believe that knowledge of their native language is essential to the preservation of their unique heritage and identity, many Wabanaki groups have developed school and community programs to teach Micmac, Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, or Penobscot. They are publishing native language story-books, grammars, and dictionaries. The story "Maliyan," the story "Amucalu," and the song "Tuhtuwas" are from such books.

Just as great poems and legends (Greek, German, or Anglo-Saxon, for example) were handed on orally from generation to generation for centuries before they were written down, so were the Wabanaki legends. These languages were not written until quite recent times. This fact has perhaps led some people to the mistaken belief that they are "primitive." Early and modern writers often say that the Indians "had only a few words" or "could express only the simplest ideas and most basic human needs." This is not true. North American Native languages are highly complicated in their structure and can express with great power the full range of human ideas and emotions.

Some Ways in Which the Wabanaki Languages are Different From English

Although it is beyond the scope of this book to provide a full introduction to Wabanaki languages, it is possible to touch on some of the differences between these languages and English. The examples here are drawn from Passamaquoddy (Maliseet). The same observations are true of Micmac, Penobscot, and Abenaki, although the words and sentences are different. In fact, most of what follows is true for all Algonquian languages.

Words

Passamaquoddy words are not quite like English words. True, one can easily identify nouns and verbs, pronouns and conjunctions. It is the way words are put together that is different from English. A great deal of information is packed into a Passamaquoddy noun or verb, which might take several English words to translate exactly.

For example, take the Passamaquoddy word *tomhikon* (d'm-HEE-g'n), which means "axe" and which, in Passamaquoddy or a related language, is the origin of the English word tomahawk. Literally, this word means "tool for cutting apart."

tom-	apart
-h-	do with a tool
-ikon	noun ending (This makes a noun out of a verb, the way -tion does in English.)

In many words, much more information is included. The word *kossiqensu* (G'S-see-gwen-soo) means "he is washing his face" or "she is washing her face." This verb is not at all unusual. Like *tomhikon*, it is a combination of a number of meaningful word parts. In this word, some of them are only one letter long. (Another form of this word is found in the story, "Amucalu.")

koss-	wash
-iqe-	face or head
-n-	with hands
-s-	do to oneself
-u	he or she

As you can see, many of the word parts have meanings that are general, but combining them results in a very specific meaning. Here is another.

Totolahqaluwehpusu. (d'-d'-lah-KWAHL-wa-poo-zoo) He is wagging his tail.

totol-	is ...ing
-ahq-	stick-shaped
-aluwe-	tail
-hpus-	shake
-u	he or she

As shown in these examples, Passamaquoddy nouns and verbs often include descriptive information that English puts into several separate words. A single word in Passamaquoddy may be a whole sentence in English.

What is interesting about this process is that many ideas that English expresses as nouns or adjectives are verbs in Passamaquoddy. Talking about color in English we might use expressions like the following:

I like red.
Give me the white ball.
His face turned white.

In Passamaquoddy there are no nouns or adjectives referring to color. The sentences above must be translated as follows:

Nulinomon (verb) / *mehqeyik* (verb)
(noo-LEE-n'-m'n MA-kway-eeg)
I-like-the-looks-of / (something-that)-is red.

Milin (verb) / *epeskomakon* / *wapeyit* (verb).
(MEE-leen eh-BES-k'-mah-g'n wah-BAY-eed)
Give-me / ball / (which)-is-white.

Wapiqeyya (verb).
(wah-BEE-gway-yah)
He (or she)-face-turned-white.

Notice that all these color expressions are verbs or parts of verbs, while in English we think of the colors as nouns or adjectives. In Passamaquoddy, there really are no adjectives. The ideas expressed by adjectives in English are verbs or parts of verbs (or of nouns) in Passamaquoddy.

Other Features of Wabanaki Languages

Here are some examples of some other features of Wabanaki languages that will seem unusual to speakers of English.

1. In Wabanaki (and all Algonquian) languages all nouns are either "animate" or "inanimate." This doesn't depend entirely upon whether or not they are really "alive." (It is like French or Spanish nouns, which are either masculine or feminine.) All nouns referring to people and animals are animate, but for most other nouns the gender is hard to predict. Some linguists believe that other animate nouns name things that can (or could in the past) be thought of as having a spirit. But this doesn't completely explain why some nouns are animate and others inanimate. Why nouns are masculine or feminine in French and Spanish cannot be explained either; the original idea, which goes back to Latin and earlier languages, has been lost.

Some examples of animate and inanimate nouns in Passamaquoddy are as follows:

Animate	**Inanimate**	**Animate**	**Inanimate**
tree	flower	bread	potato
shoe	sock	shirt	pants
knee	heart	cup	fork
spoon	knife	star	earth
mountain	river	moon	cloud
milk	water	cheese	meat
pen	pencil	bow	arrow

2. In Passamaquoddy and other Wabanaki languages there are two ways to say "we": *nilun* (NEE-loon) and *kilun* (GEE-loon). Think about the different meanings of "we" in these two sentences.

Bill said to his brother, "We should help Mother today." (*kilun*)
Bill said to his brother, "We want you to come with us." (*nilun*)

In one sentence "we" includes the person Bill is speaking to; in the other, it doesn't (*kilun* - you and I; *nilun* - another person and I).

3. In Passamaquoddy there are several different words for "walk," depending upon how many people are walking:

Pomuhse. (b'm-OO-seh)	He (or she) is walking along.
Pomkawotuwok. (b'm-kah-W'D-oo-w'g)	They (two of them) are walking along.
Pomapasuwok. (b'm-ah-BAH-zoo-w'g)	They (three-or-more of them) are walking along.

Many other verbs in Passamaquoddy and Micmac have forms for one, two, and three-or-more. English has only singular (one) and plural (two-or-more) forms.

4. Passamaquoddy, like other Algonquian languages, has only one word which means "he" or "she" - *nekom* (NEG-'m). For this reason, people whose first language is a Wabanaki language sometimes get "he" and "she" mixed up when they speak English.

Shapes

People who speak unrelated languages are often said to have different ways of seeing the world around them. For example, speakers of Passamaquoddy think about shapes of things in strikingly different ways from speakers of English. When asked to name shapes in English, most people will come up with a list that includes some of the following words:

square
circle
oval
cube
rectangle
cylinder
triangle
sphere

Speakers of English think of these as "basic" shapes. There are few others that have commonly used names--except ones used in geometry, like pentagon, trapezoid, parallelogram, prism, and cone; or the names of objects with "basic" shapes, such as ball, block, or tube.

All of these English words refer to ideal shapes. There are few objects in nature which have these shapes exactly. When we speak of the "square" stem of a mint plant, or the "rectangular" pupil of a sheep's eye, we are saying that the shape is nearly an ideal (geometric) square or rectangle.

None of the English "basic" shape words -- or the geometric terms -- can be translated literally into Passamaquoddy or any other Wabanaki language. Speakers of these languages think about shapes in a different way, using the attributes of naturally-occurring objects. (When they want to name geometric shapes, they have to invent words: some Micmac speakers, for instance, use a word meaning "coffin-like" to mean "rectangle.")

Here are some of the Passamaquoddy shapes:

lump like	(3-dimensional, round)
hole like	(3- or 2-dimensional)
sheet like	(2-dimensional)
stick like	(rigid)
string like	(flexible)

In Passamaquoddy, none of these shapes is expressed by an independent word. Rather, each time a speaker mentions the shape of something, he includes it as part of the name of the object or as part of the verb that is used with it. For instance, the word-part *-ek-* (pronounced ek or eg) means "sheet-like (2-dimensional)":

TkEKon lamokut.
it-is-cold-and-two-dimensional / bed sheet
The bedsheet is cold.

WolEKte tuwihputiyey.
it-is-nicely-positioned-and-2D / tablecloth
The tablecloth is spread nicely.

WissEKopu opan.
it-is-wrapped-in-something-2D / bread
The bread is wrapped up.

SakhEKiye pahtoliyas.
he-2D-comes-into-view / priest
The priest is coming out from behind something, his robe the first
thing visible.

Some other Passamaquoddy shapes appear in the following words.

Tom-AHQ-aluw-e (d'm-ah-KWAHL-weh)
cut off/STICK SHAPED/tail/he or she
His or her tail is cut off.

Tiyal-AMK-eht-un. (tee-ahl-ahm-KA-toon)
around/GRANULAR/do to/he or she
He or she sprinkles it.

Sp-ANOK-aht-e. (spah-n'-GAH-teh)
high/COMPOSED OF LAYERS/be in place/it
It is thick (e.g., a book).

Etut-APSK-onuw-at. (eh-doo-dap-SK'N-oo-ahd)
very/3D AND ROUND/cheek/he or she
He or she has chubby cheeks.

Pisk-ALOK-aht-e. (bee-skahl-GAH-teh)
dark/HOLE LIKE/be in place/it
It is dark inside (a hole, room, cave, etc.).

Tol-ATOK-iy-e. (d'lah-d'-GEE-eh)
is ...ing/STRING LIKE/go/he or she
He or she is wriggling (a worm, snake, fish, etc.).

Wabanaki Orthographies (Systems for writing languages)

As noted, the Wabanaki languages were not written until quite recently. Initially there was no consistent system for writing languages, so each writer created his or her own method. (e.g. see "Wabanaki Groups and Names," D-7.) But in order for a writing system to accurately communicate the sound of a language to other people, it must be consistent, with developed rules that can be taught, and understood by others.

Over the years, linguists and Native speakers have worked together to develop writing systems for the Wabanaki languages. Today there is one writing system (alphabet) commonly used to write Penobscot, one for Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, and three different writing systems widely used for Micmac. Please keep in mind, when using the following pronunciation charts that "sounds of one language rarely correspond exactly to the sounds of another language, consequently simplistic comparisons...are often misleading." (Frank Siebert, personal communication)

Writing Penobscot

> Because we have sounds in Penobscot which are not in English, we have to have some rather unique symbols.... We don't use English orthography. We think the phonemic orthography is more elegant and, once learned, makes a lot more sense. (Pauleena Seeber, Director, Penobscot Nation Department of Humanities.)

Alphabet: a, α, c, cc, e, ə h, hʷ, i, k, kk, kʷ, kkʷ,l, m, n, o, p, pp, s, ss, t, tt, w, y

Pronunciation

Vowels	Closest English Sound
a	father
α	burr or flower
e	net
ə[1]	agent
i	bee (long); pit (short)
o	so, no
u	boot
á	over a vowel, stress with pitch rise
à	over a vowel, stress without pitch rise

Consonants	
c	between church and wedge
cc	chair
h	ahead, him
hʷ	soft hw
k	whisker (between k and g)
kk	stucco
kʷ	soft kw
kkʷ	hard kw
l	look, little (voiceless)
m	cornmeal
n	nod
p	whisper (between b and p)
pp	stopper
s	his (between s and z)
ss	hiss
t	stone (between d and t)
tt	grotto
w	wet
y	yet

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[1] The "schwa" sound

Writing Maliseet-Passamaquoddy

The writing system commonly used for Maliseet-Passamaquoddy uses letters found in the English alphabet, but some of them have different sound values. And, as with English, sometimes the context in which the letter occurs in the word determines its pronunciation. There are 17 letters used, five vowels and twelve consonants.

Alphabet: a, c, e, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, s, t, u, w, y,

Pronunciation

Vowels	Closest English Sound
a - ah	father
e	bed
eh	tack, hat
i - ih	machine, ski
o - oh	apron ("schwa" sound)
u - uh	tune

Blends	
aw	how
ew	(not found in English)
iw	few
ay	die
ey	day

Consonants

h, l, m, n, w, y have the same sound as in English. h is pronounced before a vowel, silent before a consonant.

	(When next to vowels or first-person initial n) consonant is voiced, sounds like English...	(When next to consonant or apostrophe) consonant is voiceless, sounds like English...
c	[j]	[ch]
k	[g]	[k]
p	[b]	[p]
q	[gw]	[kw]
s	[z]	[s]
t	[d]	[t]

Apostrophe (') in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy indicates a missing consonant that used to be pronounced in an older form of the word.

Writing Micmac

Today three different writing systems are widely used for Micmac -- in Nova Scotia, in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, and in Quebec. They are quite similar. The words are pronounced the same in each case. (Example: The Micmac word for "star," pronounced GLOH-oh-wej, is spelled in each system respectively: *kloqowej, glôgôetj , glogowej.*) Like that developed for Maliseet-Passamaquoddy, these systems each represent the sounds and sound-patterns of Micmac in a consistent way. Each system is used in producing books for local schools and communities. In this resource book we have used the Nova Scotia system, developed by Bernie Francis of the Membertou reserve and linguist Doug Smith.

MICMAC -- NOVA SCOTIA SYSTEM

Alphabet: a, e, i, ɨ, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, s, t, u, w

Pronunciation (where different from Maliseet-Passamaquoddy)

o	oh
k	g, k
j	j, ch
q	like guttural k or glottal stop
ɨ	as in apron ("schwa" sound)
'	marks long vowels

Examples

star	*kloqowej*	[GLOH-oh-wej]
chief	*saqmaw*	[ZAH-h'm-ow]
story	*a'tukwaqn*	[AH-doo-gwah-'n]
bird	*jipji'j*	[JEEP-cheej]

ɨ is written only where necessary to avoid confusion

This "Wabanaki Languages" fact sheet was written by Robert Leavitt, Micmac-Maliseet Institute, University of New Brunswick.

FAMILY

The Wabanaki family was of vital importance to Wabanaki survival. Put in familiar terms, it was workplace, school, and family -- it performed each of these functions, which many people today have come to view as separate. At the same time it provided its members with a wide range of choices and showed a wide range of variability in its make-up.

A new family began with the "engagement" of a young man and young woman, who were free to choose whom they wanted to marry. The engagement might last one, two, or three years. During that time the man lived with the woman's family and worked for them, and the woman worked for him, as she would later do as his wife. For example, the man provided the family with game, the woman made the snowshoes he needed to hunt it, and so forth. In this way everyone came to know each other well enough to judge if the marriage were suitable. If the young couple were childless, their marriage would probably break up, no matter how long the engagement had been, but if there were children, husband and wife were usually devoted to each other and lived together for the rest of their lives.

At a minimum a family residence included a couple with their children, but usually there were other members as well. These might include: wife's sister and her husband and children; husband's brother and his wife and children; one or more grandparents; one or more adopted nieces or nephews; and cousins. A family residence might include second and third cousins. The members of a single family might live in a single wigwam, or they might be found in several wigwams built close together.

The Wabanaki family was large and complex. As we would expect, strong bonds existed between parents and children and among brothers and sisters. But close, day-to-day relationships also grew up between cousins, aunts and nieces, uncles and nephews, and grandparents and grandchildren. There were numerous people upon whom one could rely, and to whom one owed love and support.

The members of a family faced numerous choices. For example, they could extend their close relationships as far as first, second, and third cousins. This did not mean that a person was close to every cousin, but that one could pick and choose. There were well-understood ways in which to do this: through sharing meals and work, and through gift-giving. Thus, because of the different choices that had been made, the make-up of one family could look considerably different from that of the next. Moreover, the relatives a person could rely on changed with circumstances. Children grew up and married and sometimes moved away, adults aged and died. And the pulse of seasonal movement separated people in the winter, when they broke into small hunting groups, and brought them together again in the spring and summer.

The value placed upon choice was reflected in the way children were raised. Physical punishment was not used. Children were asked, persuaded, teased -- but not forced. They were expected to act for the good of the group, but their freedom to choose otherwise -- to refuse -- was never entirely taken away from them. Children were taught to respect and obey their elders, whomever they might be; so they were responsible to far more people than just their parents. The other side of this was that many adults were reponsible for them. The supervisory functions of the parents were spread throughout the adult community, and, as was said earlier, children were routinely involved in close relationships with numerous adults of both their parents' and their grandparents' generations.

* * *

If a late twentieth century person from Maine or the Maritimes were able to step back into a sixteenth or seventeenth century Wabanaki family, there would be many things that would strike her, of course. Let us mention just a few of them. She would be surprised by the number of people who lived in what she considered a very small space, and she would be bothered by what she would call a "lack of privacy." Children and adults were always around. The wigwams did not have separate rooms. She would learn that Wabanaki family members did not want to be alone as much as she did, and they did not understand her need for this. As she tried to explain it to them, she would begin to wonder herself why it was so important to her. Yet she would learn that there were ways to separate herself other than through the use of large, divided physical space. If she moved away from the center of the wigwam toward the periphery, she would not be addressed. She could be alone there. This small movement in physical space signaled a large movement in emotional space. She could also go by herself to the water or into the forest. There were ways to achieve this time alone. But she would probably find that, on the whole, the Wabanaki were more gregarious than she was and less interested in this "privacy" of hers.

When she observed that the children were never physically punished, she might conclude that they were too much indulged. But she would be puzzled by the fact that they were also well-behaved. She would notice that there were no family playrooms, or playgrounds, or schools; in short, there was no separate sphere for children. They were intimately involved in adult activities. They were quieter than the children she was used to, less strident, more respectful of adult conversations and wishes -- more seen than heard. Their constant presence would not irritate her. She would grow fond of always having them around.

She would remark to herself how generous people were. She would become the recipient of invitations to eat, gifts of food, clothing, utensils. The givers of these things would consider her part of their family, and she would begin to realize how big her Wabanaki family was. She would find herself reciprocating -- sharing, giving things away. But to whom? She could not always be sure. They did not use last names, or family names, which she was used to having to categorize people. And a person who was called an older sister or a younger brother, she would learn later, might actually be cousin, but was treated as a close member of the family. It would be clear to everyone else; she would be the only one confused. Patiently, they would teach her the complexities of family life as she worked and joked alongside them. There would always be things she could do, but she would not feel pressed or harried. She would work at a leisurely pace, and pleasurably in the company of others, and then they would stop to rest or to do something else.

Our twentieth-century visitor might feel a much greater sense of belonging in the Wabanaki family, as compared to our own, combined with a more deeply felt responsibility. In the context in which the Wabanaki family existed, this would have made sense, for there were not other institutions such as schools and corporate workplaces to compete for people's loyalties. The family was what there was. Regardless of one's ambition -- whether one wanted to keep children safe from foreign enemies, to be secure in one's old age, to become a respected hunter or curer or leader -- the support of one's family was the only path. Therefore people devoted to it whatever they had to give.

SOCIAL AND SPIRITUAL LIFE

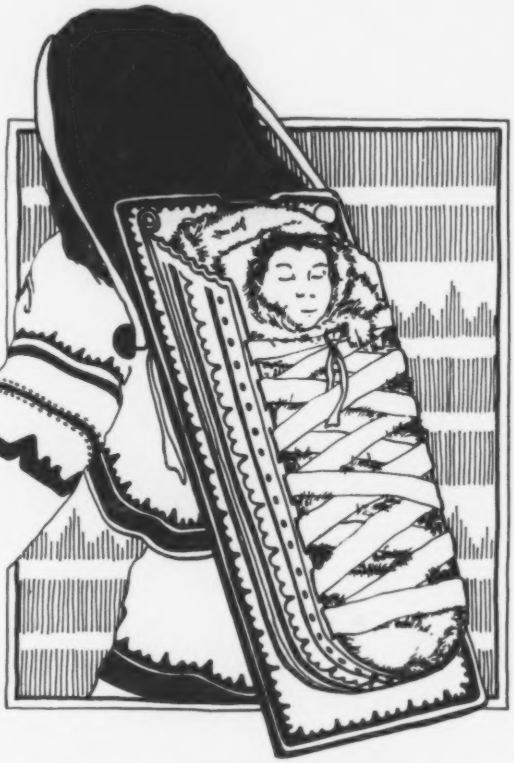
Following is an excerpt from the teachers' materials written as background for the "Mi'kmaq" video or TV series which portrays Micmac life in 1400 (published by the Nova Scotia Department of Education and entitled School Television Teachers Guides 1983/84 for Grade Levels P-6.)

Although what is written here is specifically about Micmacs, as far as is known it held true for the other Wabanaki groups in Maine and the Maritimes as well.

The Life Cycle

At birth, a baby was washed, welcomed with a sip of bear grease, and wrapped in soft fur on a diaper of moss. Most of [a baby's] infancy would be spent in a wooden carrier, viewing the world from the back of the mother or another female relation. Sometimes, the carrier would be hung from a convenient branch or a crosspole in the wigwam, so from earliest infancy babies were included in all aspects of daily life. They were also greatly loved.

Parents might give a birth feast, as well as celebrating the first tooth and the first step taken. Once able to walk and free of the cradle, children had the run of the household. Their education was not a formal undertaking, separate from family life, but an ongoing process begun at birth. Children learned by observing, by adult example, and by helping with family chores appropriate to their age; they were informally apprenticed to the world around them. They asked questions: "Why are you painting a bear on the wigwam?" "Why do you place those bones in that tree?" They listened to stories and told them, in turn, to their younger siblings.



A baby on its mother's back, laced into the wooden carrier or cradleboard. Reprinted, by permission, from Whitehead and McGee, Illustrations by Kaulbach, The Micmac, Nimbus Publishing, Nova Scotia, 1983.

The younger sister, for example, helps her older counterpart to lay fir boughs in the wigwam. She gathers firewood and clams, goes for water, strings meat for smoking, and nurses the fire. She asks to be shown how to string shells for a necklace. She looks after her little brother. She watches her mother make a quillwork hair ornament.

Similarly, the little boy imitates his male relatives; he practices with a toy spear, pretending to be a hunter. He and his friends play waltes[1] like their fathers; they dance as they have seen their elders do. He watches the men make tools; sometimes, they probably make smaller versions for him.

As the girl grows older, she will take on more responsibilities, perfect her skills in sewing, weaving, and basketry. She will learn the seasons and places of useful plants and medicinal herbs, and she will learn to assist at a birth. The boy, for his part, will accompany the men fishing and hunting; he will learn tracking, snaring, and strategy. He will observe the habits of animals and the weather patterns of his locale. He will be shown how to build weirs and to knap stone. His parents will celebrate his first kill.

The conferral of adult status for the girl comes with her first menstrual period. The boy is deemed a man, with a man's privileges, when he has killed his first moose. Both may then marry.

A young man desirous of marriage would ask to reside with the family of the girl he favors. If this were acceptable, he would remain with her family for a period of one to three years, during which he would demonstrate his ability to provide the necessities of life for a family of his own, as well as testing his compatibility with the bride and her family. His fiancee would also demonstrate her accomplishments by making the young man's clothing, cording his snowshoes, and so on. Each has a chance to assess the other as a potential mate. At some point after the first year, if both parties were agreeable, both families would meet to arrange the marriage feast....

[What we know about the wedding ceremony] is based on records of seventeenth and eighteenth-century marriage practices. The bridegroom was responsible for the enormous quantities of food necessary for a good feast, and providing it was a final demonstration of his prowess. Relatives on both sides would be invited. The feasting went on for days and included dancing, singing, dicing, storytelling, recitations of the genealogies of both young people, and marvellous oratory by prominent elders. The bridegroom proclaimed his worth in song and dances where he mimed stalking and killing animals and enemies. Marriage ceremonies probably included the cutting of the bride and groom's hair, as only married couples wore their hair at a shorter length. Adult status meant fulfilling all the obligations and responsibilities of a Micmac man or woman, and much of what that entailed is depicted in the MI'KMAQ video series. As education and learning were seen as a continuous acquisition of knowledge and experience, the elders in any Micmac group were highly respected for their lifetime of accumulated wisdom. In a society in which there were no written records as we understand them, and in which technology and custom changed relatively slowly, such accumulated knowledge was invaluable. Old men were permitted certain foods denied to young hunters, and special delicacies were set aside for them alone. [Elders] were the repositories of the tribe's oral histories, and from them were passed down -- by recitation -- the genealogies and stories of their ancestors, stretching back for centuries. They were the continuity of the culture, preserving its particular view of the world and its methods of interacting with that world.

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[1] See "Waltes, A Dice Game," D-117 to 118.

Kinship and Family

Perhaps the most important relationship among the Micmac was that between siblings, especially siblings of the same sex. Sisters would often try to convince their husbands to form joint camps so that if the men were away on an extended hunting trip, there would be a group of related women in the encampment to keep one another company. This made things easier for the women. Similarly, brothers would often set up a single camp so that the coordination of their activities was made easier. However, it should be noted that...cousins would have had the terms "brother" and "sister" extended to them, too. Also there were separate terms for older and younger brother and sister, a practice which reflects the respect that the Micmacs felt was due to someone older and more experienced than oneself.

Seating Etiquette in the Wigwam

The seating arrangements in the wigwam generally reflect the age and sex division of labour; one side was occupied by women and the other by men, with the seating on each side being organized roughly by age. Also, there is a private-public dimension to the space within the wigwam, with the area near the walls being personal, and the area around the hearth being public. This is a very practical arrangement when one considers that during inclement weather, the family may be confined together for long periods of time....

During visits the relative prestige of the guests would be indicated by where they were invited to sit. A man's eligibility for marriage was partially determined by whether or not he had killed one of the major food animals, such as a moose. Since this success is a consequence of skill and luck, rather than age, there was a prescribed sitting posture for those who had not made such a major kill. Thus, just as the use of a menstrual hut was a signal of a woman's adult status, the seating posture of men was the signal of their adult status....

Polity

The main political unit among aboriginal Micmacs would consist of those people resident along a river drainage system and along contiguous coastline. Political decisions would generally be determined by a process of thorough discussion by concerned individuals until consensus was obtained. Leaders were those persons who could convince others of the correctness of their opinions by skilled oratory and by their reputation for being right in previous decisions. The most prestigious of these leaders would be given the privilege of representing the community to other groups. Occasionally, families would have such a person adopt one of their children, so that the child might learn the skills of leadership. Important community decisions were concerned with where families would reside to make best use of resources, the residence of newly married couples (especially if one spouse was from another community), and alliances with other communities.

Ideology

The world view of a people includes their notions of the causal relationships between persons or between people and the environment, and their understanding of phenomena in the environment. Thus, it includes what we would call a people's science, religion, and artistic expression. Much of this knowledge among the Micmacs was communicated through legends and [oral tradition]. For instance, stories about how a particular plant remedy came to be used by the people includes detailed information about its appearance, when to collect it, and how to process it, but the instructions are expressed in terms of a plant-person who visits the people and reveals [its] identity.

Most (but not all) things in the natural world had a quality that made them like persons -- they were not gods -- and as persons there was an etiquette associated with them. Plants, animals, and some minerals that were used by humans either had to be killed or transformed in some fashion. Usually the "person" within the thing to be used was asked if its inner essence would leave the item so humans might use its material. Since the Micmacs believed in reincarnation, the essence would take on a new body -- but it would do so in the vicinity of a person who had made use of it only if its old form were treated with respect. One way of showing respect was to hang the unused bones of land animals in a tree and to return the bones of water animals to a river or the sea.

Just as human persons have special friends among their human acquaintances, so too did the Micmac have special friends among these other-than-human beings. These are an individual's spirit helpers. One can speak to one's spirit helper in a casual manner, ...or one could prepare a special structure known as the shaking tent for a more formal and public conversation. Sometimes a sweat lodge was used as the place of meeting although it was frequently used exclusively for leisure-time activities with friends.... Just as we learn about the intricacies of human interaction through literature, the aboriginal Micmac accomplished the same end through the telling of anecdotal stories.

Harold McGee and Ruth Holmes Whitehead

More on Wabanaki spirituality is included in the "Spirituality" section of the interviews, C-104 to C-111.

RECREATION

Wabanaki people had many ways of relaxing and having fun four or five hundred years ago. Sometimes they played games for pure enjoyment. Other pastimes were educational. For instance, children were given small versions of adult tools, such as bows and arrows, spears, and fishing equipment. Children played with dolls, and learned to make dolls' mats and tiny wigwams. Young adults practiced activities such as archery and canoeing.

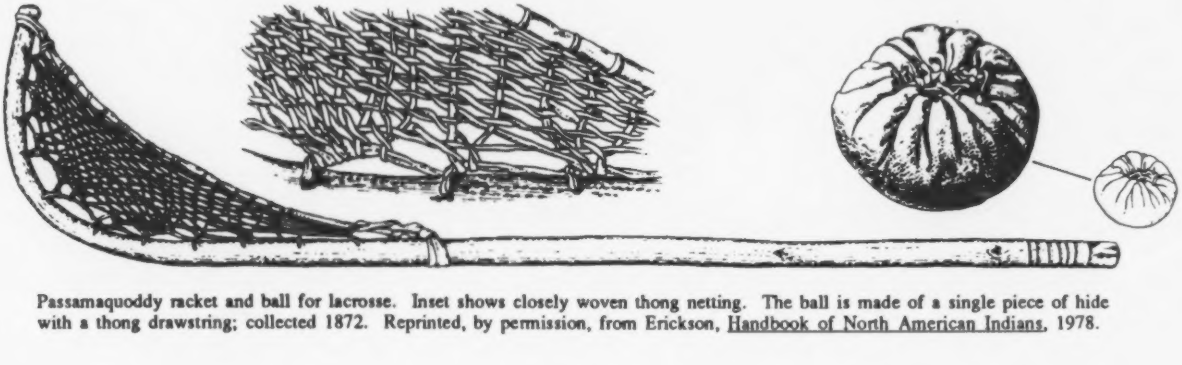
Children from a very early age helped out with adult tasks. Often work itself easily became fun by making it into a game. Also, people could tell stories while they worked. A person who was skilled at something like weaving or carving might spend many pleasurable hours making functional items; making things more beautiful with quillwork, embroidery, or painted designs could also be fun.

Dancing and music making could be done for ceremonial or spiritual reasons, or just for fun. The same was true for sweat lodges.

There were many games of physical skill and dexterity, including a kind of soccer, canoe tilting (where players in the bows of canoes attempted to push each other overboard), foot racing, wrestling, ice shinny (played with sticks and a wooden block on the ice), top spinning, cat's cradle, and jackstraw (a game like pick-up-sticks).

Perhaps one of the most well-known Native games is racket (lacrosse). This game was played by both men and women, but usually not together. The teams, with equal numbers of players, decided at the beginning of the game the number of points needed to win. The ball, made of buckskin filled with moose hair, was then tossed up midway between the goals at each end of the playing field to begin play. The ball was thrown back and forth with sticks; each stick was about three feet long and made of flexible wood crooked at the end into a loop that was interwoven with rawhide.

Several well-known Wabanaki games, with directions for playing them, are included on pages D-115 to D-118.



Passamaquoddy racket and ball for lacrosse. Inset shows closely woven thong netting. The ball is made of a single piece of hide with a thong drawstring; collected 1872. Reprinted, by permission, from Erickson, Handbook of North American Indians, 1978.

TRADE

Following are some of the items that Wabanaki people received in exchange for furs that ultimately made their way to Europe and Asia.

Iron knives
Iron hatchets and axes
Picks
Metal swords (usually used to make spear points)
Metal arrowheads
Metal harpoons
Guns, lead bullets (shot), gunpowder

Blankets
Coats
Cloaks
Shirts
Hats (beaver, felt)
Red and blue cloth

Vermillion (red paint)
Mirrors (looking glasses)
Jewelry (especially silverwork, like brooches)
Wampum

Scissors
Thread
Pins
Buttons

Kettles (iron, brass, and copper)
Pots
Eating Utensils

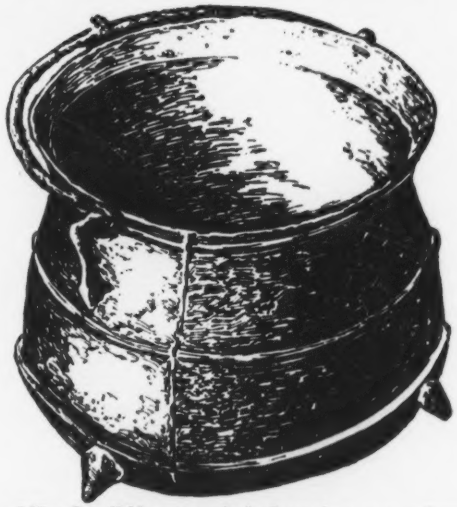
Bread
Biscuits
Peas
Raisins
Prunes
Corn

Liquor (rum, brandy, cider, wine)

Tobacco and pipes

It is likely that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries most Wabanaki people were trading for these items with other Native people (including Micmacs and probably Maliseets), who then traded them to Europeans for a profit; by the early seventeenth century Native people had adopted European shallops (up to 40' long) for use in this trade (Bourque and Whitehead: 1985). Later in the seventeenth century Europeans traded directly with all Wabanakis.

Long-distance trading for Wabanaki people was not new. For example, archaeologists in Maine and the Maritimes have found items made of stone that came from as far away as Labrador and Ohio and that were in use here centuries before Europeans settled in the area.

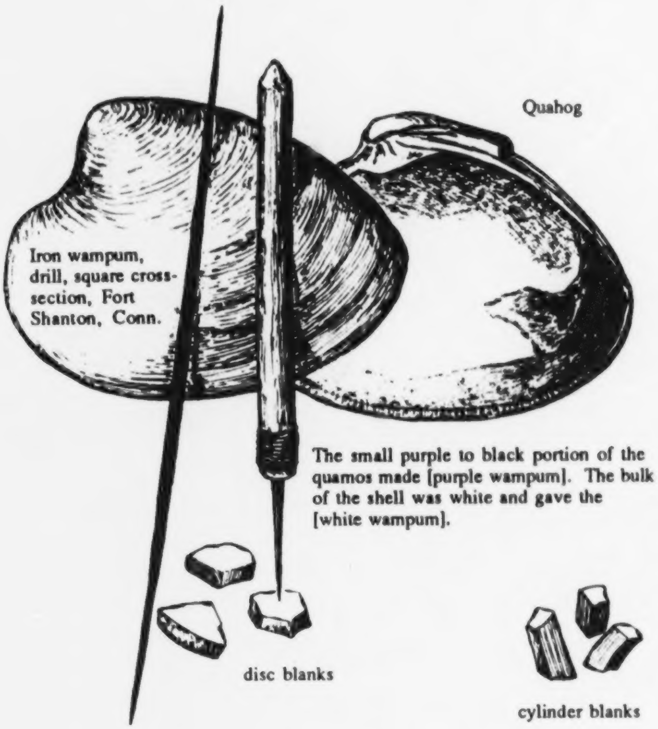


Miles Standish's pot, typical of cast-iron pots -- from stereopticon view 481, Kilburn Bros., Littleton, NH. Reprinted with permission from The New England Indians, by C. Keith Wilbur, © 1978, published by The Globe Pequot Press, Chester, CT.

WAMPUM

Beads of wampum were white and purple and manufactured from the shells of quahogs (purple and white) and sometimes other shells (white). Once they had been ground on stone slabs into hollow cylinders about 1/4 inch long and 1/8 inch in diameter, they were perforated with stone drills. In this way they could be threaded together and woven into patterns, or strung on leather thongs and used as belts, garters, earrings, or hair binders. Wampum was produced only in southern New England in the area along Long Island Sound. The Native people there used wampum as a token of friendship, or to seal a pact (like a marriage agreement), and they wore it ornamentally as a sign of power and wealth.

When the Europeans realized the value of wampum, they began to use it to trade for furs, and ultimately came to use it as currency in transactions both with Indians and with other colonists. They supplied the groups around Long Island Sound with metal drills to increase production. These drills greatly shortened the length of time required to manufacture the beads. A pattern of trade developed in which the Indians of southern New England traded the wampum to the Dutch and English for European goods such as iron kettles and guns. The Dutch and English, in turn, used that same wampum to pay for furs received from Indians who lived farther north. The Dutch persuaded the English to introduce wampum to the Wabanakis, who within a few years also became part of the far-flung wampum trade.


Quahog
Iron wampum, drill, square cross-section, Fort Shanton, Conn.
disc blanks
cylinder blanks

The small purple to black portion of the quamos made [purple wampum]. The bulk of the shell was white and gave the [white wampum].

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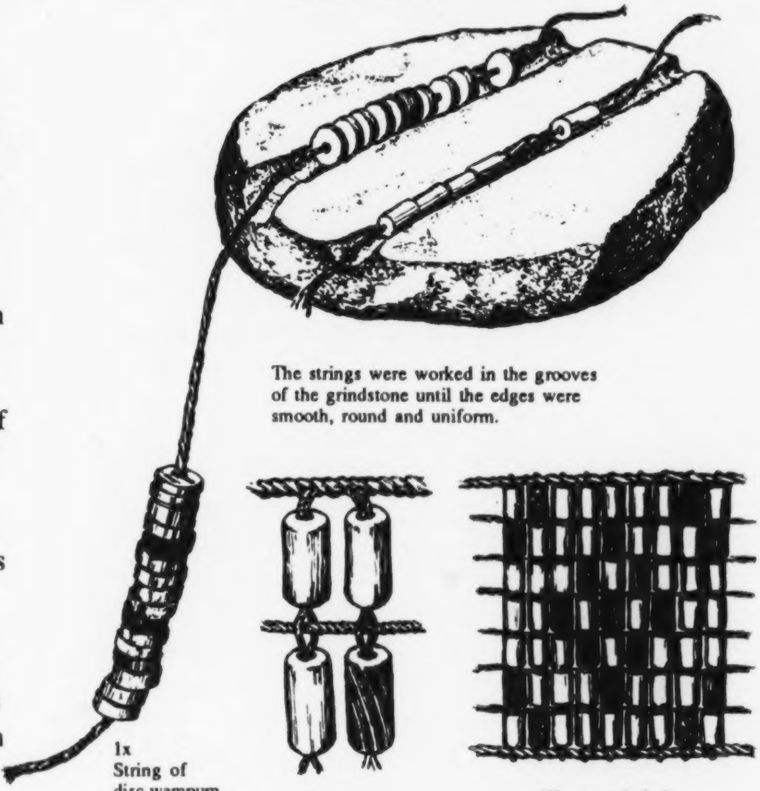
By the 1660s, as disputes between settlers and Indians began to heat up, the Dutch and the

English stopped trading guns for wampum in southern New England, and thereafter the use of wampum as money died out.

Nevertheless, wampum continued to be highly prized by the Wabanakis. They exchanged it as gifts. They also used it for record keeping. The Wabanakis did not have a written language; thus, history and genealogies were passed on orally. Wampum was developed into a mnemonic system. The "reader" of the wampum used the arrangement of the wampum in well-understood patterns to enhance recall. Different wampum belts were used for different ceremonies, and thus there was marriage wampum, burial wampum, and so on. Wampum belts were also used to send messages between members of the Wabanaki Confederacy. In these cases, the presence of wampum would help to validate the "reader's" claim to be a legitimate messenger and help to convey the message accurately.

The shells were broken and roughly trimmed to size. After perforation with the bow drill's metal point, the pieces were strung on hemp.


The strings were worked in the grooves of the grindstone until the edges were smooth, round and uniform.

1x
String of disc wampum

Detail 3x

Wampum belt 1x

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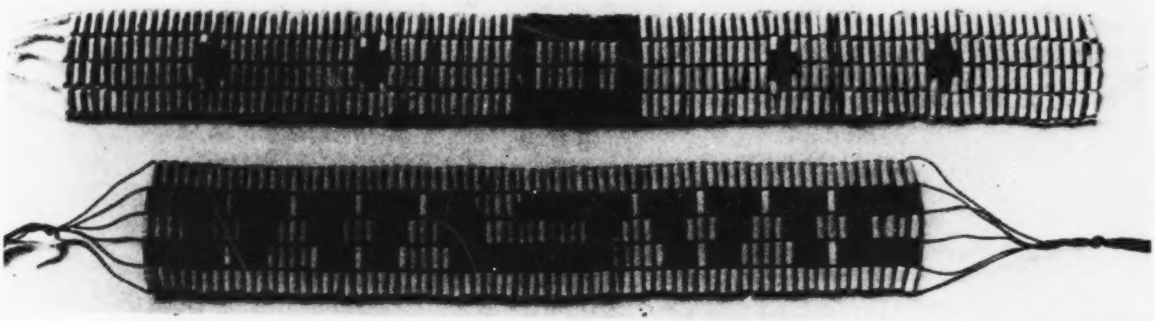

Wampum belts. From Frank G. Speck, "The Foundations of Wampum among the Eastern Algonkian," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association Vol. 6, 1919.

WARS AND TREATIES

On the following pages are outlines of the six wars in Maine and the Maritimes between the English on one side and the Wabanakis and the French on the other. These outlines are meant to be used along with written materials, such as Chapter 4 of Maine Dirigo: I Lead (Maine Studies Curriculum Project: 1980). The information on this fact sheet was derived from the chapter in Maine Dirigo and revised and added to by Andrea Bear Nicholas.

FIRST MAINE INDIAN WAR (King Philip's War) 1675-1678

English vs. Sacos, Androscoggins, Kennebecs, Penobscots

Precipitating Circumstances and Major Events of the War

- Southern New England nations fight English colonization (King Philip's War); English retaliate by trying to exterminate Native people.
- Wabanakis misunderstand land deeds and protest new English settlements.
- Wabanakis make repeated efforts to seek peace.
- English demand Wabanakis surrender guns and cut off sale of ammunition to Wabanakis.
- Without guns and ammunition, Wabanakis starve.
- English use violence and treachery against the Wabanakis -- e.g., Squando's child, Mattahando, trade abuses, capturing Natives to sell into slavery.
- English unsuccessfully seek Mohawk help in the war; use Native people from southern New England as soldiers instead.

Treaties

Mogg's Treaty of 1676

- Treaty is more favorable to the English, even though the English were mostly to blame for starting the war.
  a) Wabanakis, unfairly blamed for starting the war, must pay settlers for damage.
  b) Peaceful Wabanakis must take up arms against warring Wabanakis.
- Treaty is signed by one sakom [ZAH-g'm][1] under pressure from English. Not accepted by many Wabanakis because treaty favors English.

Treaty of 1678

- Wabanaki sovereignty is recognized.
- Former English settlements may remain if no more new settlements.
- English settlers must pay Wabanakis yearly allotments of corn for land.
  (Additional treaties more favorable to English than Wabanakis are signed in years after as a consequence of this war, e.g., 1684, 1685.)

Consequences of War and Treaties

- Southern New England nations are defeated in King Philip's War.
- Many Abenakis flee to Canada.
- Wabanakis suffer severe food shortage.

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[1] Maliseet-Passamaquoddy word for leader.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR 1688-1699

English vs. Sacos, Androscoggins, Kennebecs, Canadian Abenakis, Penobscots, Passamaquoddies, Maliseets, Micmacs
English vs. French

Precipitating Circumstances and Major Events of the War

- War breaks out between French and Six Nations.
- Treaty of 1678 is broken -- English settlements spread, in spite of promise of no new settlements; settlers fail to make yearly payments of corn.
- French and English compete for land east of the Kennebec River; English ransack French trading post at Pentagouet (now Castine).
- Fishing is obstructed on Saco R. Cattle destroy Wabanaki crops; Wabanakis kill stray English cattle.
- English display treachery when exchanging captives or negotiating under white flag.
- English take 20 Wabanakis captive at Saco; Wabanakis take captives for exchange. Rash English officers shoot at Wabanaki delegation returning their first captive. This incident drives Wabanakis to declare war in the spring of 1689 and attack Dover and Pemaquid.
- Peace efforts of Gov. Andros of New York are defeated by Massachusetts' distrust of Wabanakis and Catholics.
- English blame French and declare war on all "Eastern Indians" in 1689 with a bounty on Native scalps. This leads Wabanakis to accept French military help.
- English fear Wabanaki-French alliance and seek alliance with Mohawks and other Native people.
- Madockawando continues seeking peace with English but loses respect with his own people when he sells land to English.
- French encourage Wabanakis to fight against English but supply insufficient arms and soldiers.
- Wabanakis fight war at sea.
- English destroy some Wabanaki villages. Starvation drives Wabanakis to accept English peace terms.

Treaties

Treaty of 1690

- Treaty unfavorable to Wabanakis is signed by Wabanaki sakoms, some of whose wives are being held captive.

Phip's Treaty of 1693 signed by Madockawando

- Wabanakis must stop fighting and forsake French.
- Wabanakis must respect English settlements on land already deeded to English (specific deeds not itemized).
- Wabanakis agree to accept English law; English assume Wabanakis are subjects of England and all conflicts are to be resolved by Massachusetts.
- Treaty is not accepted by Wabanakis; fighting continues until 1699.

Treaty of 1699 finally brought war to an end. Essentially same terms as treaty of 1693.

Treaty of 1701 between the Iroquois, the French, and the Catholic Native Nations

- The Great Council Fire and the Wabanaki Confederacy begin.

Consequences of War and Treaties

- French recognize Wabanaki military power.
- French involvement blinds English to Wabanaki motives.
- Wabanakis resent French exploitation.
- Wabanaki mistrust of English grows.
- Western Wabanakis flee to Wabanaki villages such as Norridgewock and to new villages in Quebec.
- English believe they have obtained Wabanaki submission.
- Wabanaki dependence on English trade goods increases.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR 1703-1713

English vs French
English vs. all Wabanakis

Precipitating Circumstances and Major Events of the War

- French and English compete for Acadia (includes what is now Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and much of Maine).
- Misunderstandings over land deeds continue.[1]
- English settlements move east along Maine coast.
- Wabanakis of southern Maine seek trade relations and peace with English.
- English pressure Wabanakis to respect English law, forsake Catholicism, and allow English to educate their children; Wabanakis refuse.
- France and England return to war (1702). Wabanakis choose to remain neutral, but English violence and withdrawal of trade drives Wabanakis to French.
- French incite Kennebecs, especially those living in Canada, to attack English settlements as a way of protecting French settlements on the St. Lawrence.
- English declare war on all Wabanakis and offer more bounties on scalps (1703).
- More Wabanakis flee to Canada.
- Village of Pigwacket is destroyed.
- French and allied nations, including Wabanakis, attack Deerfield, Mass.
- Norridgewock is destroyed by English in 1705.
- English raid French and Wabanaki settlements along coast of what is now Nova Scotia.
- English capture Port Royal (1710).

Treaties

Treaty of Utrecht 1713 (between English and French)

- French king cedes Acadia to England, but French officials in Canada try to prove that Wabanaki territory in what is now Maine and New Brunswick was not part of Acadia, and therefore not ceded to the English.

Treaty of Portsmouth 1713 (between English and Wabanakis except Micmacs)

- Wabanakis agree to respect all former English settlements in their territories.
- English must respect Wabanaki territory not already settled by the English.
- English must respect aboriginal hunting, fishing, fowling rights even on deeded land.
- English agree to regulate unfair trade.
- Wabanakis agree to accept English law, but there is evidence that they are tricked into doing so.

Consequences of War and Treaties

- Wabanakis are angry at the French for ceding their land to the English.
- Wabanaki refugees return to lands, although some remain in Canada.
- English offer lower prices on English goods to lure Wabanaki trade.
- French offer gifts, construct churches, and continue to send priests to keep friendship of Wabanakis and strengthen claim on Wabanaki territories.
- English justify new settlement because they believe the land has been given to them by French in Treaty of Utrecht.
- Wabanakis deny terms of Treaty of Utrecht and assert sovereignty over land.
- Wabanakis are forced to respect additional English deeds as well as former settlements in another treaty (1717)

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[1] Conflict arose because: (a) In treaties where Wabanakis agreed to respect previous deeds, exact deeds were not specified. Between wars English would come up with new deeds that had not been presented at earlier treaty conference. This pattern was repeated many times, and (b) Wabanaki and English viewed land ownership/use differently. (See Maine Dirigo, I Lead p. 68)

DUMMER'S WAR (Lovewell's War) 1722-1727

English vs. all Wabanakis

Precipitating Circumstances and Events of the War

- English try to assert control over Wabanaki territory ceded to England by French king in Treaty of Utrecht (1713)
- New treaty of 1717 not recognized by all Wabanakis.
- English forts and settlements spread further up Kennebec.
- English fail to curtail trade abuses, including liquor trade.
- Massachusetts refuses to prevent frontier violence ("settlers are outside our law"), but punishes Wabanaki violence ("you have no law").
- Kennebecs and others become divided over issues of war and peace.
- Kennebecs kill stray English cattle; they are forced to pay for them and to turn in four sakoms as hostages.
- French priests in Wabanaki villages anger Massachusetts authorities. Mass. refuses to return the four sakoms.
- Letter of protest from 11 Wabanaki villages and 8 allied groups in Canada[1] is seen by English as Indian-French conspiracy.
- Canadian officials support Wabanaki sovereignty east of Kennebec as a way of disputing English claim to that land but refuse to support Wabanakis militarily because France and England are at peace.
- English determine to exterminate Wabanakis by declaring war on all and offering bounties on their scalps, despite Wabanaki peace efforts (1722).
- Wabanakis again fight successfully at sea.
- English pressure Mohawks and other Native people to join them in war against the Wabanakis.
- Penobscot village at Old Town is destroyed (1723).
- Norridgewock[2] is destroyed, with at least 27 massacred (1724).
- English lose battle at Pigwacket.

Treaties

Dummer's Treaty 1725 (between English in Massachusetts and Wabanakis in "Maine")

- Wabanakis must allow all English settlements built before war but retain rights to all other lands.
- English must not disturb Wabanaki hunting territories again.
- English must regulate trade.

Mascarene's Treaty 1725 (between English of Nova Scotia and Wabanakis of Nova Scotia [includes territory of New Brunswick at this time])

- English recognize Maliseet and Micmac rights to hunting, fishing, planting crops, but (unlike in Dummer's Treaty) do not recognize Native ownership of land.

Consequences of War and Treaties

- Wabanakis strengthen inter-tribal diplomacy to hold line on further settlement.
- Wabanakis mistrust French politics but generally trust French priests.
- Penobscots become spokespeople for Wabanakis in negotiations with Massachusetts.

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[1] At this time Canada meant the territory held by the French on the St. Lawrence.

[2] Norridgewock was resettled after it was first destroyed in 1705 and again after it was burned in 1725. It remained a major village into the 1760s.

KING GEORGE'S WAR 1744-1749

English vs. French
English vs. all Wabanakis

Precipitating Circumstances and Events

- War resumes between France and England. Wabanakis try to remain neutral.
- English population in Maine reaches 12,000.
- Presumpsot is dammed; Matinicus seal hunting and Kennebecs' hunting and beaver trapping are disturbed.
- French take steps to fortify Acadia (Fort Louisbourg on Cape Breton), except for peninsula of Nova Scotia, and use French priests to instigate Micmacs and Maliseets in attacks on English in Nova Scotia (especially at Annapolis).
- War is declared by English with bounties offered on all Native scalps even though Penobscots are still trying to remain neutral.
- English use rangers and Native people from southern New England to fight Wabanakis.
- Wabanakis try, with help from the French and Great Council Fire, to drive English out of Maine and Nova Scotia.
- English capture Fort Louisbourg.
- Many Penobscots, Maliseets, and Micmacs flee to Canada. Some join French at war in Champlain Valley; others stay in Maine or join French and other Native people in Nova Scotia.
- Epidemic strikes and kills 4,000 Micmacs (one third of population) 1746.

Treaties

Treaty of Aix la Chapelle 1748 (between England and France)

- Treaty returns Louisbourg and all of Cape Breton to French but still does not establish clear boundary between English and French territory in Acadia.

Treaty of 1749 (between English and Wabanakis)

- This was in fact two treaties, one ratifying Dummer's Treaty in Massachusetts and the other ratifying Mascarene's Treaty in Nova Scotia.

Consequences of War and Treaties

- English are forced to return Ft. Louisbourg to French by treaty ending war; English settle in Halifax.
- Most Micmacs remain at war in protest of English encroachments at Halifax and elsewhere.
- Wabanakis' fear of English increases; hostilities continue in spite of treaties.
- Wabanakis strengthen ties with other Native nations of the Great Council Fire.
- Three new French forts are built in what is now New Brunswick.
- Commission is set up by England and France to settle boundaries of the territories belonging to the two countries.
- Treaty of 1749 is ratified again in 1752, 1753, and 1754 (in Maine).
- Another peace treaty is signed by some Micmacs in 1752.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR[1] (Seven Years' War) 1754-1763

English vs. French
English vs. Kennebecs, St. Francis Abenakis, Penobscots, Passamaquoddies, Maliseets, Micmacs

Precipitating Circumstances and Events of the War

- New English encroachments are made on headwaters of Kennebec and in Nova Scotia; there are incidents of English violence against Native people.
- Boundary commission fails to agree on boundaries.
- War resumes between France and England (though not officially declared until 1756).
- English plan to invade all French-held territory in North America, including French forts in Acadia.
- Massachusetts builds Ft. Halifax in Kennebec territory despite Kennebec protests.
- Micmacs try to settle land disputes in Nova Scotia but Nova Scotia is unwilling to concede any land to help settle disputes.
- All Wabanakis except Penobscots join French at first to resist English invasion.
- English declare war on all Wabanakis except Penobscots (1755); they capture two French forts at Chignecto. Rather than lose their fort at the mouth of the St. John to the English, French destroy it themselves.
- Penobscot leaders continue to seek peace, though some of their people join other Wabanakis in resisting English.
- English declare war and scalp bounties on Penobscots, too, even though their leaders continue to advocate peace; Penobscots forced to join war.
- Widespread starvation and major smallpox epidemic strike Wabanakis.
- Wabanakis fight war on three fronts- at L. Champlain, in Maine, and in Nova Scotia.
- English invade St. John and capture Louisbourg in 1758. Many Maliseets flee to Quebec.
- Quebec falls to English and refugee village of Odanak is burned by Rogers' Rangers (1759).
- Pownall marches English troops to Penobscot, finds no Penobscots, and claims to have conquered Penobscots.
- Montreal falls to English (1760).

Treaties

Treaty of 1760 (between English of Nova Scotia and Maliseets, Passamaquoddies, Micmacs)

- Treaty is like Mascarene's Treaty of 1725, but includes a trade agreement.
- Similar treaties signed by most other Micmacs in 1760 and 1761.

Treaty of Paris 1763 (between France and England)

- France cedes Canada to England, as well as all of what is now New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton.

Royal Proclamation of 1763 issued by the king of England

- It recognizes Native land rights.
- All Native people are to keep land not sold or granted to the English by end of war.

Consequences of War and Treaties

- Wabanaki-French alliance ends.
- Great Council Fire loses power to resist English.
- Seven Wabanaki groups remain; Kennebecs, St. Francis and Bécancour Abenakis, Penobscots, Passamaquoddies, Maliseets, Micmacs.
- Only Penobscots, Passamaquoddies, and Maliseets retain most of hunting territories by end of war; Micmacs retain territories except on peninsula of Nova Scotia.

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[1] Many object to this title because the war was started by England as part of England's design to conquer Canada.

SOVEREIGNTY

Sovereignty, the right of people to govern themselves, is important to all nations. European settlement certainly raised the issue of sovereignty in an acute form for the Wabanakis. In the historical overview (A-15 to A-17), there is a description of the ways in which the Wabanakis sought to retain their sovereignty in the face of European expansion. The claim to be sovereign peoples is still made by Native people in Maine and the Maritimes, nor is it likely to be forgotten. So it is important to understand what sovereignty means and how the government of the United States has dealt with it, for efforts to resolve the issue have had a large impact on Native peoples in Maine. In this fact sheet examples have been taken from within the United States, although Native sovereignty is as much an issue in Canada as it is in the United States.

Most citizens of the United States or Canada take sovereignty of their nations for granted and consider it a right inherent in the order of things, natural or given by God. As such it is not something that can be taken from them. Conceivably a foreign power could forcibly deny them the *excercise* of their sovereignty, but even in that case their *right* to govern themselves, and their claim to that right, could not be eradicated. That is the situation in which some Native people find themselves: the exercise of their sovereignty has been denied to them, but in their view their right to govern themselves -- their right to self-determination -- cannot be destroyed. It should be noted, perhaps, that such a situation is not unique to Native peoples in the Americas; it can also be found in parts of Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, and islands in the Pacific Ocean.

Sovereignty presumes an accepted definition of who "the people" are. Definitions of "the people" -- who belongs, who does not -- can change with time, as can their forms of government. Relations with outsiders can also change. The principle of sovereignty permits cooperation with others, as in trade or war, and even dependence on others, provided that the dependence has been freely chosen and can be ended, again by choice. However a sovereign people alters its membership or government or foreign relations, what cannot be altered is its *right* to determine its own fate. Therefore, some Native people assert that despite their dependence -- whether chosen or forced upon them -- they retain as much *right* to govern themselves as they had before the Europeans set foot in the Americas. But, they complain, exercise of this sovereignty is largely denied to them.

Treaties

Treaties signed by Native peoples and the government of the United States certainly implied that the United States recognized Indians as sovereign. Or else why sign treaties? Treaties are agreements between sovereign nations. The Soviet Union and the United States can sign a treaty, but the United States and New York City cannot. Native peoples were acknowledged to be sovereign peoples. But this changed. In a Supreme Court decision written in 1831, Chief Justice John Marshall qualified Indian sovereignty in the United States in a significant way. He observed that Indians lived in "distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries, within which their authority is exclusive," yet he would not grant that they were any longer sovereign foreign nations. He called them instead "domestic dependent nations." Chief Justice Marshall declared, "They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will." The exercise of their complete sovereignty had been denied to them, whether they liked it or not.

It must be emphasized that this decision was reached in a court of the United States, not a Native American court, and that it was reached without the consent of Native Americans. Native peoples had their own systems of jurisprudence, which offered other conceptions of their legal status as nations -- but these were ignored. Behind the law of the United States on this issue was not some sort of necessary logic, or any process of negotiation with Native peoples, but force ("we assert a title independent of their will").

Federal-Indian Trust Relationships

Chief Justice Marshall qualified his decision in two ways. First, he held that Native American tribes retain all of their sovereign powers except those that are specifically taken from them by Congress and said that actions taken by Congress to limit tribal rights of self-government must be clearly stated, with any doubts resolved in the Indians' favor. This recognition of the continuation of "inherent sovereignty" in Indian tribes is a critical feature of federal Indian law. And second, he held that the relationship between the federal government and the Indians was that of a "ward to his guardian," which, as subsequent Supreme Court decisions have made clear, meant that the federal government had a duty to act, as guardian, solely for the benefit of Native peoples in any matter that affects their interests. Thus was born what has come to be known as the "trust relation," and the creation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to administer specific programs to assist Native peoples.

Indians in Maine were excluded from this trust relationship. Penobscots and Passamaquoddies had signed treaties with of Massachusetts and later with Maine, but not with the federal government, and therefore they were thought to live on "state reservations" and were called "state Indians." Micmacs and Maliseets, who had no reservations in Maine and had signed no treaties giving up land there, were also called "state Indians." (See A-19 to A-27 for additional information on the extent of state control.) The federal government and the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs were not thought to have jurisdiction over them; the State of Maine and the Maine Department of Indian Affairs were. Maine Indians were considered to have no inherent sovereignty, no right of self-government, and were not considered eligible for federal programs designed for Indians. This circumstance was due to the fact that the thirteen original states had always behaved as if the federal government could not interfere in their treatment of Indians. These states claimed exclusive jurisdiction over Native peoples who lived within their borders. When this doctrine was tested by the Passamaquoddies, court decisions in 1975 and 1979 struck it down. The "inherent sovereignty" of the Native people of Maine who lived on reservations, the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots, was recognized, the power of Maine to interfere in tribal government was overtuirned, and the two tribes gained exercise of the same rights as American Indian tribes outside of Maine. Passamaquoddies and Penobscots also became eligible for federal monies that other Indians had received for years. Moreover, this newly established trust relationship later required the government of the United States to agree, as guardian, to act on behalf of Passamaquoddies and Penobscots, and sue the State of Maine and its large land holders in the land claims case. (See "The Maine Indian Land Claims Settlement of 1980," D-98 to D-102.)

Federal Recognition

This "federal recognition," as it is called, was a victory of sorts, but there is a larger perspective. The victory of federal recognition would once have been considered a defeat. For it was not the aim of Wabanaki diplomacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to become a ward of the United States ("a domestic dependent nation"), but to continue to exercise complete sovereignty.

With the Land Claims Settlement of 1980, the Houlton Band of Maliseets obtained federal recognition, as well as a sum of money to assure them a small land base. Penobscots and Passamaquoddies continued to be federally recognized and to receive federal services, but forged a new relationship with the state. (Today the Aroostook Band of Micmacs, not a party to the settlement, is seeking federal recognition.)

The terms of the settlement led to several big changes in Maine. One was that the State of Maine washed its hands of most of its responsibility for Indians. The State Department of Indian Affairs, which served Micmacs and Maliseets who are not a part of the Houlton Band as well as the groups that are federally recognized, was abolished.

Another result was that when the Congress approved the Land Claims Settlement, it extinguished all further claims to aboriginal title by Native groups in Maine, including groups that are not a part of the settlement. This was a condition of the agreement set by the state and federal governments. Moreover, the further condition was accepted that Penobscot and Passamaquoddy reservations in Maine, with notable exceptions, would have a status similar to that of municipalities (rather than, say, sovereign nations), and that the Houlton Band of Maliseets would be entirely subject to state law. Some Wabanakis opposed the land claims settlement for these reasons and continue to insist that sovereignty, their right to govern themselves, has never been taken from them and cannot be, however limited their capacity to exercise such sovereignty may be right now.

THE MAINE INDIAN LAND CLAIMS SETTLEMENT OF 1980

The basis for the land claims was simple and straightforward. The First Congress of the United States declared that any transfer of land from Indians to non-Indians had to be approved by Congress. If such a transfer was not approved, it was not valid. The law was designed to protect Indians from unscrupulous or unfair transactions. The law was passed in 1790. Between 1794 and 1833, title to most of the land of the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots was transferred to the State of Maine. The land transfers were never approved by the U.S. Congress. If the Act of 1790 meant what it said, Passamaquoddies and Penobscots still owned a very large portion of present-day Maine.

But they had not known this. It was first discovered in the winter of 1971 by a lawyer who was looking into Passamaquoddy eligibility for federal services. In 1972 the Passamaquoddy Tribe filed suit in federal court seeking to force the federal government to get their lands back for them. This suit, known as Passamaquoddy Tribe v. Morton, also sought to establish that Passamaquoddies (and Penobscots) were entitled to the special services that the federal government makes available to Indians in other parts of the country, that they still possess their inherent sovereignty (see D-95), and that the State of Maine had no power to interfere with their self-government. For nearly 150 years the federal government had provided no services to Maine Indians, and the Maine legislature and Maine courts had long taken the position that the Maine tribes had lost their powers of self-government and could only exercise those powers the State of Maine specifically gave them (see A-21 to A-27).

Passamaquoddies won this suit in the U. S. District Court for the District of Maine in February of 1975. In December of that year the decision was affirmed by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit. Neither the federal government nor the State of Maine (the defendants in this suit) sought an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court. In what was a landmark decision in Indian law, the court held that the 1790 Act protected Maine Indians and that the federal government had a legal duty to take appropriate action on the land claims of Penobscots and Passamaquoddies. Within months the U. S. Department of Justice announced that it would sue the State of Maine and its largest land holders on behalf of Passamaquoddies and Penobscots for the return of their land if an out of court settlement could not be reached. The federal government also announced that from then on Passamaquoddies and Penobscots would be eligible for the special services, such as education and health care, that the federal government provides to other tribes. And in 1979 the Maine Supreme Court, in a case called State v. Dana, followed the reasoning of the Passamaquoddy v. Morton decision, reversed its past rulings, and held that the inherent sovereignty of the Passamaquoddies (and Penobscots) survives and that the State of Maine has no power to interfere in their self-government.

This was a time of both excitement and tension for Maine Indians. On the one hand, they were winning in court. On the other, the ultimate outcome of their claims was far from certain. While the Federal Court of Appeals ruling in the Passamaquoddy Case showed that the Maine Indians were protected by federal law, that court did not say what the remedy for a violation of the law would be. The 1790 Act had been written 185 years earlier, and no one could say with certainty whether the authors of that law had intended that land should be returned to a tribe that proved a claim so many years later, if the tribe should be paid only money, or if they should get neither one. And to make matters even more uncertain, the U.S. Supreme Court had not yet decided whether the 1790 Act applied to Maine Indians. Indeed, in 1979, in a decision handed down just after the Maine Supreme Court ruled in State v. Dana, the U. S. Supreme Court suggested in another Indian case (Blackbird Bend) that it might well rule that the 1790 Act does not apply in Maine.

Additional pressure was put on the tribes by Maine's political leaders. The decisions that the Indians had won in court were starting to make it hard to transfer land in Maine because land titles could not be guaranteed. Nor could municipalities issue bonds to finance their own survival. The governor of Maine persuaded the senators and representatives from Maine to ask Congress to pass legislation that would bar Passamaquoddies and Penobscots from continuing in court by retroactively approving the treaties that their claims were based on. The tribes thought this was unfair and maintained that such a move would be illegal. The situation nonetheless remained very tense until the President stepped in and called for negotiations in the White House.

Maliseets, although not a part of the original land claims suit, also had aboriginal territory in Maine. And although the basis of their claim was somewhat different from that of Passamaquoddies and Penobscots because they had never signed treaties giving up their land in Maine, the Houlton Band of Maliseets was included in negotiations with the state and became a party to the settlement.

During the negotiations two of the state's strongest concerns were that the federal government pay the entire cost of any settlement and that the state regain the jurisdiction over the reservations that it lost when Passamaquoddies and Penobscots were "federally recognized." Passamaquoddies and Penobscots wanted enough land and money so they could be economically independent and wanted to retain the sovereign rights that had just been recognized.

Four years of negotiations led to a compromise and the Maine Indian Land Claims Settlement Act of 1980. Passamaquoddies and Penobscots got $81.5 million, the largest settlement of its kind and the first to include provisions for reacquisition of land. To get this award the tribe had to give up their claim to the rest of the 12.5 million acres and also to give back some of the powers of self-government that had been recently recognized in the courts.

The settlement provoked controversy within the Native communities. Because there never had been a land claim like this before, it was difficult to determine what a reasonable settlement would be. If the case were handled like previous claims by the Indian Claims Commission, for example, the outcome would likely have been $1 million and no right to regain land. On the other hand, the Native people were theoretically entitled by their claim to 12.5 million acres of land and $25 billion. A majority of Passamaquoddies and Penobscots had favored pursuing negotiation, and the councils appointed negotiators to represent them. A majority voted to accept the settlement. But some in favor of negotiation opposed the particular settlement offered them, and others wanted further court action and were against the very idea of negotiation. Many who were opposed to the settlement pointed out that a vote on the complicated legal document was taken so quickly that many people were not entirely sure what was included in the settlement terms.

Opponents of the Land Claims Settlement of 1980 argued that too much was given away in terms of rights of self-determination. They objected, for example, to any applicability of state laws on the reservations, to any state hunting and fishing controls, to payments in lieu of taxes on reservation properties, and to any state power of eminent domain over "trust" land, no matter how limited. Some also objected to the veto power given to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior in regard to such things as land use plans. Opponents argued that the reservations were now treated much as municipalities, and feared that this would undermine the reservations' capacities to continue as separate and cohesive communities. They stressed that Native peoples are sovereign peoples (even when they are not treated as such) and that the settlement fell far short of paying respect to this idea. Some felt that a world forum was more appropriate than the United States court system for deciding an issue involving sovereign peoples.

In the view of many, the settlement had other problems as well. It included the Houlton Band of Maliseets, but it did not include Maliseets outside the Houlton Band, or any Micmacs. These people also claimed title to parts of what is now Maine, but by the terms of the settlement their claims were extinguished. These Maliseets and Micmacs, who had been recognized by the State of Maine since 1973, were not federally recognized in the settlement and lost certain state services. For example, the Maine Department of Indian Affairs, which acted as an advocate and liaison with other state agencies, was abolished after the settlement on the assumption that its services were no longer required by Native people in Maine. Yet for many Native people, especially Micmacs, nothing had changed except that now they were saddled with the stereotype of "rich Indian."

Opponents to the settlement pointed out that land and money given to some did not compensate the Maliseets and Micmacs who were ignored. Furthermore, no amount of land and money could compensate for the loss of precious rights of self-determination. Perhaps many non-Native people, if put in a similar position vis-á-vis the sovereignty of the United States or Canada, would agree.

Those who favored the Land Claims Settlement of 1980 argued for the importance of self-determination as well. They saw land and money as the practical means of obtaining a new measure of self-determination. They hoped that through wise use of the new wealth they could provide for themselves into the indefinite future, without outside aid and the interference that accompanies it. And, like their opponents, who argued for the historical primacy of sovereignty, they too had a strong sense of their history -- expressed differently. Given their past experience, could they rely on a non-Native court system to return two-thirds of the state of Maine and award billions of dollars in damages, even when the law demanded it? Could they rely on a non-Native Congress in Washington to permit this to happen, when some claimed it had the power to extinguish much of their claims simply by passing a law that ratified the old treaties? How many people in Maine would turn angrily against them due to the economic disruption caused by such a protracted legal struggle? The outcome could not be foreseen. There was no guarantee that they would emerge from such a struggle with something they wanted (or even with those rights already recognized). It was arguments such as these, finally, that carried the day and that resulted in the agreement of the Passamaquoddy Tribe, the Penobscot Nation, and the Houlton Band of Maliseets to the Land Claims Settlement of 1980.

For several points of view on the settlement, refer to "Supplementary Materials" beginning on B-142, and to Section 6 of "Interviews," C-99. More information on the details of the settlement is contained in "Settlement Terms," which follows, and in the "Historical Overview," A-28 and A-29. See also Brodeur (1985) and Tallchief (1980).

SETTLEMENT TERMS (Highlights)

Claims: The Settlement Act states that only the Penobscot Nation, Passamaquoddy Tribe, and the Houlton Band of Maliseets have any claims to land in the State of Maine, and that other Maine Indians abandoned their holdings. It then ratifies all land transactions in which any Maine Indians lost their lands by treating such transfers of land as though they were done in accordance with the laws of the United States; this has the effect of extinguishing all Indian land claims in Maine (except for the three reservations). It releases the state from any obligation it ever had to any Indian person, tribe, nation, or band.

Land: The settlement establishes a Land Acquisition Fund of $26.8 million apiece for the Penobscot Nation and Passamaquoddy Tribe and $900,000 for the Houlton Band of Maliseets.

The land that the Passamaquoddy Tribe and Penobscot Nation acquire if purchased in certain specified areas in unorganized territories (listed in the settlement) is held by the United States government as "trust land,"i.e., it has special protections to keep the land from being lost by Passamaquoddies and Penobscots. Land purchased by the Houlton Band of Maliseets is entitled to some of these protections. Land purchased outside these designated areas is owned by the Tribe, Nation, or Band in the same manner as non-Indians. The settlement specifies the circumstances under which trust land can be taken by the state or federal governments for public uses, and states that land taken in this way must be replaced by other land within two years.

The terms for land management and administration established by the Tribe or Nation must be agreed to by the U.S. Secretary of the Interior.

Trust Fund: Out of the $81.5 million settlement, a Settlement Fund of $27 million is established: $13.5 million apiece for the Penobscot Nation and the Passamaquoddy Tribe to be held in trust by the U.S. government. Interest from the fund goes to the Tribe or Nation tax-free and without restriction, except that interest from $1 million apiece for the Tribe and Nation is designated to be spent for the benefit of elders, i.e., people over 60 years of age. Although the Houlton Band of Maliseets receives federal recognition plus $900,000 for land purchase, it gains no trust fund.

The State of Maine must turn over to the U.S. government the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot trust funds. The Act extinguishes claims related to any prior mismanagement of state-managed trust funds.

Jurisdictional Issues: As federally recognized Indian tribes, the Passamaquoddy Tribe, the Penobscot Nation, and the Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians are eligible for all federal Indian benefits. All federal laws concerning Indians apply in Maine unless they are contrary to the settlement terms. All Indians in Maine except the Passamaquoddy Tribe, the Penobscot Nation, and the Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians are entirely subject to Maine laws and jurisdiction. This is true for the Houlton Band as well, except that children of the Band are protected by the federal Indian Child Welfare Law, and any land purchased with their Land Acquisition Fund cannot be taken from them under any state law. The Passamaquoddy Tribe and the Penobscot Nation are subject to the same state laws as municipalities, with certain exceptions as specified in this Act. Some parts of the law that are spelled out in the settlement follow:

- The Passamaquoddy Tribe, the Penobscot Nation, and the Houlton Band may adopt constitutions consistent with the Settlement Act.
- The Indian Child Welfare Act, a federal law designed to protect Indian families and communities from losing their children, applies to the Tribe, Nation, and Band, thereby recognizing the Tribe and Nation's exclusive jurisdiction over Indian children living on their reservations.
- The Tribe and Nation may sue and be sued, but have sovereign immunity to the same extent as a municipality when acting in their governmental capacity.
- The Tribe and Nation may govern their own internal tribal matters without state regulation, including: tribal organization, government, and elections; who can be a member of the Tribe or Nation; who can live within the Tribe or Nation's territory; and how the Settlement Fund interest is used.
- The Tribe and Nation may have their own courts with exclusive jurisdiction over minor crimes, minor juvenile offenses, minor civil disputes, divorce, and child custody matters for their members. The Tribe and Nation use the State of Maine's definition of crimes.
- The Tribe and Nation may make the rules for hunting and trapping in their Indian territories and for fishing on any pond that is entirely within the territory and is less than 10 acres in area. The rules cannot discriminate against non-Indians allowed to hunt and fish in the territories, except that there may be special rules allowing individual members of the Tribe or Nation to hunt, trap, or fish for their own food. The State Commissioner of Inland Fisheries and Wildlife can overrule the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy fish and wildlife regulations if the Commissioner can prove that they cause a significant depletion of fish and wildlife outside the Indian territories.
- The Tribe and Nation must make payments to the State equal to the amount that would otherwise be imposed by county, district, state, or other taxing authority that are called "payments in lieu of taxes" so Indian lands cannot be taken by the state under its tax laws.

Repeal of State Laws: Most of the Maine statutes about Indians in effect before the settlement are repealed, including the statute establishing the Department of Indian Affairs and the statute stemming from federal law allowing Indian reservations to set air quality standards on the reservations that surrounding non-Indian communities may not violate.

Tribal-State Commission: The settlement establishes the Maine Indian Tribal-State Commission consisting of nine members, four to be appointed by the governor of Maine, and two each to be appointed by the Passamaquoddy Tribe and the Penobscot Nation, and a chair to be selected by a majority vote of the eight appointed members. The commission reviews the effectiveness of the settlement and makes recommendations to the legislature. It also makes recommendations on questions that arise, such as whether to extend the boundaries of a reservation to include future communities in Indian territory. It regulates fishing in rivers and streams wholly or partly within Indian territory, and any pond not wholly regulated by the Tribe or Nation but 50% or more of the shoreline of which is within Indian territory.

COLONIAL LIFE BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

ENGLISH DOMESTIC LIFE

The excerpts that appear on these pages come from Founding Mothers, Women of America in the Revolutionary Era, written by Linda Grant de Pauru and published by Houghton Mifflin Company of Boston in 1975. Although her book focuses on women, the excerpts are a good source of information about colonial life in general. Portions of the book are included here for comparison with Wabanaki life before the Revolution. Subheadings were added to the original.

Making a Home

Homemaking in preindustrial America required both strength and skill. Marriages were not viewed primarily as romantic alliances but as economic partnerships that enabled the individuals involved to set up households of their own. Those who were too poor to marry had to live all their lives in someone else's household -- that of a parent, relative, or master. Those who set up independent households could not only raise a family of children but could also take in servants and apprentices. Controlling the labor of so many people, the householder could accumulate property. Property, in turn, meant social status, and, for the husband, political rights. Thus men and women who contracted a marriage were expected to have the training and skills that would allow them to run a household that would not merely provide comfort but would also produce a profit.

Merely providing comfort, however, required proficiency in many skills that were essential in an age when the basic needs of life could not be purchased in supermarkets or department stores. It is difficult for us to appreciate how few items in a typical eighteenth-century home were purchased from outside. Salt, tea, and metal items such as kettles, knives, needles, and nails, had to come from a shop. Most other items were produced at home or from the household manufacture of a neighbor and were paid for from the profit of one's own domestic industry. Frugality and self-sufficiency ranked high among colonial virtues.

Men as well as women had "homemaking" duties in the eighteenth century. Men built the homes and made the furniture. They cleared the land, built fences, plowed the fields, and raised the grain for the family's table and perhaps a bit of tobacco or other cash crop. Slaughtering the larger domestic animals was also "man's work" as was hunting and fishing. If the family owned a shop or other business, the husband usually ran it.

Women who were widowed or whose husbands were ill or away from home for long periods might do all of the "man's work" as well as their own. But there was so much work in a colonial household that some division of labor was a necessity. "Woman's work" included five main areas of responsibility: feeding the family; manufacturing the family's clothing and such household essentials as candles and soap; keeping the home, the family, and the family's clothing clean; serving as doctor, nurse, and midwife for all members of the household including servants and slaves; and caring for children, both the mother's own and apprentices or children of relatives who lived with the family. All of these tasks were done by the mistress of the household herself or delegated to a child, slave, or servant under the mistress's careful supervision.

Raising and Preparing Food

Feeding the family began with maintaining a fire for cooking. Fuel must be brought into the house and the fire be constantly fed and carefully banked at night. In the winter, when the temperature might fall below freezing even a few feet from the fire, it was no doubt a comfort to sit close to the fireplace. But the fire had to be maintained just as carefully in summer, for there were no matches and rekindling a dead fire was a serious undertaking. Consequently, women continued to tend the fire even in the hottest days of August, for there were few foods in the colonial diet that could be eaten raw.

Tending the kitchen garden was a second basic chore. Although the staple grain and the cash crop were grown in fields tended by the men, vegetables for the table and the herbs needed for medicines came from plots tended by women. The men plowed the kitchen garden in the spring, but the rest of the work from planting to harvesting was done by women. The crops grown in the kitchen gardens varied in different parts of the country. Root plants, which could be stored for winter consumption, were more popular than salad greens. Potatoes, carrots, turnips, and beets were common as were a variety of beans. Kitchen gardens might be large or small depending upon the number of people in the household and the family's wealth. But every woman had one, and even in town plots of vegetables and herbs were cultivated.

In addition to tending the garden, colonial women were responsible for the barnyard animals. Preparation of a chicken stew began with the cook catching, slaughtering, cleaning, and plucking the chicken. Pigs were the most common barnyard animal because they could easily forage their own food in the woods. Women turned them into bacon, ham, sausages, and salt pork.

The creativity of colonial women rarely went into planning their menus. Colonial families did not expect their meals to be "interesting" or to have something different to eat for dinner every day. Women prepared the same dishes for weeks on end -- or even months on end during the winter -- feeding the family what was available. Only the very wealthy had a surplus of food and a large number of servants that made lavish dining in the manner of the European aristocracy possible. For most Americans the typical meal -- breakfast, lunch, or dinner -- included salt meat or fish, corn cakes of some sort, and whiskey or rum with water....

Cooking was done in the ashes of the fire, in ovens built into the side of the fireplace, or in large kettles made of iron, brass, or copper. Since a typical household included many people, these kettles frequently weighed between forty and seventy pounds empty and held as much as fifteen gallons of soup or stew. The kettle was held over the fire by an iron crane or it might stand on its own legs over the coals....

A colonial family's protein came in different forms in different parts of the country. Wild game -- deer, moose, bear, rabbit, squirrel, raccoon, woodchuck, and wild turkey -- was essential on the frontier. In New England, salt fish, oysters, and clams were the staples. Pigs were kept almost everywhere. Those who could afford them kept chickens and cows and enjoyed eggs, milk, butter, and cheese as well as meat from their animals.

Fresh meat was generally roasted. Some households had iron turning spits to cook large pieces. Others made do with a contraption of heavy cords, twisted hard, that was hung from the mantelpiece. Once the cord was twisted it would wind up and down easily so that all sides of the meat suspended from it in front of the fire would cook evenly. A dripping pan was placed on the hearth underneath, and a Yorkshire pudding or spoon bread might be cooked in it.

The fall of the year was the busiest season for both men and women as the men brought in their harvest and the women put up the produce for the winter. It was in the fall that cows and pigs were slaughtered. This would be done early in the frosty morning so that the meat would be hard and cold for processing. The methods of preserving food were taught to girls by their mothers or mistresses. Printed cookbooks were rare.... When...salt meat was cooked...it had to be soaked in warm water for a long while before it would be edible. Then it was commonly boiled in a kettle placed at the side of the fire where the temperature was low. If cooked at high heat the meat was too tough to chew. Salt meat was frequently served with boiled vegetables.

The winter vegetables were not canned. Such a method was too time-consuming. Root vegetables, such as potatoes, turnips, and carrots, were buried under earth or sand in the cellar. Corn, beans, pumpkins, and squash were preserved by drying. Even fruit such as peaches, plums, and apples were usually dried rather than put up in sugar or molasses syrup. On the other hand, the monotony of winter meals and the strong, not altogether pleasant smell and flavor of salt meat, made Americans extremely fond of pickles and relishes. Onions, cucumbers, asparagus, mushrooms, walnuts, and even nasturtium buds were pickled. They were put up in large stone crocks sealed with congealed fat and covered with an animal bladder or a bit of leather.

Winter and summer, corn in some form appeared on the table of almost every American family at every meal.... There were hundreds of ways to prepare it. It might be steamed, roasted, broiled, or popped. Most of it, however, was ground into meal at a local water mill or by hand with mortar and pestle devices. Ground meal might be mixed with water and boiled into a mush for "hasty pudding." Mixed with butter, sugar, eggs, mace, and nutmeg, with a bit of wine or rum stirred in it made an elegant dessert pudding. Or the mush could be fried on a griddle to make "Johnny cake" or "corn pone." ...

White wheat bread and cakes were an upper class luxury. Wheat was difficult to grow and yeast had to be nurtured with as much attention as the fire to keep it active. Pies, however, were common and were eaten at every meal. They might be filled with meat, vegetables, fruit, or any combination, and the crusts were of cornmeal.

The beverage that accompanied colonial meals was usually alcoholic. Rum cut with water -- "grog" -- was consumed in large quantities by men, women, and children. Whiskey, hard cider, ale, beer, wines, and cordials were also produced in colonial households. The thirst produced by eating so much salt meat and fish, the need for calories to work hard and keep warm during the winter, as well as a belief in the medicinal qualities of alcohol, convinced colonial Americans that rum was a necessity of life....

Until late in the eighteenth century dishes were scarce. A woman might own a few treasured pewter pieces, but wooden trenchers -- made by the men and boys when they could spare the time -- were much more common. Some family meals were served in a single bowl from which everyone helped himself with the assistance of knives, fingers, and chunks of bread. Some families had no benches for their dining table and stood during their meals. Wealthy families, of course, had many kitchen servants, china dishes, silver table service, and fine dining room furniture. These individuals dined in the manner of upper-class Europeans, and even their servants, slaves, and children who ate in the kitchen enjoyed better meals than most Americans.

Making Clothing

After feeding the family, making clothing was the colonial woman's most urgent chore. Although, like cooking, it was a necessity, colonial women appear to have taken much pleasure in this activity. The product was tangible while meals disappeared as soon as they were put on the table. Furthermore, cooking involved very dirty work, sweating over a blazing fire and poking through the ashes with no company except children and servants. Many of the processes involved in producing clothing could be accomplished while seated comfortably out of doors or in the parlor enjoying the company of friends and neighbors. By contrast, then, making clothing was a pleasure for women. It was the closest thing they had to a leisure activity. They put much thought and effort into making their handwork original and beautiful as well as functional.

The most popular clothing material for lower-class people was leather or fur, since it required no weaving.... Leather was a by-product wherever there was hunting. The tanning techniques, which were learned from the Indians, were relatively simple.

Flax, from which linen is made, grew wild in America. Yet it was far harder to produce linen shirts or petticoats than to make them of leather. It took at least sixteen months from the planting of flax seed to the production of the finished cloth.... Mature plants were picked and dried. Then the seeds were teased out with coarse combs, and the gluey substance in the fibers was removed by repeated washings. Finally the flax fibers were separated from the waste by picking and combing. Only then could spinning begin.

The loose brown filaments of flax were twisted together to form thread. This was done at spinning wheels, frequently homemade, which used weights to twist the filaments under tension. The aim was to produce as fine a thread as possible. The fingers of a skilled spinner might produce more than forty miles of thread from a pound of fiber. The threads were wound into skeins called "knots." At this point the thread was light brown in color. Cloth woven from it would be quite serviceable. Most women, however, having done so much already, put in the additional time needed to make the serviceable cloth beautiful as well. They began by bleaching the knots.... Thirty or forty washings in hot water were necessary with the addition of such other ingredients as potash, lime, or buttermilk. When the knots were white enough they were dried and then dyed.

Dyeing was a skill highly valued by colonial women. They passed on their coloring recipes as family treasures. During the winter, when there was less work to do, women worked out new formulas that produced different shades with good resistance to fading....

Wool cloth was slightly easier to produce than linen but still difficult. After the sheep were sheared the fleece was picked through and brambles and other dirt removed. Then the wool was washed and dried and pork fat was rubbed into it. Next the wool was combed with a wool-card, which pulled the fibres into parallel rows that could be lifted out, spun into thread, and dyed as the flax was. A cloth made of a combination of linen and wool, called linsey-woolsey, was very popular in colonial America.

While some women by the late eighteenth century might turn their skeins of thread over to a professional weaver, many still made their own cloth at home. If the household was very large a special weaving house might be built to accommodate the loom.... Since this work was done in spare moments between other chores, it might easily take a year for a wife to make her husband a cloth suit. Such a garment was highly valued by its owner. It would be worn only on special occasions, mended when it became worn, remade for a son, and finally turned into patchwork.

Not all clothing was woven. Stockings, mittens, and caps were knitted. Knitting was a constant feminine occupation. Little girls began to make stockings and mittens as soon as they could hold the needles, and elderly grandmothers, who were too feeble and blind to do any other work, still kept their hands occupied with their needles. Wealthy women as well as poor automatically reached for their knitting whenever they sat down.

Quilting, appliqué, patchwork, crewel work, and silk embroidery were skills commonly cultivated by colonial women. They could be used to decorate useful articles such as petticoats, bed hangings, and upholstery. They might also be used to create pictures for the wall....

Cleaning and Bathing

If producing the family's clothing might be a pleasure, cleaning was never anything but drudgery. Fortunately for the colonial woman, who already had great demands on her time, the standards of the eighteenth century were not high. It was thought appropriate that human beings, like other animals, should smell. People washed their hands and faces but bathed only rarely. Too much bathing was considered unhealthy -- which it probably was when done in cold water in an unheated house during a New England winter.... Clothing was rarely laundered except among the very wealthy. Most people did not own many garments, and wash day came only once or twice a year.

Neither of the essentials for cleaning -- water or soap -- was easily available to the colonial homemaker. Towns had public pumps or water carts from which water could be purchased. Fortunate families had a well, spring, or clean brook near their home. Others, however, might have to carry their buckets a mile or more to bring water into the house....

Soap was made of lye and animal fat. The first ingredient was obtained by collecting ashes from hard wood burned in the fireplace in raised tubs with small holes in the bottom. The ashes were covered with water and lye leaked through the holes into tubs placed underneath. In making soap it was important to have the lye the right strength. As with other feminine skills, judging the strength of the lye was a trick passed on from mother to daughter....

While the ashes were being collected, the housewife also saved animal grease. After several months, when enough had been accumulated, it was put in kettles over a hot fire, preferably out of doors, and the tubs of lye were poured in.... The mixture jellied into what was called soft soap and was then stored in tubs. It was used for cleaning clothing, kettles, and people's hands and faces. The rosy cheeks we see on portraits of colonial Americans were due more to the action of lye soap than to a condition of blooming health.

The interior of the home of a poor family was dirtier than that of a prosperous family, but neither would pass inspection by a modern visitor. The poorest families in the backwoods lived in log cabins. The walls were covered with bits of bark and mud. The floor was bare earth and was always either dusty or damp. The furniture consisted of a rough plank table -- one or two rough slabs of wood laid on a trestle -- a few stools or benches, and a great many beds. When a family was large and the cabin small, it was often necessary for several people to sleep in one bed. Mattresses were made of straw. Featherbeds or quilts stuffed with straw or cotton provided warmth. The most urgent cleaning problem was apt to be dealing with vermin -- fleas, lice, and bedbugs. The most effective solution was to burn the bedding.

Middle-class people, especially those in the towns, lived a great deal better. By the end of the colonial period wealthy families had wallpaper, mirrors, carpets, fine furniture, sheets and pillow cases for their beds, and elaborate bed draperies to keep out the night air, which was thought to be unwholesome. Even in these homes, however, it was not possible to spare the labor to keep them as we see them today when they are open to visitors as restorations.

Tending to Medical Needs

Fortunately for the peace of mind of the colonial Americans, they had very indistinct ideas about the connection between dirt and disease. They were, however, well acquainted with the symptoms of a great many deadly maladies. The treatment of these, as well as of wounds and accidental injuries of all sorts, was largely the responsibility of women.

America was a sickly place throughout the colonial period. The diseases of three continents -- Europe, Africa, and America -- met in the British colonies. Unsanitary living conditions and poor diet left the population susceptible to every wandering germ. Among the diseases that raged in North America during the Revolutionary era were malaria, dysentery, typhoid fever, yellow fever, tuberculosis, cholera, diphtheria, typhus, measles, whooping cough, scarlet fever, influenza, smallpox, and countless unidentified "fluxes" and "fevers."

University-trained physicians were in short supply in America. That, however, was probably fortunate. Medical education was based on the writings of the ancient Greeks. The treatments prescribed were frequently more deadly than the disease. Bloodletting (with an unsterile instrument), blistering, and violent purges and emetics were recommended for everything from headaches to yellow fever.

In the eighteenth century, however, there was an alternative to the medicine taught by European universities -- the medicine...passed on from mother to daughter.

Women took their medical responsibilities seriously. They learned their skills by experience -- assisting their mothers tend the sick and injured before they took over households of their own....

Colonial women also studied medical texts. A surprisingly large number of colonial women could read -- far more could read than could write -- and the most popular reading material after the Bible and religious tracts was medical literature. Some of these books had been written by women, particularly texts on obstetrics and gynecology.

Until well into the eighteenth century, delivering babies was the exclusive province of women.... Many women had extremely large families. Mothers of fourteen, fifteen, and even twenty children were not unheard of. Many women also died in childbirth, however, and the infant mortality rate was appalling.

Raising Children

The high death rate among young children in colonial America was due partly to uncontrolled epidemics of such diseases as measles and diphtheria. But much of it was due to the child-care practices of colonial mothers. Indeed, it is in their relationship with their children, which seems to us unfeeling and frequently cruel, that colonial women appear most alien to our time.

Adults of the eighteenth century thought of children as animals or servants, not as human beings. Furthermore, they did not believe children would develop into human beings unless they were forced to it. It was their nature to be sinful and animalistic. Consequently permitting a child to follow its natural inclinations in any way was considered the sign of a bad parent. Rather than trying to encourage independence and personal development in their offspring, colonial parents worked to break the child's spirit. For instance, it was noted that infants preferred crawling on all fours to walking upright. In order to discourage such "animal" behavior, a crawling infant was put in a "go cart," a sort of cage that came up to its armpits and forced it to stand. An alternative was to tie the child with "leading strings" fastened to the shoulders that would hold it upright.

As a popular book on child rearing explained, "Parents should carefully subdue the wills of their children and accustom them to obedience and submission." In order to accomplish this children were whipped. Mothers used sticks hard enough to cause bruises and swelling on their children even before they were old enough to talk. A young mother wrote to a friend in 1755:

> I have begun to govern Sally. She has been whipped once on Old Adams' account, and she knows the difference between a smile and a frown as well as I do. When she

> has done anything that she suspects is wrong [she] will look with concern to see what Momma says...although she is not quite ten months old, yet when she knows so much I think 'tis time she should be taught.

Children might also be punished by being tied to their beds, threatened with ghosts and monsters, or be shut up for hours in dark closets or chests.

Scarcely better than punishment was the treatment to which children were subjected for their health. It was considered good practice to "toughen" young children by giving them frequent cold baths even in the coldest weather, to starve them in order to discourage what was thought an inclination in youngsters to overeat, and even to put them into iron collars or strap them to boards to encourage them to grow up straight.

Mothers who thus abused their children both physically and psychologically believed that they were acting for the children's good. They felt it was necessary to train their children to be obedient, respectful, well-mannered, and hard workers. Colonial mothers had no antipathy to child labor; on the contrary, they encouraged it. Play was viewed with suspicion. When children were too young to work in the field or help in the kitchen, mothers were advised to keep them indoors studying a book or learning to knit or embroider rather than allowing them to go outside and cultivate their animal instincts toward idleness.

By the time they were seven or eight, children of all social classes were frequently sent to live with a relative or bound out as apprentices. It was felt the natural mother might be reluctant to discipline her child with the desirable strictness. A colonial woman, then, often had both her own younger children and children of others in her home to train and supervise at their work. By working for an adult, children of both sexes learned those skills necessary to run a household and earn a living. By the time children were grown they had generally done enough work to pay for their keep and education and produce a profit for their parents as well.

It seems a grim enough childhood to us today. Those who experienced it, however, thought it the only proper upbringing. Little girls grew up and married and proceeded to train their own children just as they had been trained.

Making Money

In poor families in colonial America, homemaking might be a full-time job for both men and women. On the subsistence farm with no cash income, the family produced everything it consumed and consumed everything it produced. All work was directly related to meeting the needs of the family. But few Americans remained on the subsistence level. In order to enjoy a higher standard of living, members of a family would specialize in a profit-making occupation. By producing an excess of some article they could barter or buy other household essentials from other families. Thus a man whose hunting skill produced more meat and skins than his family needed could sell the excess. A woman whose handling of cows and chickens was superior would soon be earning "butter and egg money." Colonial Americans believed in the virtues of thrift, frugality, and hard work. Consequently, when they earned a bit of money they did not spend all of it to improve their standard of living. Instead, a good part of such income would be reinvested. A woman might use her butter and egg money, for instance, to buy another cow. But there were other choices. Since both men and women began their adult life with a variety of skills, accumulated savings could be used for other purposes. The superior dairywoman, for instance, might use her funds to buy a large loom and become a professional weaver, taking in spun yarn produced by her neighbors and turning it into cloth for a fee. In this way a household industry was born.

By the time of the American Revolution, the economy of the colonies had become fairly complex. Most people made their living from the land, but farming certainly was not the only occupation available. In addition to shipwrights, fishermen, and practitioners of a variety of crafts, there were shopkeepers, barbers, tavern-keepers, and people in other service occupations [such as apothecaries, blacksmiths, foundry workers, gunsmiths, tinkers, sextons, jailers, printers, midwives, healers, and teachers]. Just as on a farm, however, these were household businesses. Husband, wife, children, servants, and apprentices worked as a team. In a preindustrial age few occupations could be carried out by any single individual working alone. The many stages required in cloth production, for example, required the labor of a number of people if a weaver's operation was to produce cloth in large enough quantities for sale. Although the husband was recognized as the legal head of any household business, women were often as skilled in the operation as the men. It was not uncommon for a daughter of the family to marry an apprentice and carry on the business to which both had been trained. It was quite common for a widow to carry on the business after her husband's death. Because of this arrangement, there was no occupation in colonial America from which women were excluded.[1] Every kind of work done by men was done, at least occasionally, by women....

Women's Role and Women's Rights

The concept of women's rights and status that the first English settlers brought to America was unusually liberal. England was ruled by a great queen, Elizabeth I, at the time the English made their first tentative approaches to the North American continent. The first permanent settlement was made in Virginia, a colony named in her honor.... Elizabeth, however, was not the only powerful woman in late sixteenth-century England. Other women of the upper classes could and did hold courts, vote for members of Parliament, exercise the privileges of knights of the kingdom, and participate vigorously in the religious and political conflicts of the day. When the common law of England threatened to limit the independence and property rights of females of aristocratic families, ways were found to keep their prerogatives intact by applying to courts of equity. Lower-class women, like lower-class men, had few rights of any sort. Nevertheless, sex was not a barrier to most occupations in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. In particular the right of women to belong to the trade guilds that preserved monopolies in certain enterprises for their members was well established. So was their right to assume the legal status known as "feme sole trader" which permitted them to carry on business activities independently of their husbands.

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[1] "The true extent of economic opportunity available to eighteenth-century women is measured not by the small number of women in the professions, but by the ease with which women could establish themselves in business as independent agents." (p. 43)

In England women began to lose some of their rights during the seventeenth century. But in America the pioneer conditions encouraged a further extension of women's rights. Furthermore, in the colonies, poor women as well as the rich benefited from gradual modifications of the common law. When it was strictly interpreted, as it would be in America in the nineteenth century, the common law was very unkind to women. It was especially unkind to married women. Under the common law a woman was considered legally dead once she married. She ceased to exist because marriage made her one person with her husband and he was that person. She could not be a witness in court, control her earnings, choose where she would live, or control her property. Her husband was legally entitled to beat her if she disobeyed him. She herself was the property of her husband. He could hire her out as a servant to anyone he chose and pocket her wages. If she ran away from him with the clothes she was wearing she might be considered a thief for stealing herself and the clothing, for both belonged to her husband. Colonial court records, however, show that the common law was not enforced consistently. Especially in the period before 1750, there were few trained lawyers in America, and wives were permitted to do many things which, strictly speaking, were illegal.

The common law was somewhat kinder to unmarried women -- spinsters and widows. Theoretically they could not be forced to marry without their consent. They could own and manage any property they could acquire through inheritance or their own labor. Especially in the early years of colonization a woman of property could acquire as much social and political power as a man -- so long as she did not take a husband. This freedom, however, was of little value to women without property. Widows could generally claim only one third of their husband's property. (The remainder went to the state, children, or other relatives depending on the circumstances.) If this was not enough to keep them from poverty they would be subject to the poor laws. Those laws prescribed compulsory labor so that impoverished widows might be bound out to serve as domestics. In Wareham, Massachusetts, there was an annual auction of indigent widows. Unless a widow was extremely poor or extremely old, however, she was not likely to remain unmarried very long [because of the great social pressure on both men and women in colonial America to marry]....

ENGLISH COLONIAL GOVERNANCE IN MAINE

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Wabanaki people had several European governments to contend with. Along the St. Lawrence River was New France, a colony of France until 1763, when France lost its colonial possessions in Canada. Acadia, which included most of the land in the Maritime provinces as well as in Maine east of the Kennebec River, was territory disputed by France and England. The territory changed hands between the French and English several times before 1763. Maine west of the Kennebec was part of New England, where the governments were consistently English until the Revolutionary War. Although Acadia, called Nova Scotia by the English, and New France had different histories and different governments than New England, in broad terms the kinds of governments and the ultimate power within those governments (the king) were essentially the same.

The first permanent English settlements in Maine were established in the early 1600s. The population of the English in Maine grew relatively slowly at first. By the mid 1730s there were probably 9,000 English colonists, and by the mid 1740s, 12,000. At the time of the first official census in the 1760s, shortly after the end of the wars in which the English fought the Wabanakis and the French, the population had grown to about 25,000.

At first most of the English colonists came directly from England and were of several different religious backgrounds. After 1650 most of those coming to Maine were Puritans and Pilgrims from Massachusetts. All these colonists came hoping to make a better living than they had in England; some, especially the Puritans and Pilgrims, also came to avoid religious persecution.

Most of the settlers lived in the coastal communities from Casco Bay to the Piscataqua River. Kittery, the first incorporated town (1647), was Maine's largest town until it was surpassed by Falmouth (including present-day Portland) around 1750. The mast trade's movement east into the area and the growth of the West Indies trade were largely responsible for Falmouth's growth.

In the earliest days of the colonial period, large tracts of land in Maine were given by the king to English nobles. The king gave a landowner a charter, which gave the person nearly absolute power over the land grant. Of course if the king did not like how the landowner managed the grant, he could take back the charter and the land. The landowners chose agents to represent them in the colonies. But until the mid 1630s most settlers had little direct contact with the agents and were free to make their own rules. It was not until 1636 that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the major English landowner, set up a formal government for the settlements from Falmouth to Kittery. This council consisted of a few people appointed by Gorges' agent who made laws for the settlements. If the agent and this council were to disagree, Ferdinando Gorges would settle the issue in England. In 1640 this council was replaced by a "legislative assembly" of about ten members who were elected by the male landowners in the settlements.

In the early seventeenth century the king of England had absolute power; he believed he was God's representative on earth. Parliament, which was made up of members elected by a small number of privileged nobles, did little but approve the king's decisions. However, in the 1640s in England there was a civil war. Merchants, who were gaining money and power, and religious dissenters, including Puritans, challenged the king's power. They wanted the merchants to have more say in choosing members of Parliament, and they wanted the king to share power with the Parliament. The religious dissenters wanted more religious freedom.

During the civil war the king was killed. There was not another king until 1660. During this time land titles of the large landowners in Maine were in dispute. For a short time settlers in Wells, York, and Kittery established their own government with a governor elected by freemen from those three towns. Soon, however, Massachusetts persuaded most Maine towns to become a part of Massachusetts; settlements would send representatives to the General Court in Boston, the law-making body. At this time the settlers in Maine and Massachusetts were coming more and more into conflict with their Indian neighbors. Massachusetts promised protection for the Maine settlers. Massachusetts also promised Maine colonists that their militia would need to defend only Maine settlements and that representatives from Maine to the General Court would not have to be Puritans, as they had to be in other parts of Massachusetts.

The years between 1660 and 1690 were years of turmoil for Maine. Massachusetts claimed Maine, but the new king of England declared that the settlements in Maine were not a part of Massachusetts. Only in 1691, after William and Mary became king and queen, was the issue resolved. Maine was legally made a part of Massachusetts.

Both the representatives from each Maine town who were elected to the General Court and those eligible to vote for them were male English landowners. As with past English governments in Maine, large numbers of artisans, workers, servants, slaves, and women were excluded from voting. (In Massachusetts just after the Revolutionary War, it is estimated that only one out of sixteen men was entitled to vote.) Although the General Court made laws for the colony, all of the laws of the General Court had to meet with the approval of the king of England.

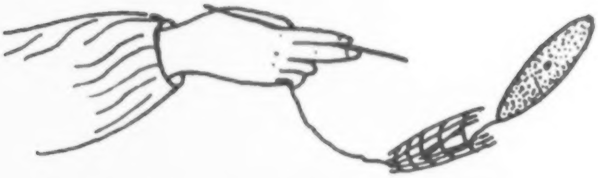
The General Court made laws governing structure and procedure for town meetings all over the colony. It had the authority to grant charters to towns and to enact laws, such as universal education for children, which affected everyone in the colony. Local governments were concerned with overseeing town business, settling taxes and salaries of town employees, seeing that fences were maintained, keeping pigs from eating gardens, making sure scales and weights were accurate, and so on. Towns could vote whether to allow a stranger into the town or not. In some cases, rules were very specific, and people could be fined for such things as scolding, or dating without parental consent.

Not all the laws made by the General Court were strictly enforced in Maine. For instance, in the 1640s the General Court passed school laws (called the Deluder Satan Acts) providing that any town with 50 or more families must provide an elementary school, and any town with 100 or more families a Latin grammar school (corresponding to a high school). Although Maine had several communities with more than 50 families in the seventeenth century, the first elementary school in Maine was not established until 1701 in York.

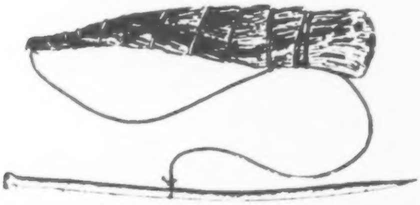
THINGS TO TRY

RING AND PIN GAMES

In *t'wis,* a Passamaquoddy ring and pin game, a four-inch piece of moosehide is punctured with small holes, with a slightly larger hole in the center, and attached to a bundle of white cedar twigs wound with cord. One end of a six-inch piece of string is attached to the cedar twigs, and the other to a sharply pointed stick. The stick is held the way a pen is held, but with the fingers extended. The piece of hide and the bundle of twigs are tossed up, and the player tries to pierce one of the holes in the moosehide. The player can continue to play until he or she misses a point. Usually 100 points wins the game.



T'wis: Passamaquoddy Indians. Maine: from Mrs. W.W. Brown. Reprinted, by permission, from Stewart Culin, Games of the North American Indian 1902-1903. Bureau of Ethnology, 24th Annual Report. Washington, D.C., 1907.



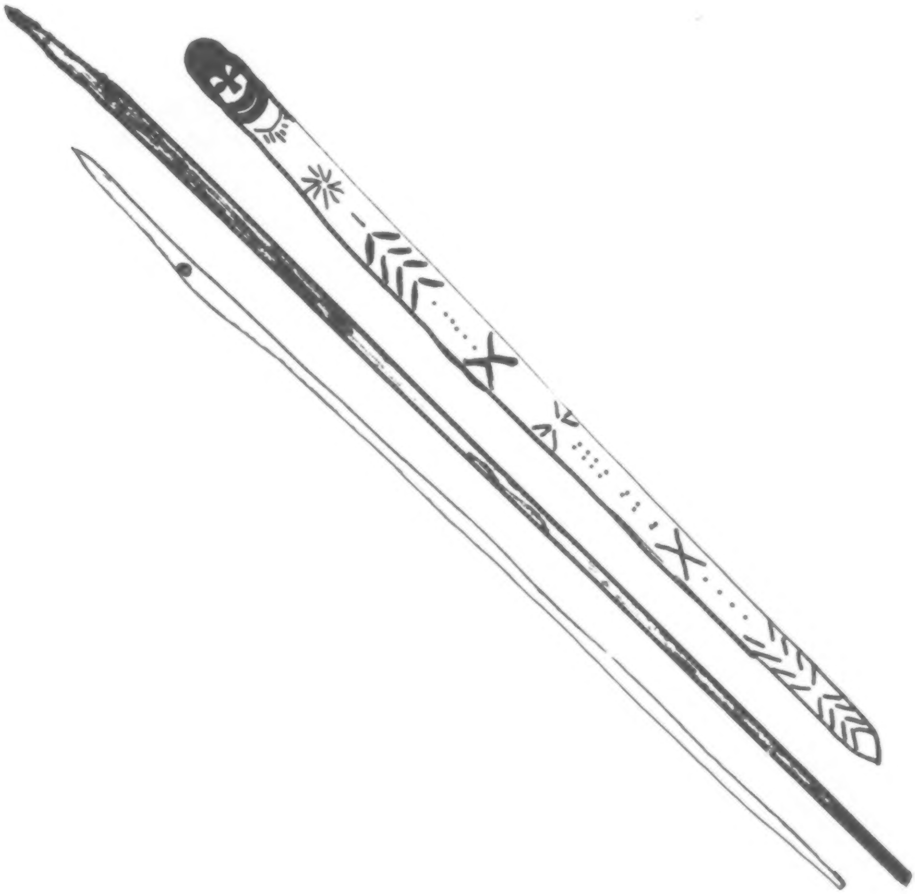
Adu'is, length of cone 7 inches. Reprinted, by permission, from Stewart Culin, Games of the North American Indian 1902-1903. Bureau of Ethnology, 24th Annual Report, Washington, D.C., 1907.

In *adu'is,* a Penobscot version, a pointed stick about nine and one-half inches long is attached to a seven-inch string, which in turn is attached to a cone-shaped bundle of white cedar leaves about eight and one-half inches long. The cedar bundle is held into shape by binding it with thread (or eelskin). The game is played in the same way as the Passamaquoddy game except that the object is simply to pierce the cedar bundle with the stick.

The major source of information for this page was Games of North American Indians (Culin: 1907).

SNOWSNAKE

Snowsnake was once a favorite winter game, and was played on hard-drifted snow or crust or in a trough made by dragging a log in the snow and then icing it by splashing water on it and allowing it to freeze. Sticks, most commonly from three to six feet long, were carefully shaped so that they would fly on the surface of the snow. The stick was thrown by placing a finger in a notch at the end of it and hurling it, often using the same motion used to "skip" a stone on the water. Sticks were thrown one at a time, and each was stood upright in the snow where it had come to rest. The player who threw a stick the farthest won. Players named their sticks and called encouragement to them. Some common names were old woman, cannibal giant, and rattler among the Penobscot, and spoon, duck, wart, and snake, denoting certain Passamaquoddy shapes.



Snowsnakes. Reprinted, by permission, from Dana, Kəlósəwəkanal, 1987.

WALTES, A DICE GAME

Waltes [WALL-tess][1] is an age-old Micmac dice game. Although all Wabanakis played dice games similar to this one, it is only among Micmacs that the game is still commonly played. For more information on the game, see "Waltes, an Ancient Micmac Game," published in Cape Breton's Magazine, which was an important source of information for the directions that follow.

A waltes set includes one "Old Man" stick, three "Old Woman" sticks, and 3 times 17 playing sticks (3 times 17 instead of 51 because it takes 3 sticks to make a point), plus 6 bone dice and a bowl made from a hardwood burl so it can take constant pounding. Two players kneel on the floor on either side of the bowl, which is placed on a folded blanket to protect floor and fingers. One or two other people are chosen to manage sticks for counting so that the rhythm of the game won't be broken. The two players decide who will go first.

The first player places the dice face-down in the bowl, then slams the bowl on the floor so that the dice fly into the air and land in the bowl. A configuration of 5 dice turned face-up or face-down gives a player points, as does all the dice face-up or face-down. As long as the player gets one of these configurations, he or she can continue to play. 5 dice face-up or face-down entitles the player to one point (3 sticks). Two consecutive configurations of either 5 face-up or 5 face-down is a total of 3 points. Three consecutive configurations of either 5 face-up or 5 face-down is a total of 5 points (worth one Old Woman). Although worth 5 points, an Old Woman is also worth 16 sticks, important in later counting. In this case, if all the Old Women are gone, 16 sticks are substituted; the Old Man may not be substituted. It is important to note that 5 dice face-up followed by 5 dice face-down or vice versa does count as a consecutive win. All 6 of the dice one way, either face-up or face-down, if done once is worth 5 points (one Old Woman); if done twice it is called "sinking of the loon" and is worth a total of 15 points, or three Old Women. (If all the Old Women are already gone, the Old Man is given in its place, and then 16 sticks for each additional Old Woman.)

Once the Old Man is won, the first part of the game ends. It often happens, however, that all sticks are gone except the Old Man. In this case, when additional points are won with configurations of 5 face-up or 5 face-down, sticks are moved from the pile at the player's side to a second pile. For each 3 points, one stick is moved from the first pile to the second pile. This is called "collecting firewood for the Old Man." Then, if the other player wins 3 points, a stick is taken from the first player's second pile, and put back into the first player's first pile. In this way, only one player at a time has a second pile. This goes on until someone gets all the dice face-up or face-down, takes the Old Man, and thus ends the first part of the game.

After the first part of the game, the Old Man must be paid for with 15 sticks or an Old Woman by the player who does not have the Old Man. Or, if the player who does not have the Old Man is the one who has the second pile, he or she can pay for the Old Man by moving 5 sticks from the second pile to the first pile. After the Old Man is paid for, whichever player has the second pile gets 3 sticks for every stick in her or his second pile. Remember, the Old Woman counts as 16 points when paying debts. For instance, the Old Woman plus 2 sticks can be used to pay for 6 points (or 6 sticks in the other person's second pile).

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[1] The pronunciation of this word is recorded on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.

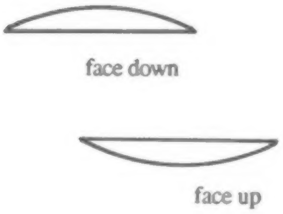
If the player who did not have the second pile can pay and is left with more than 3 sticks, the game continues. They play as they did before, "collecting firewood", trying to build a second pile, but with one difference -- the Old Man is gone. If a player gets all dice face-up or face-down, he or she puts a stick into his or her hair, equal to 5 points. It remains there until the other player gets all the dice face-up or face-down; then the stick is put back into the first player's pile. Either player can call for payment whenever he or she figures the other player can't pay for all the sticks in his or her second pile. If the other player does pay the debt, but has no sticks left, he or she loses the game. However, if there are 4 or more sticks left over, the game continues. If the player paying the debt has only 1, 2, or 3 sticks left over, that player gets to "dance" or "drift over the water."

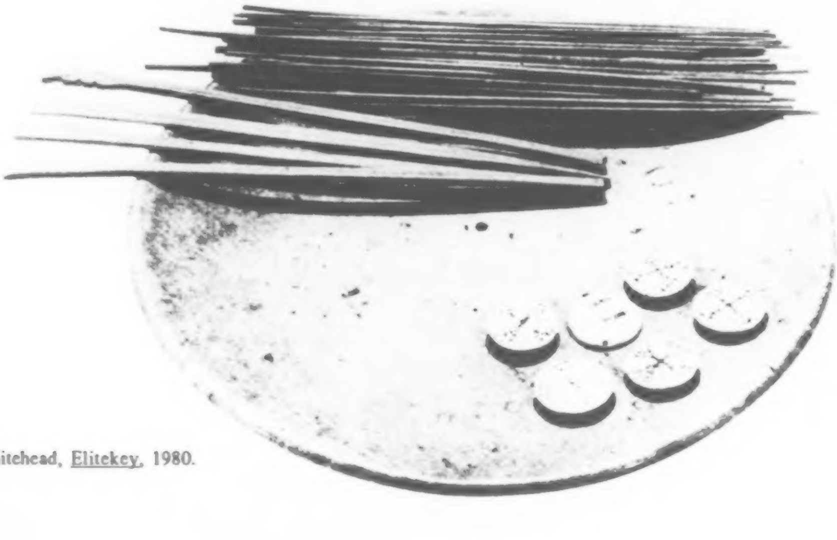
"Dancing" gives a player who has lost everything a final chance to win. The one who is dancing must make a certain number of points before the one who is not dancing makes even one point. A dancer who has only one stick must dance 7 points (i.e., get 7 points before the opponent gets one), if 2 sticks, then 6 points, if 3 sticks, then 5 points. The dancer sets up the dice.

> She can shake them in her hands and cast them in the bowl up to three times. If any of the casts results in one or more points, play begins with that cast. She would count that point (or points if all face-up or face-down) toward the points she must dance, raise the bowl, and slam it. If after three casts by hand she failed to make a point, she can place the dice in the bowl any way she chooses, raise the bowl and slam it.... All face-up or face down...counts as 3 points (not 5) when you are dancing. (From "Waltes, an Ancient Micmac Game," Cape Breton's Magazine.)

When a player is dancing, getting the points needed before the other player gets one point means winning the game.

Dice (actual size)





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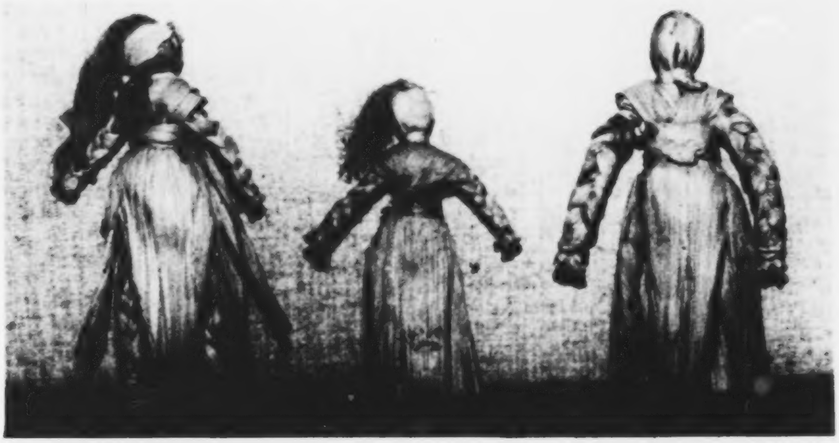
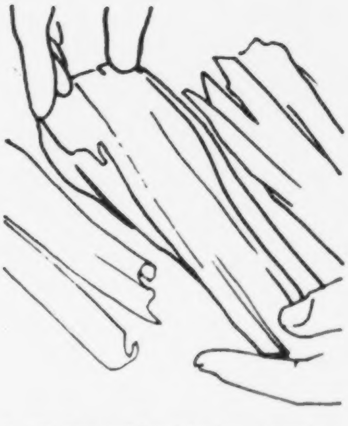
CORNHUSK DOLLS

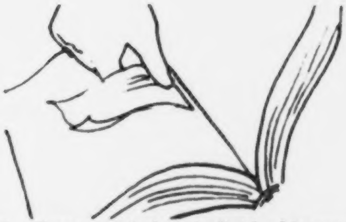
Wabanaki people who grew corn made cornhusk dolls for children. The picture on this page shows two Penobscot dolls. The directions for making cornhusk dolls come from "The Cornhusk People; Good Spirits from an Ancient Indian Craft" by Jessilyn Akin, which appeared in the September, 1979 issue of Harrowsmith magazine. Although her dolls are not strictly traditional, they are simple enough for children to make. Students may wish to experiment by modifying the steps so the dolls look more like the Penobscot dolls, or by substituting natural materials for glue, thread, and pipe cleaners. Native cornhusk dolls are made without faces.



These early twentieth century Penobscot dolls are part of the permanent collection of the Hudson Museum of the University of Maine.



1. Gather unblemished corn husks in late summer, separating them and trimming the tapered ends. Wipe each leaf clean and dry with a cloth.



2. Flatten and place individual leaves in a large book (the Sears' catalogue works well), skipping five pages or so between leaves. Do not use the family Bible or other valuable book, as mildew spots occasionally form. Husks dry best when transferred to a second catalogue after a few days' drying.

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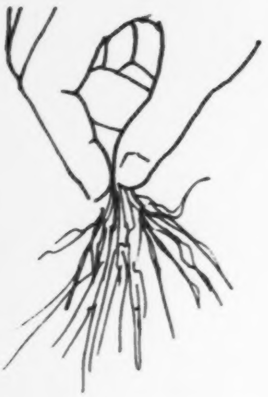
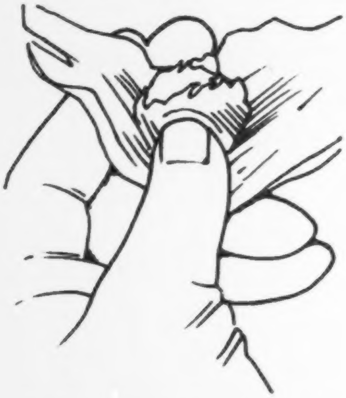
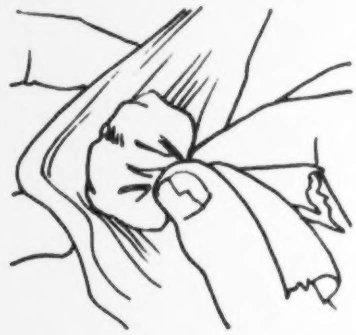


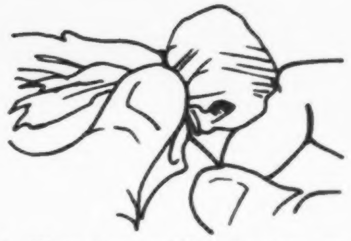
3. Corn silk is used to create "hair" on the dolls, and it is dried and pressed in the same manner as the leaves.



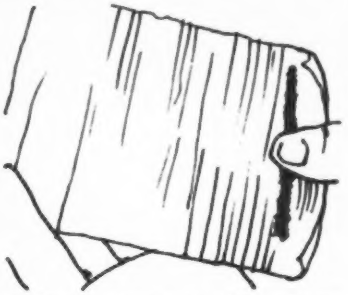
4. Make a ball of wadded cornhusk pieces about one inch in diameter to form the head of the figure. Cover this ball with a piece of very soft cornhusk, cut to measure one and a half inches by eight inches. Twist the piece to cover the ball tightly.



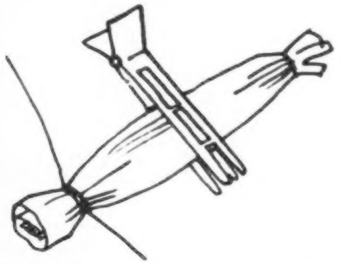
5. Take a second covering husk and give the head another layer of husk, covering the ball completely.



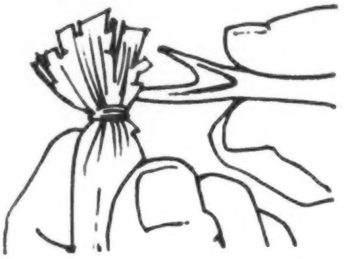
6. Wrap the "neck" of the piece you have created with thread and tie securely.



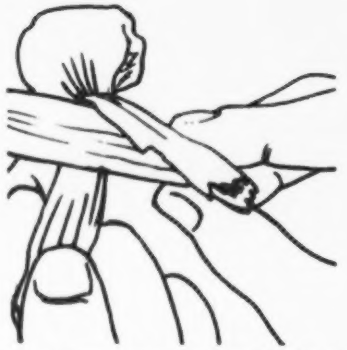
7. Place a three-inch piece of pipe cleaner (chenille wire or no. 14 copper wire may be substituted) on a piece of cornhusk cut to measure roughly four inches by eight inches. Centre the wire on the short end of the husk and roll.



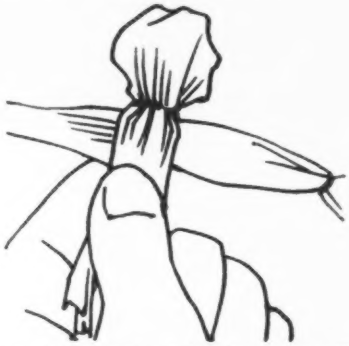
8. Fasten the centre of this roll with a clip and wrap thread one half inch in from each end and tie. You have now made the basic arm structure, with hands at each end.



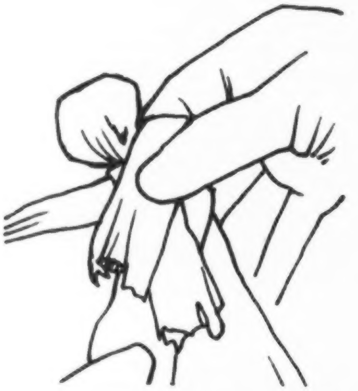
9. Shred the husk at each hand section, using a seam ripper or large sewing needle, to give a ruffled appearance.



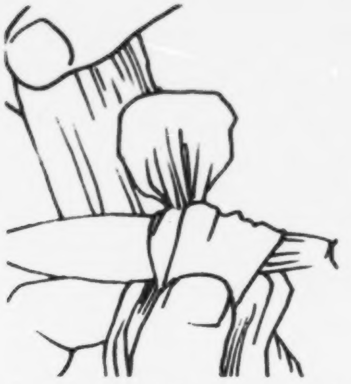
10. Centre this piece between the tag ends of the head-piece, tucking the arm section tightly up against the head.



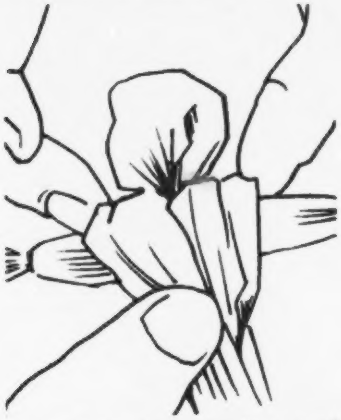
11. Now tie the "chest" section off with thread, joining the head and arm sections and preparing for the additon of the body proper.



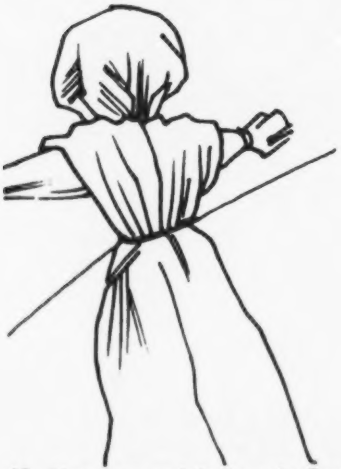
12. Use four whole husks for the body. Fold the first husk over the arm, pinching to form shoulders and waist, and bringing one end of the husk just below the intended waist.



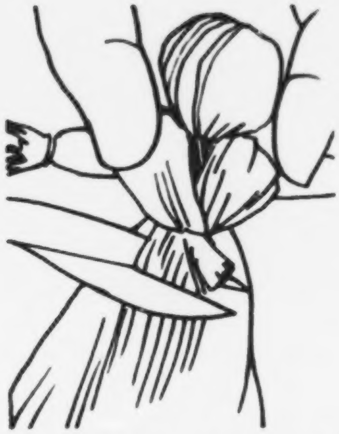
13. *Fold the second cornhusk over the other arm and repeat the previous step. Turn the doll over and add the other two full husks in the same manner.*



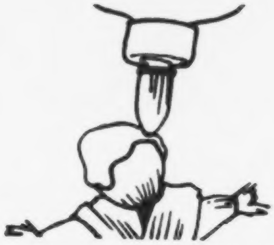
14. *Pinch the husks snugly around the neck to give the head support.*



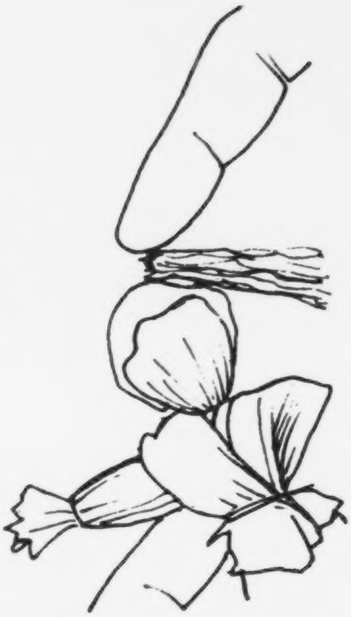
15. *Now wrap and tie the waist firmly with heavy thread.*



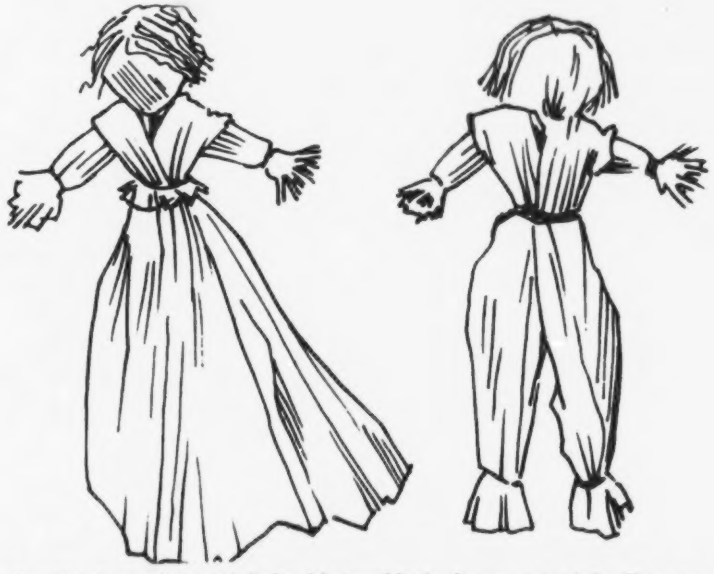
16. *Trim the short ends that show just below the cinched waist.*



17. *Cover the head with white glue to prepare for the corn silk hair.*



18. *Carefully apply corn silk to cover the head, arranging in a manner you find pleasing. (Most traditional cornhusk dolls show a distinct "part" in the centre of the head of hair.) Allow the glue to dry thoroughly and then trim the cornsilk as desired, perhaps tying a "tail" at the back.*



19. *The finished basic doll should resemble the figure on the left. The wire-supported arms can be bent to modify the position of the doll, and lower husks can be tied apart to resemble pantlegs for a trousered figure.*

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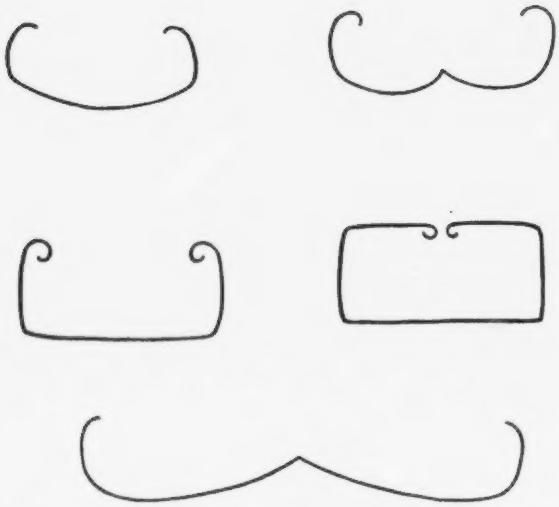
DOUBLE-CURVE DESIGNS

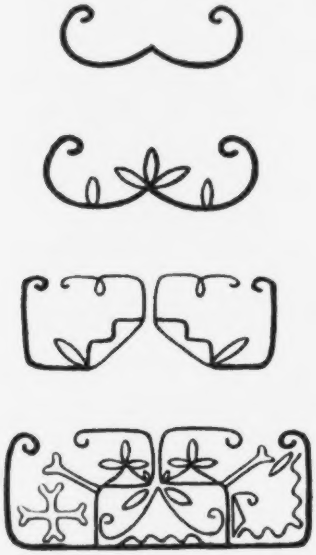
Wabanaki designs, painted or embroidered on clothing, wigwams, birchbark containers, canoes, and many other items, were many and varied, and included geometrical designs and pictures of animals as well as double-curve designs. All of these designs were highly meaningful to Wabanaki people.

Other than the pictographs, which can be seen in the caves, most of the Wabanaki designs that survived into the twentieth century are double-curve designs. The spiral, which is basic to the double-curve design, still has a special meaning among Wabanaki people. It is a pattern found often in nature, whether in the coil of a fiddlehead or the path animals take when bedding down so that any animal following must, while following the spiral path, come upwind of them. The new elementary school at the Tobique Reserve in New Brunswick is built in a spiral shape.

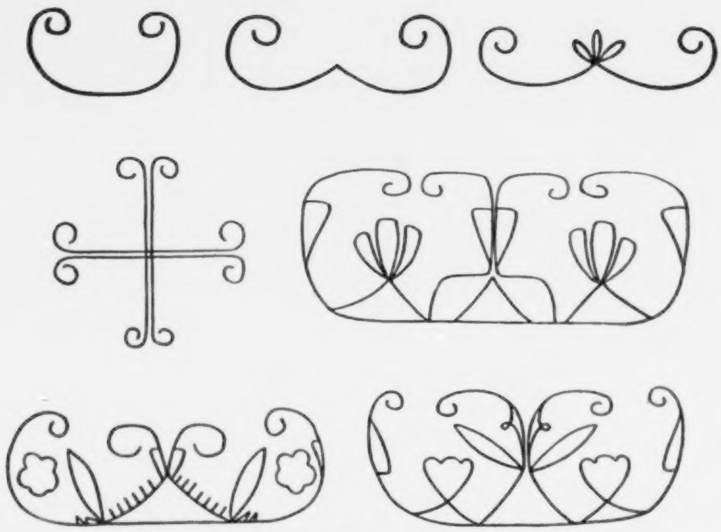
The following pages include examples of Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, Maliseet, and Micmac designs. They come from Frank G. Speck's The Double-Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art, published in 1914.



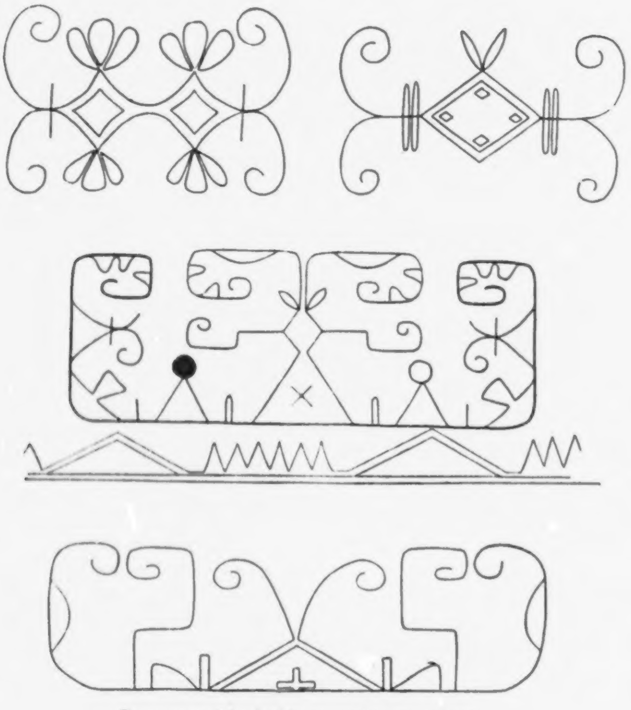
Some varieties of the elementary unit.



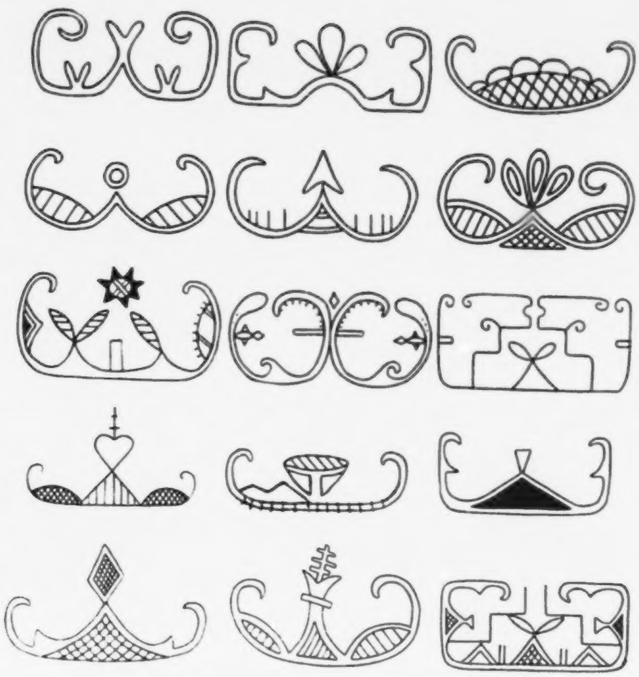
Double-curve designs graded according to complexity.



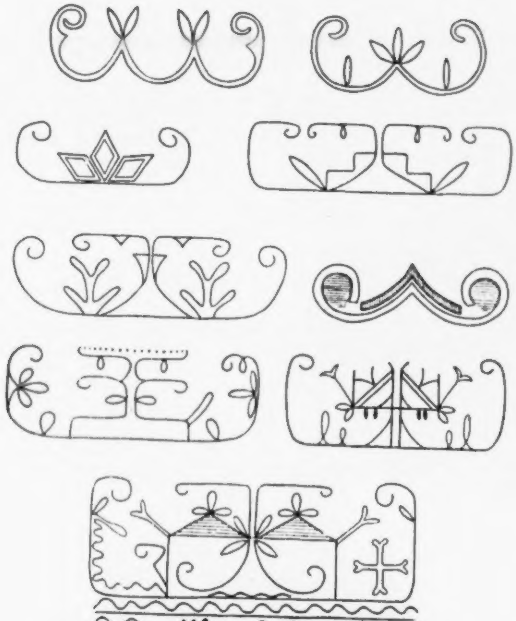
Maliseet double-curve designs. Heye collection, Univ. of Pa. Museum; Geological Survey, Canada, Ottawa; Peabody Museum, Cambridge, MA.



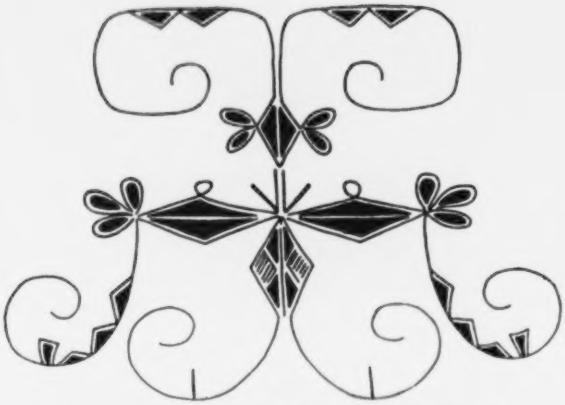
Passamaquoddy double-curve designs. Heye collection, Univ. of Pa. Museum.



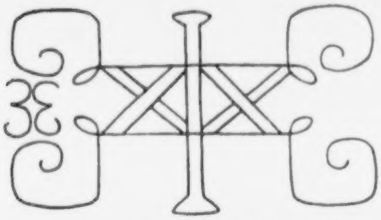
Penobscot double-curve designs. Heye collection, University of Pennsylvania Museum.



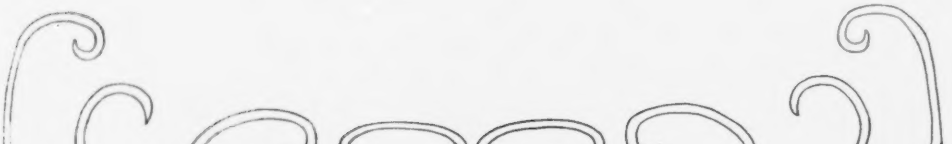
Micmac double-curve designs. Heye collection, University of Pennsylvania Museum.



Penobscot double-curve design denoting central place of mourning in ceremony over a dead chief. From a collar-cape worn by a chief taking part in ceremony. Division of Anthropology. Museum No. III K, 74.



Double-curve design denoting union of tribes assembled for a ceremony. From Penobscot cape. Division of Anthropology. Museum No. III K, 74.



Design from a Penobscot cradleboard. Heye collection, Univ. of Pa. Museum.

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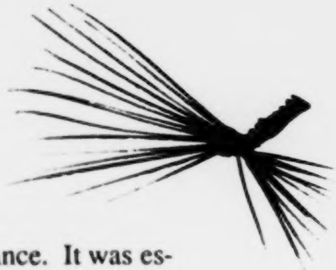
LITTLE PINES[1]



According to Frank Speck,

> The Pine Dance...was an old-fashioned woman's performance. It was essentially a test of skill and endurance, or, as they say, "smartness," combined with amusement. A singer provided the music...while the women, ...dressed in their best, hopped and shuffled in the center of the floor amid shouts of encouragement from the assemblage. It is a dance quite without form, the steps and motions being determined by individual fance or ability. (Speck: 1940)

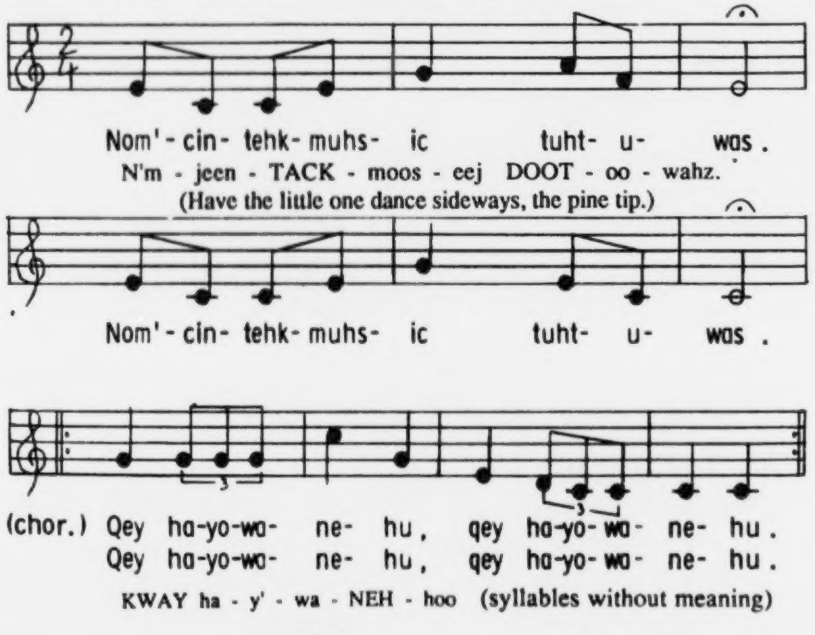
A game, "little pines," was played with a half dozen to a dozen white pine twigs, which represented dancers in the pine dance. Needles were cut squarely across the ends and the pine sprigs put flat ends down on a board. The board was bounced and shaken while the person holding the board sang dance songs. The little pine bundles would "twirl, topple, slide, or circle around, sometimes in pairs jostling one another" amidst cries and cheers of onlookers. (Speck: 1940) Finally, one pine bundle was left; it was praised for its skill and endurance, as if it were a woman in the pine dance. Then someone else took the board and repeated the "dance."

Both game and dance were widespread among Wabanakis. Following is the Passamaquoddy song for the pine dance:

---

[1] The verses of this song are recorded on the phonograph record accompanying this resource book.

TUHTUWAS


Nom'-cin- tehk- muhs- ic tuht- u- was.
N'm - jeen - TACK - moos - eej DOOT - oo - wahz.
(Have the little one dance sideways, the pine tip.)
Nom'-cin- tehk- muhs- ic tuht- u- was.
(chor.) Qey ha-yo-wa- ne- hu, qey ha-yo-wa- ne- hu.
Qey ha-yo-wa- ne- hu, qey ha-yo-wa- ne- hu.
KWAY ha - y' - wa - NEH - hoo (syllables without meaning)

Kiw-tahq-es-sos-sic tuht-u-was.
GYEW - tah - kwess - 'ss - cej DOOT - oo - wahz
(Have the little one spin around, the pine tip.)

Kiw-tahq-es-sos-sic tuht-u-was.

(chorus)

Wiw-niht-ehk-muhs-ic tuht-u-was.
Weew - nee - TACK - moos - cej DOOT - oo - wahz
(Have the little one dance around the circle, the pine tip.)

Wiw-niht-ehk-muhs-ic tuht-u-was.

(chorus)

Seht-aht-ehk-muhs-ic tuht-u-was.
Za - tah - TACK - moos - cej - DOOT - oo - wahz.
(Have the little one dance backwards, the pine tip.)

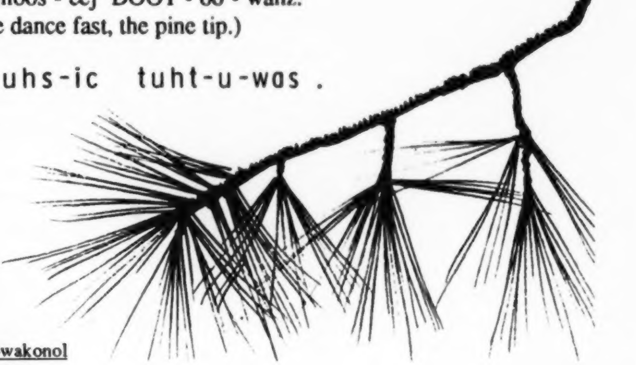
Seht-aht-ehk-muhs-ic tuht-u-was.

(chorus)

Ka-kaw-tehk-muhs-ic tuht-u-was.
Gah - gow - TACK - moos - cej DOOT - oo - wahz.
(Have the little one dance fast, the pine tip.)

Ka-kaw-tehk-muhs-ic tuht-u-was.

(chorus)



Song and illustrations from Wo-na-ki-ne: Scicinowi Lintowakonol
Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program, Indian Township, 1974.
Phonetics and translation by Robert Leavitt.

AMUCALU[1] - THE FLY

Here is a short Passamaquoddy story, which you may wish to act out along with the storyteller. Elizabeth Newell, of Indian Township, used to delight children with stories like this, which are part of the Wabanaki oral tradition. Like many stories, this seems to have the message to do all things in moderation.

Passamaquoddy	English	Accompanying Action
Kis knomiyawa amucalu etoli kossiqensit?	Have you ever seen a fly wash its face?	-------
Kessiqensit, nit 'tolehtunol 'pihtinol.	When it washes its face it does this with its hands.	Rub your cheeks with your wrists.
Naka nit 'tolehtun.	And it does this.	Rub your fists together.
Apc nit 'tolehtunol 'pihtinol.	Then it does this to its hands.	Rub your forearms across each other.
Apc elehtaq 'pihtinol usami kossiqensin, on 'tomiqehlosin.	Then, doing this with its hands, it washes its face too much, and its head comes off.	Push your head to the side with your forearm.
Tette olomamuwe woniyakon.	Its head rolls away that way.	Point, rolling your finger along.
Weckuhqepit mate woniyakoniw.	It's sitting there without any head.	Hide your head.
Nitte psiw!	That's all!	(Laugh!)

By comparing the Passamaquoddy and English versions, can you figure out what some of the Passamaquoddy words mean?

---

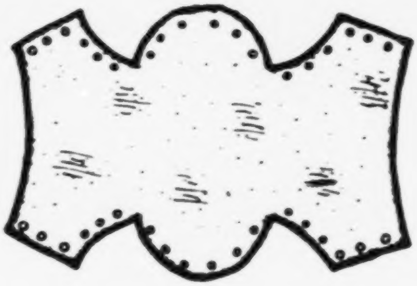
[1] Pronounced ah-moo-JAH-loo. For a pronunciation key, see D-76 of the "Wabanaki Languages" fact sheet. To hear the story in Passamaquoddy, refer to the phonograph record that accompanies this resource book.

PROJECTS WITH NATURAL MATERIALS[1]

PROJECT #1 WORKING WITH BIRCHBARK

Object: A small birchbark container.

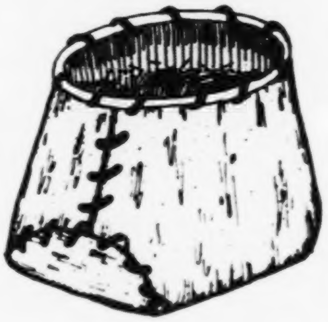
Materials and Equipment: Birchbark (gathered from a fallen tree); an awl or large darning needle; black spruce root, or waxed linen or nylon thread. NOTE: Do not remove birchbark from a live tree.



Preparation: Birchbark and roots should be made supple by soaking in warm water.

Method: Cut birchbark with scissors into a container shape. Discuss the tool that would have been used to cut the bark before the introduction of metal.

Make holes with an awl around the periphery about 0.5 cm. from the edge. Oversew with roots or thread. The top edge of the container may be reinforced by a thicker piece of spruce root oversewn into position.



Students will find that some care must be taken in positioning the holes since birchbark can easily split. Black spruce root used in original artifacts is very fine, thin, and smooth. To obtain these qualities, one can split whole roots lengthwise by carefully slitting them and peeling back the segments by exerting equal pressure with both hands.

The container may be decorated by etching a design on the outer surface of the bark and scraping off parts of the dark, inner layer. For design ideas, see "Double-Curve Designs," D-122.

PROJECT #2 WEAVING WITH NATURAL FIBERS

Object: Simple mats woven with natural fibers.

Materials: Cedar bark *(Thuja occidentalis)*; reeds *(Scirpus lacustris)*. NOTE: Do not remove cedar bark from a live tree.

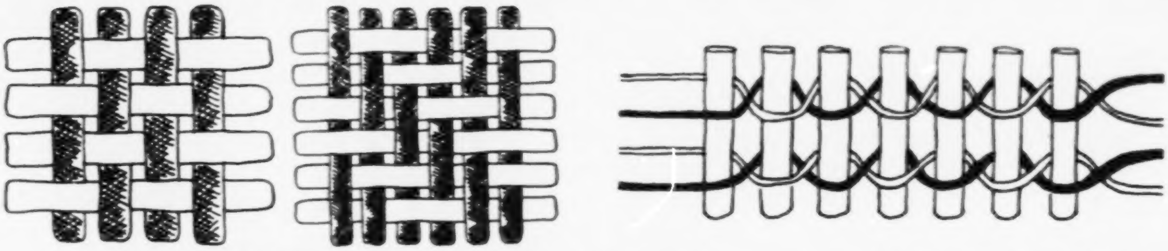
---

[1] The directions for the first eight activities come from School Television Teacher's Guides 1983/84 for grade levels: P-6, published by the Nova Scotia Department of Education, Education Media Services. The directions have been modified slightly in some cases.

Method: The dried reeds may be dyed by immersing them, after dampening, in simmering water in which either a natural or chemical dye has been dissolved. When a satisfactory color has taken, the reeds should be rinsed well.

To weave a simple reed mat, set up a simple loom by placing a chair upside down on floor or table and tying a string from leg to leg. Dampened reeds are then folded over the string to become the warp, or lengthwise element, of the weaving. The weft, or crosswise element, is made by weaving additional reeds in a simple twisting or twining motion.

Cedar bark to be used in weaving should be soaked overnight in water. The inner bark is removed in strips and becomes soft and felt-like after soaking. The strips can then be used to weave mats in a checkerboard pattern (one under, one over). Re-dampen the material during weaving as necessary. Other materials were also used in pre-contact times for the construction of fish weirs and containers, among them witherod *(Viburnum cassinoides),* red-osier dogwood *(Cornus stolonifera),* alder *(Alnus crispa, Alnus rugosa),* and elder *(Sambucis pubens).* These materials may be used to construct simple baskets. Comparison should be made with objects made with these unprocessed natural materials and the splint baskets available today.



Checker, twill and wicker weaves. Illustrations reprinted, by permission, from Whitehead, Elitekey, 1980.

PROJECT #3 PORCUPINE QUILLWORK EMBROIDERY

Materials and Equipment: Porcupine quills;[1] soft leather; needles; waxed linen thread or waxed nylon thread to simulate sinew; felt, bias tape, narrow ribbons, colored yarns. (These may be used for practicing the technique.)

Preparation: Soak quills in warm water for a few minutes until they are supple.

Method: In quillwork embroidery, the quills are appliquéd in folds on the surface of the leather. Stitches are made through the thickness of the material only. In pre-contact times, a hole would be made through the thickness of the leather with an awl, and sinew, which was allowed to dry and stiffen to a point at one end, would be threaded through the hole. Today, use a needle to attach thread to the leather. Fold the quills -- which will first have to be flattened -- over and under the thread in any of the following ways:

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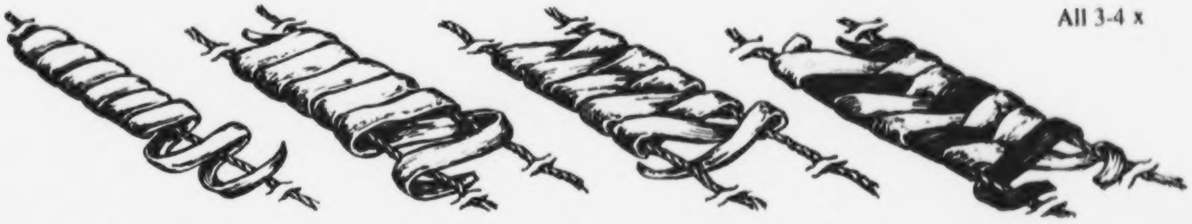
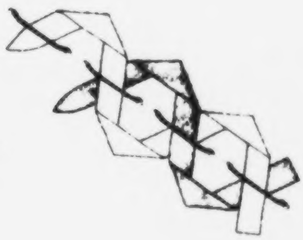
[1] Note: The sharp ends of the quills should be cut off beforehand if they are to be used by children.

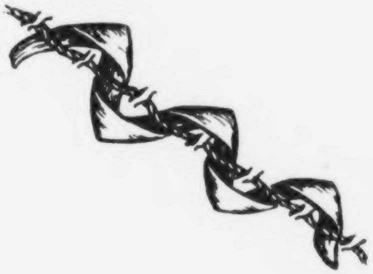
All 3-4 x



Simple line — one thread. Band — two threads. Zig-zag — two threads. Braided — two-colors and two threads.

*





Starred drawing shows spaces exaggerated. Other drawings from The New England Indians by C. Keith Wilbur.

Sawtooth — one thread

PROJECT #4 PORCUPINE QUILLWORK PLAITING[1]

Materials: Porcupine quills; waxed linen thread or waxed nylon thread to simulate sinew.

Preparation: Soak quills in warm water for a few minutes until they are supple.

Method: Attach two lengths of thread to a stationary object such as a chair leg, door knob or nail. The flattened quill is bent in a zigzag fashion under and over the two legnths of thread (see diagram), like making a braid. However, the quill is kept at right angles to the two thread lengths.

New quills are attached either by tubing the end of one quill inside the cut end of another or by overlapping a new quill with the old. This technique was used for wrapping objects such as pipe stems. Designs are made by changing quill colors as the length of plaiting is wrapped around the object. This is a simple technique suitable for young children.

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[1] Note: The sharp ends of the quills should be cut off beforehand if they are to be used by children

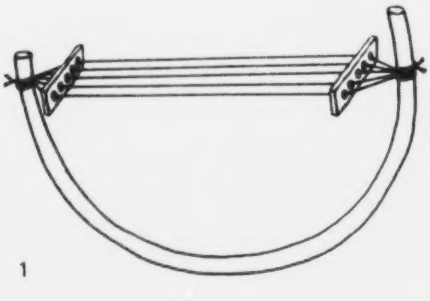
PROJECT #5 PORCUPINE QUILLWORK WEAVING

Materials and Equipment: A length of green, springy wood; waxed linen thread or waxed nylon thread to simulate sinew; two pieces (5 cm square) of birchbark or thick leather; porcupine quills.

Method: A series of warp (lengthwise) threads are attached to each end of the bowed stick. These are separated by threading them through holes in birchbark or leather dividers. The holes must be one quill width apart (see diagram 1, below).

Attach a weft sinew or thread to the outside warp closest to one of the dividers. Weave a few lines of under/over weaving to stabilize the work with this weft thread. The quills, which have been softened in warm water as before, are flattened and inserted into the previously woven lines in the spaces between each warp string. The weft thread is pulled across the front of the line of flattened quills, which are then bent down over the weft thread in each space to the reverse of the work. The weft is then pulled across the front of the quills on the reverse side of the work and the quills bent upwards to the front. The process is then repeated (see diagram 2).

The birchbark or leather divider farthest away from the work is used as a beater (it slides up the strings) to compress the quills tightly together. Care should be taken to choose for weaving quills of similar diameter.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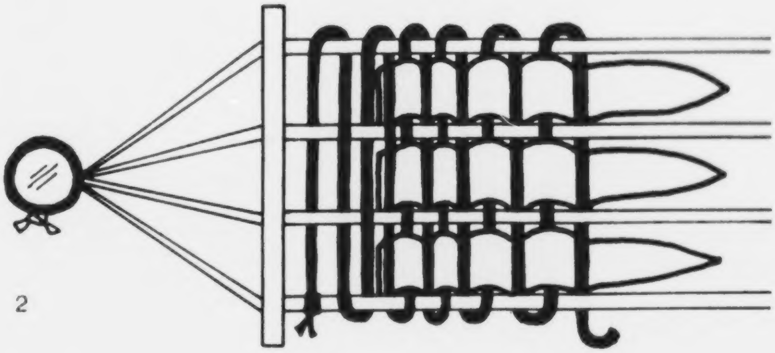
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PROJECT #6 PORCUPINE QUILLWORK WRAPPING

Materials: Porcupine quills;[1] leather with a cut fringe; narrow strips of birchbark.

Method: This technique requires patience. A quill is moistened and flattened, then it is wrapped around either one thong of the leather fringe or around alternate pairs. The ends of each quill are tucked under the preceding wrapping. The same method is used when wrapping flat strips of birchbark. The ends of a flattened quill may also be secured by folding them at each end over a doubled length of sinew.

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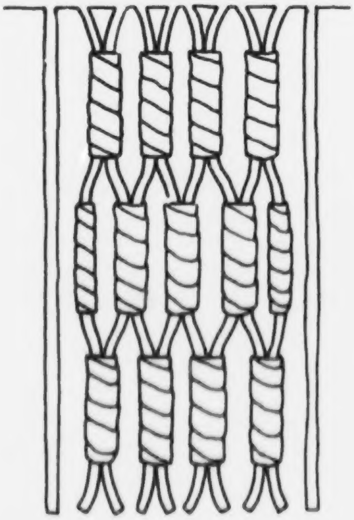
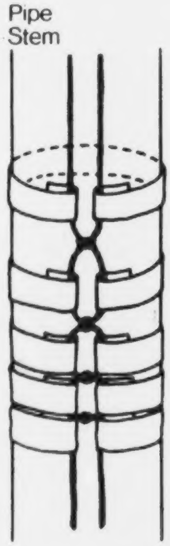
[1] Note: The sharp ends of the quills should be cut off beforehand if they are to be used by children.





PROJECT #7 PAINTING

Materials:
Birchbark. Leather or Kasha lining may be substituted. The latter material, which looks like beige-colored flannelette, is available at most fabric stores. Its fuzzy side approximates the texture of leather.
Painting sticks. These may be made from wood or bone. They can have wedge-shaped or pointed ends, or they may be tyned like a fork. Various diameters of dowelling can be ground on an electric sander to make wedge-ended sticks, or simple tongue depressors may be shaped to produce a similar effect. Old forks may be substituted for tyned, bone painting tools.
Pigments. Natural red ocher is available from paint stores, or avid geologists may wish to collect natural pigments that occur as oxides of iron. Powdered Tempura poster paints or water-based acrylic paints in black, yellow ocher, red, and white may be substituted for the natural pigments charcoal, yellow ocher, red ocher, and crushed shells. Use raw egg as a binder for the paints.

Method: Each student should have a piece of birchbark, leather or fabric. Pigments are mixed with egg yolk. Simple line designs or pictorial representations should be attempted. Design ideas can be taken from "Double-Curve Designs," D-12, or a book that shows pictographs or cave drawings, such as Marion Robertson's book, Rock Drawings of the Micmac Indians (Nova Scotia Museum, 1973).

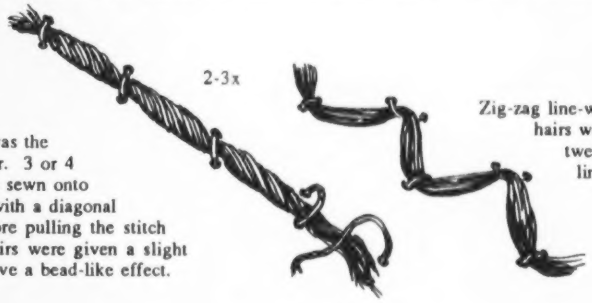
PROJECT #8 STONE

Suitable rocks, such as chert, chalcedony, quartz and agate, can be collected and attempts made at fashioning simple stone tools, though flint knapping is a complex, difficult skill. For more information, see a thirty-minute videotape by Dr. Rob Bonnichson of the University of Maine depicting the preparation of a stone tool. See "Audiovisual Resources", E-2, for how to order this videotape.

PROJECT #9 MOOSEHAIR

The following description and illustrations of moosehair decoration are from The New England Indians, by C. Keith Wilbur.

Moosehair Decoration— This fine embroidery material came from the cheeks, "bell," mane and rump of the moose. Each hair averaged from four to five inches, was white for three-quarters of its length and black at the remaining tip. As with the quillwork, the hairs were washed and dyed, then moistened in water or in the mouth just prior to use. The technique also fell victim to trade bead decoration.



Line-work was the most popular. 3 or 4 strands were sewn onto the leather with a diagonal stitch. Before pulling the stitch tight, the hairs were given a slight twist that gave a bead-like effect.

Zig-zag line-work. 3 or 4 hairs were sewn between 2 parallel lines of sinew threads.

NATURAL DYES

The information in this fact sheet comes from a list of dyes that appeared in The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada, by Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth S. Wallis (1955). The information was gathered at Pictou Landing in Nova Scotia shortly after 1910. Although the directions and names of plants are not very explicit, the Wallis and Wallis list is probably the best list of this kind for Wabanaki natural dyes. **It may take some experimenting to get these dyeing techniques to work well enough to use in the classroom.** Dyes may be faint. Alum or other mordants can be used to fix the colors. (We do not know what substances Wabanakis used to fix colors.) This list contains only a few of the many plants Wabanaki people used for dyeing.

RED

1. Chew elder bark and place it in a container with a little water. Keep the water almost boiling for approximately nine or ten hours.
2. Cut the root of a hemlock tree near the surface of the ground. Scrape off the outer bark and boil the remainder until the water turns red.

YELLOW

1. Boil meadow fern [Myrica gale] gathered in the winter months.
2. Boil gold root [goldthread].

GREEN

1. Boil moosewood for an hour. When the moosewood turns soft, take it out of the water and crush it. Then boil it again in the same pot for about a half hour.

BLUE

1. Boil bark of beech tree one hour. Add a tablespoon of hardwood ashes (that previously have been put into two quarts of boiled water).

PURPLE

1. Boil the bark of white [silver] maple from one-half hour to one hour. Add alum to enrich the color.

BROWN

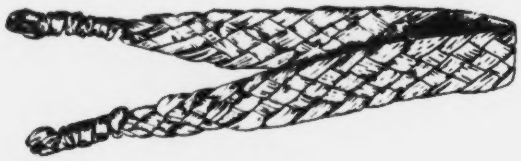
1. Boil moss found growing between wrinkles in the bark of maple trees.
2. Add white ashes or soda to yellow dye. If only using a small amount of additive, then blue will result. (According to the amount of additive, green, pink, or purple will result in various shades.)

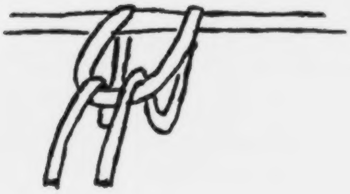
BLACK

1. Boil dark blue wood found under decayed portions of old logs and add a little salt water.
2. Boil fir bark.
3. Boil white [silver] maple and elm together.
4. Add to purple (made by boiling white [silver] maple bark one hour) ashes from a hardwood.

FINGER WEAVING

Wabanakis used finger weaving to make a variety of items. This illustration (Speck: 1940) shows a tumpline, an Indian invention that was used to transport very heavy items. This one is made of basswood, said to be an exceptionally strong natural fiber. Tumplines were stretched across a person's forehead or chest and attached to the burden resting on the person's back. Sometimes the burden was a small child in a cradleboard (see D-81).

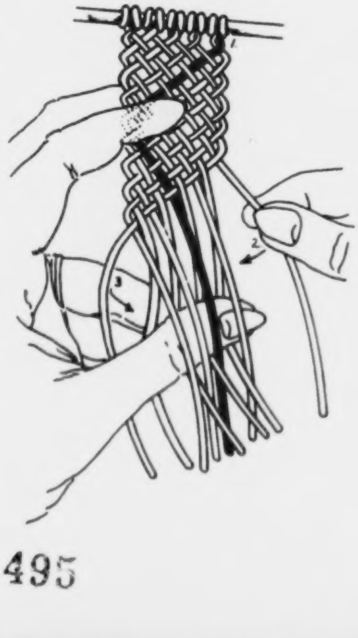




Students may try finger weaving using yarn and a wooden dowel. Cut yarn in two or three foot lengths. Find the center, make a loop, and place it on the dowel. Draw the ends through the loop, forming two strands. The more strands on the dowel, the more difficult the weaving. The following directions and illustrations come from Off-Loom Weaving, A Basic Manual, by Elfleda Russell. Advanced students may wish to try finger weaving starting in the center, which is a more advanced technique.

FINGER WEAVING, STARTING AT THE RIGHT

Finger weaving is also referred to as a multistrand *plaiting* or *braiding,* since the threads continually cross back and forth through themselves to form the weave, just as in the familiar three-strand braiding. No separate weft is used. The perpetual-motion weave that continually feeds back into itself can start at one edge or in the center (see below) and can be loosely or tightly woven with contrasting strands to create different design effects....

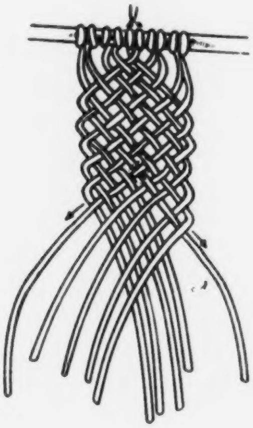


Here the darkened string (1) that starts from the right-hand end of a group of even-numbered working strings traces out the route that all the threads follow when a strip is to continue straight, as is shown here. Eventually, this string will work its way back to the right edge, when it again folds left to continue the cycle. If the warps that slope down to the right are squeezed together, then the wefts never show. Diagonal stripes (also sloping down to the right) result when different shades are used.

To simplify the weaving process, use your left thumb to make the shed that this far right string -- the temporary weft -- passes through on a downward slope to the left. Your thumb always starts exactly the same, first over, then under, finishing over. It stays in position while the weft is passed across just above it, as suggested at 2. When the first string has gone across, hold it on that downward angle while you pull all the strings it has just woven through into the opposite angle, sloping down to the right. The tail of thread 1 then folds back to join them as suggested by the dotted lines and shown at 3. Each row now repeats the process just described. It is optional whether to weave the threads trapped above this first row through themselves before proceeding, as they are shown doing here.

FINGER WEAVING, STARTING IN THE CENTER

Separate out an odd number of pairs of working strings, say five pairs (ten ends), as shown here, or seven pairs (fourteen ends). Starting with the center pair, fold the right-hand string over the left and weave it on a downward angle to the left. Then weave the left-hand string down to the right. Pull the strings you just wove through into the opposite angle to the weft that passed through them, so that they cross in the middle. Fold back the tails of both wefts to follow this opposite angle, then start the second row of weaving back in the center again, folding right over left, then finishing the weaves.



HOW TO CONSTRUCT A WIGWAM

In the summer of 1908, W. C. Orchard visited Indian Island. Many people had left to sell baskets along the coast. However, several of the older men told him how a conical wigwam was constructed. The following comes from his account published in the American Anthropologist, (N.S. 11, 1909), in an article entitled "Notes on Penobscot Houses."

> The conical bark shelter (fig. 1) is built usually about ten feet high and ten feet in diameter; the framework consists of two sets of poles, one set inside and one outside. The inner poles support the bark and the outer help to hold it in position.
>
> Nine poles, about twelve feet long and three and one-half or four inches in diameter at the larger end, are used for the inner frame. Four of these are tied together at a point about two feet from the tips, laid in pairs, one pair on top of the other. A rope of cedar bark, or a thong, bound around the poles twice and tied with a common knot, is employed to hold them together.
>
> To erect the lodge, the four poles tied together are stood up and spread apart, as shown in figure 2. Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 are the poles fastened together; 5 and 6 are two poles placed between 1 and 2 to form door posts; 7, 8, and 9, placed between 1 and 3, 3 and 4, 4 and 2, complete the circle of foundation poles. A short pole is tied between 5 and 6, about six feet from the ground, forming a lintel. A hoop of some flexible wood is fastened to the inner side of the poles, about seven or seven and one-half feet from the ground, to give additional strength, also to support sticks laid across, upon which clothing, etc., are placed to dry.
>
> The covering consists of a number of pieces of birch-bark about three feet and one-half wide and as long as the diameter of the tree will afford. The pieces are lapped and sewed together with split spruce-root, forming long strips which are fitted around the poles. The width of the bark is about one-third the height of the lodge, consequently three tiers are necessary to complete the covering. The two lower tiers are made in two sections each, to facilitate handling for transportation. One section suffices for the upper tier. The pieces of bark are so fitted and trimmed that all the seams are vertical. The covering of the poles is effected by commencing with a section of the lower tier at one of the door-posts. The end of the bark strip is turned around the pole and fastened by means of two or three strings of split spruce-root, passed through the front, round the pole, and out to the front again and tied. The strip is then stretched around the middle pole at the back (no. 9) and fastened through the top edge with a spruce-root string which is thrust through the bark, around the pole, and tied with a common knot. The string does not pass through the bark a second time, but is led back to the starting point over the edge. A similar fastening is made at each pole. The operation is repeated on the opposite side, with the end of the second section overlapping the end of the first at the back.
>
> The second tier is put on the same way, the lower edge being allowed to overlap the first tier. The third or upper tier is started from the middle pole at the back, fastened through the upper edge, and is not turned around the pole as is done with the bark at the door-posts. The strip is carried around till the two ends overlap at the starting point, and a fastening is made at each pole, as with the lower tiers. To reach the upper edge of this tier, any convenient article that is high enough and can be used to elevate the person building the house, is taken inside and the fastening completed

there. Some of the width is taken up by the longitudinal lapping, which leaves sufficient opening between the top edge of the bark and the intersection of the poles for a smoke-hole.

The outside poles, cut about ten feet long, are then put in position, one opposite each pole inside. They are secured by sharpening the lower ends and driving them into the ground a few inches, and by tying the upper ends to the corresponding poles inside, just above the edge of the top tier of bark.

A door is made of tanned moose-hide, laced to two poles, one at the upper and one at the lower end, the upper end being tied through the bark to the lintel. In rainy or windy weather, the lower end is fastened by means of a thong, or a cedar-bark rope, to the nearest pole to the door opening, or to small stakes driven into the ground close to the wall of the tent. The door of the lodge faces toward the south or west, according to the surroundings.

The interior furnishings consist of beds for sleeping or lounging, and a fireplace. The beds are made of boughs of spruce or fir, or of any accessible soft boughs, covered with tanned skins kept in place by poles laid along the spaces allotted for that purpose on the ground. The space marked A is usually occupied by the owner; B is the place of honor, and C is assigned for ordinary guests. D [is] the fireplace....

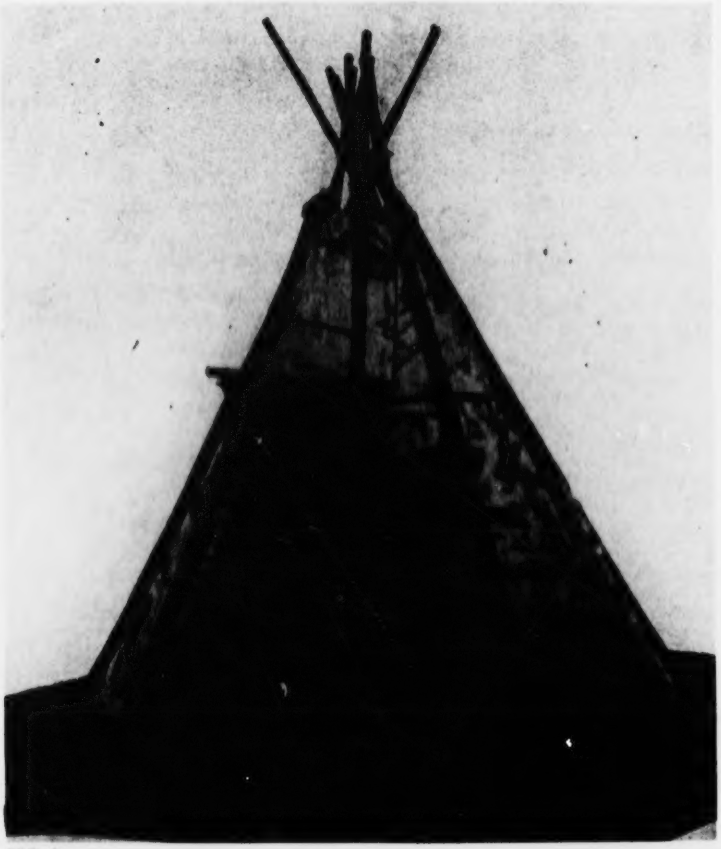


FIG. 1

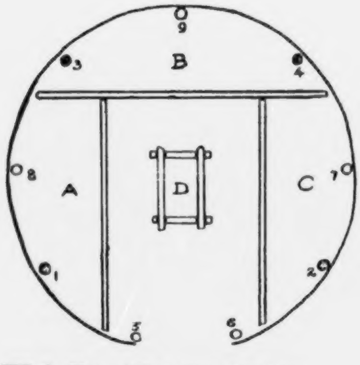


FIG. 2 Plan of Penobscot Dwelling.

RECIPES

The following recipes are some of those cooked today in Wabanaki kitchens. They are considered traditional -- that is, the recipes have been passed down for several generations. The recipes vary from community to community and from home to home.

Hulled Corn Soup

2 cups Flint (field) corn, or 4 cups canned hulled corn (Use a brand like Maheu Hulled Corn in Canada or Bush's Best Golden Hominy in the United States.)
2 cups beans (Yellow eye beans are good.) Beans can be soaked overnight for faster cooking.
Salt pork (4 strips. The size of one strip might be 1.5" x 3" x .25")

If you use dry corn, boil the corn together with an equal amount of hardwood ashes. Put the ashes into an unbleached muslin bag while cooking. Boil the corn rapidly until it begins to look brownish and the hulls start to loosen (perhaps 60-90 minutes). You should be able to split the hulls easily. Drain, throw away the ashes, and rinse the corn four or five times, all the while squeezing the corn so the hulls come off and rise to the surface. Stop when all the hulls are removed.

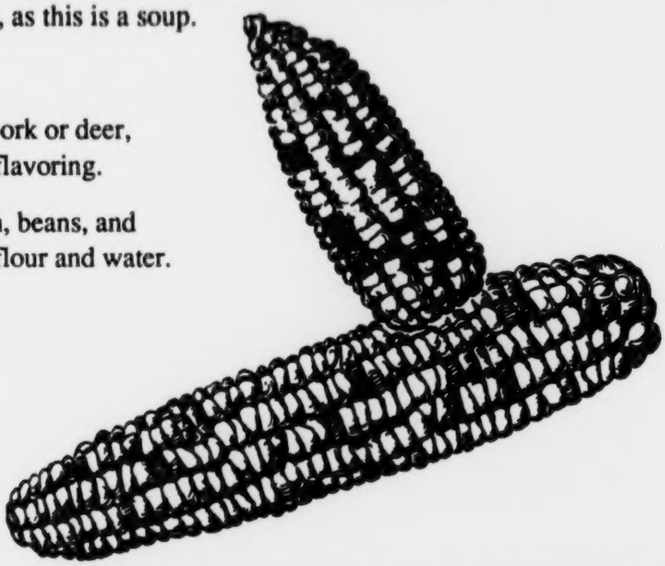
Fry the strips of salt pork until crisp. Put half of the pork (with the grease) into a pot with the corn, and half into a pot with the beans. Cook both the corn and the beans until nearly done. (The corn will take a little longer than the beans.) Keep adding water as it boils off.

Add the nearly cooked corn to the nearly cooked beans. Or add the canned hulled corn if you are not using dry corn.) Add salt and pepper to taste. Cook until done, adding liquid when necessary. There should be plenty of liquid, as this is a soup.

Variations:

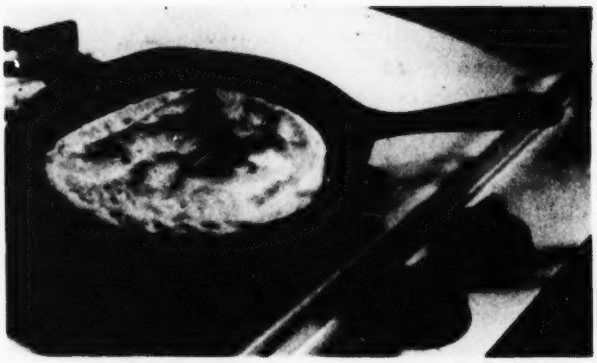
Some people add fresh meat, such as pork or deer, but salt pork is generally still used for flavoring.

The soup is sometimes made with corn, beans, and turnip, with small dumplings made of flour and water.



Hybrid corn. Reprinted with permission from The New England Indians, by C. Keith Wilbur, © 1978, published by The Globe Pequot Press, Chester, CT.

Fry Bread



Fry Bread.

1 cup flour
3 teaspoons baking powder
dash salt
water (enough to make the mixture a little thicker than pancake batter)

Mix ingredients together. Add batter to a heated skillet with shortening the way you would pancakes. When cooked half-way through, flip and cook through.

Variations:

Today, some people make substitutions in the traditional recipe. Half white flour and half whole wheat flour can be substituted for white flour, or other ingredients such as cornmeal or wheat germ. Raisins, dates, or cinnamon may be added to the batter, as may honey or sugar.

The fry bread should be served warm. It can be eaten plain, dipped in molasses, or served with butter, jam, or peanut butter. Good served with baked beans or hulled corn soup.

Muskrat Stew

1 piece of salt pork (Size might be 1.5" x 3" x .25")
1 muskrat, caught in the spring or fall, skinned and cut into pieces (about eight pieces)
potatoes, cut into large chunks
flour

Fry the salt pork. Fry the pieces of muskrat in the salt pork fat until brown on all sides. Add water and simmer until half done. Add potatoes. Continue to simmer, adding enough water to barely cover potatoes.

Just before the muskrat is fully done, make a paste of flour and water and add it to the stew to make gravy. Or, make a dough of flour and water, baking powder, and salt (using a dumpling recipe if needed), and add small pieces of the dumpling mixture to the top of the stew. Cook until done.

Variation:

Rabbit stew can be made in the same way, except that carrots and onions should be added along with the potatoes. A rabbit caught in any season will do.

SOURCES

The fact sheet section on material culture relies on a number of sources, including several excellent resources developed in Nova Scotia. These include Elitekey: Micmac Material Culture from 1600 A.D. to the Present, by Ruth Holmes Whitehead, The Micmac, a children's book by Ruth Holmes Whitehead and Harold McGee, and "Background Notes: The Micmac People, Their Life Cycle, and Material Culture," written for teachers by Harold McGee and Ruth Holmes Whitehead and published in School Television Teachers Guides 1983/84 for grade levels P-6. We also drew from several other resources prepared for classroom use for which Ruth Holmes Whitehead and Harold McGee were advisors, including a filmstrip series developed by the Education Media Services of the Nova Scotia Department of Education and entitled Micmac: The People and Their Culture, and two filmstrips of the National Film Board of Canada, The Micmac: Their Daily Life, and The Micmac: Their Seasonal Life. Together these materials provided information on nearly all the topics covered in this section.

Bernard Hoffman's The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries has good sections on material culture, particularly hunting, fishing, and food preparation. Frank Speck's Penobscot Man covers a wide range of subjects, but must be used with caution, especially for information on Penobscot culture before Europeans settled in Maine, as Speck did his study in the early twentieth century. Likewise, the articles from the Handbook on North American Indians, including "Micmac," by Philip K. Bock, "Maliseet-Passamaquoddy", by Vincent Erickson, "Eastern Abenaki," by Dean R. Snow, and "Western Abenaki," by Gordon M. Day include points on which some scholars disagree.

A number of sources were very helpful on specific topics, including Maine Dirigo: I Lead, edited by Dean Bennett, Micmac Redbook: Resource Manual for the Micmac Recognition Effort, by Bunny McBride and Harald Prins, a book about the history and culture of Micmacs in Aroostook County, Charles Willoughby's "Dress and Ornaments of the New England Indians," published in the American Anthropologist, The Bark Canoe and Skin Boats of North America, by Edwin T. Adney and Howard I. Chapelle, M. K. Bennett's "The Food Economy of the New England Indians," printed in the Journal of Political Economy, Aroostook Indian Education's "Indian Medicine," two articles by Frank Speck and Ralph W. Dexter, "Utilization of Plants and Animals by the Maliseet Indians of New Brunswick" and "Utilization of Animals and Plants by the Micmac Indians of New Brunswick," both of which appeared in the Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, Arthur Van Wart's "Indians of the Maritimes, their Diseases and Native Cures," which appeared in the Canadian Medical Association Journal, Frank G. Speck's "Medicine Practices of the Northeastern Algonquins," Uses of Birch Bark in the Northeast, by Eva L. Butler and Wendell S. Hadlock, Micmac Quillwork, by Ruth Holmes Whitehead, the National Museum of Man's Oracle: The Wigwam, the New Brunswick Museum's Museum Sheet 10: Birch Bark, Changes in the Land, by William Cronon, The Micmacs, a children's book by Robert Leavitt, and First Families, a book for students by Edith Favour. The Maine State Museum very kindly allowed Martha Gottlieb to share with us the research she has done for the museum on plant foods and beverages. Judith Schmidt shared with us her research on other contemporary plant uses by Native groups.

For a number of the fact sheets in the remaining three sections, "Wabanaki Political, Social and Spiritual Life," "Colonial Life Before the Revolutionary War," and "Things to Try" we have used materials developed by others. The designs in "Double-Curve Designs" come from Frank Speck's The Double-Curve Motive in Northeastern Algonkian Art, and the directions in "Cornhusk Dolls" from Jesselyn Akin's "The Cornhusk People; Good Spirits from an Ancient Indian Craft," which appeared in Harrowsmith magazine. "Social and Spiritual Life" was taken from "Background Notes: The Micmac People, Their Life Cycle, and Material Culture" by Harold McGee and Ruth Holmes Whitehead.

The song "Tuhtuwas" in the "Little Pines" fact sheet and "Amucalu" came from publications of the Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program at Indian Township.

"Projects with Natural Materials" come from School Television Teacher's Guides 1983/84 for grade levels: P-6, as well as New England Indians, by C. Keith Wilbur. Most of the directions in "Finger Weaving" come from Off-Loom Weaving, A Basic Manual, and "How to Construct a Wigwam" comes directly from W.C. Orchard's "Notes on Penobscot Houses," which appeared in the American Anthropologist. "Americanizing the White Man" comes from an article by the same name by Felix Cohen and the information in "Natural Dyes" comes from data collected by Wilson D. and Ruth Sawtell Wallis and published in The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada.

Robert Leavitt wrote nearly all of the fact sheet "Languages," and Andrea Nicholas added to and clarified an outline which had been drawn up from what she, as primary author, had written on the Colonial Wars in Chapter 4 of Maine Dirigo: I Lead. Frank Siebert helped with the Penobscot portion of the "Languages" fact sheet, as well as with the Penobscot words throughout the book.

Other sources for the last three sections of the fact sheets include The Micmac, by Ruth Holmes Whitehead and Harold McGee. The Micmacs, by Robert Leavitt, Bernard Hoffman's The Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, "Government" lesson plans, designed for Beatrice Rafferty School at Pleasant Point by Dolly Dana (Smith), Changes in the Land, by William Cronon, M.K. Bennett's "The Food Economy of the New England Indians", Changing Economic Roles for Micmac Men and Women, by Ellice B. Gonzalez, Wampum, by Anne Malloy, "The Passamaquoddy Wampum Records," by J. Dyneley Prince, Maine Dirigo; I Lead, edited by Dean Bennett, "Waltes Game," by Sarah Denny, "Waltes, an Ancient Micmac Game," which appeared in Cape Breton's Magazine, a slideshow, Maine Indians and the Land Claims Case, by the American Friends Service Committee, and "Giving it Back to the Indians," by Robert McLaughlin. Marti Roberge shared her notes and perspectives on the land claims settlement.

Our home is this country
Across the windswept hills
With snow on fields.
The cold air.

I like to think of our native life,
Curious,free;
And look at the stars
Sending icy messages.
My eyes see the cold face of the moon
Cast his net over the bay.

It seems
We are like the moon --
Born,
Grow slowly,
Then fade away, to reappear again
In a never-ending cycle.

Our lives go on
Until we are old and wise.
Then end.
We are no more,
Except we leave
A heritage that never dies.

Rita Joe
Micmac

Reprinted, by permission, from
Poems of Rita Joe, Abanaki Press, 1978.

RESOURCES

Books and Audiovisuals

For resources about specific topics, the reader may refer to the lists of sources at the end of the historical overview, A-34, and the fact sheets, D-142, and in the introduction to the legend lesson plans, B-59. Some individual fact sheets and lessons refer the reader to sources of additional information. Although the bibliography at the end of this resource book is simply a list of sources used in writing the book, and not a list of recommended resources, nevertheless, many of the resources listed may be useful for the reader.

For a list of books and audiovisuals with information about what each resource contains, as well as its bias or tone, the reader would do well to consult The Wabanaki: An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Books, Articles, Documents about Maliseet, Micmac, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot Indians in Maine, Annotated by Native Americans, by Eunice Nelson. This book was published by the American Friends Service Committee in 1982, and can be found in many libraries. A limited number of copies are available from AFSC, Box 286, Orono, ME, 04473 ($6.50 plus $.75 handling). A good source for audiovisual resources is A Semi-Annotated Bibliography: The Wabanakis, published in 1982 by the Boston Indian Council at 105 South Huntington Avenue, Jamaica Plain, Boston, MA, 02136. In addition, the Boston Indian Council has some curriculum materials designed for use in the early elementary grades.

For teachers wishing additional background information for use with the lesson plans, the following resource list is provided. Most of the resources are not listed elsewhere in the resource book, nor in the two bibliographies recommended above. For your convenience, they are listed under the sections of the Lesson Plans for which they are most relevant.

How We Look at Others

From Racism to Pluralism is an eighteen-minute color filmstrip that explores concepts such as pluralism and the problems of prejudice and racism. High school level. $39.95. It can be ordered from the Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, NY, 10023.

Mi'kmaq

The Mi'kmaq videotape series contains six episodes, each 20-30 minutes long, dramatizing Micmac life in 1400, before the arrival of Europeans. It comes in a Micmac-only version and a Micmac with and English overlay version. Both are recommended for use with this lesson plan section. Canadian sources offer a version with a French overlay.

Maine teachers may order the series by sending a blank videotape to Educational Video Services, Maine State Library LMA Building, State House Station 64, Augusta, ME, 04333. An order form is included on E-18.

New Brunswick teachers may order the series by sending a blank videotape to: Instructional Resources, P.O. Box 6000, Fredericton, NB, E3B 1H0.

Nova Scotia Teachers may order the series by sending a blank videotape to: Education Media Services, Department of Education, 6955 Bayers Road, Halifax, NS, B3L 4S4. Attn. Jackie Bowman. If possible, use the school catalog order form.

The general public may obtain a loan copy at no charge from the Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs, Communication Services, P.O. Box 160, Amherst, NS, B4H 3Z3, or rent a copy from AFSC Audiovisual Resources, 2161 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA, 02140.

A filmstrip series, Micmac: The People and Their Culture, was produced by the Education Media Services of the Nova Scotia Department of Education to supplement the Mi'kmaq videotape series; it includes seven filmstrips with accompanying sound tapes. They are: 1) Domestic Crafts and Skills (7 min.), 2) Fisheries (8 min.), 3) Pastimes and Recreation (7 min.), 4) Clothing (9 min.), 5) Structures (11 min.), 6) Transportation (9 min.), and 7) Hunting Methods (9 min.). The series is available to Nova Scotia teachers from the Education Media Services in Halifax.

From the National Film Board of Canada, two filmstrips are available, The Micmac, Their Daily Life (17 min.), and The Micmac, Their Seasonal Life. A kit including the two filmstrips, sound tapes, and teachers' manual can be purchased from McIntyre Educational Media Limited, 30 Kelfield Road, Rexdale, Ontario, M9W 5A2 (416-245-7800, or 800-268-1470 in Canada only). $93. Catalog #123400.

For Nova Scotia teachers a videotape on flint knapping by Rob Bonnichson is available from Education Media Services, Dept. of Education, 6955 Bayers Road, Halifax, NS, B3L 4S4.

Teachers from Maine and the Maritimes may order a kit on stone technology that the Nova Scotia Museum expects to have available in the Fall of 1988. The kit is expected to include a video on flint knapping and is expected to be available for the cost of return postage. Order through: Education Section (attn. Bonnie Julian), Nova Scotia Museum, 1747 Summer St., Halifax, NS, B3H 3A6.

Four color videotapes on stone technology are available from the National Museum of Man in Canada, including 1) Percussion Flaking (27 min.), 2) Pressure Flaking (27 min.), 3) Pebble, Cobble, and Boulder Technology (25 min.), and 4) Microcores and Microblades (25 min.). Order from Ms. Louise Estabrooks, Archaeological Survey of Canada, National Museum of Man, Educational Museums of Canada, 360 Lisgar St., Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0M8.

Legends

The Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program in 1976 produced a series of beautifully illustrated legends written in Passamaquoddy and accompanied by an English translation. They can be ordered from the Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program, Indian Township School, Indian Township, ME 04668

Mikcic (Turtle) 25 pp.
Espons (Raccoon) 24 pp.
Pukcinsqehs / Kiwahqiyik (The Tree Stump Woman/ The Giants) 31 pp.

Koluskap Nekotok Skitkomiq (When Koluskap Left the Earth) 27 pp.
Koluskap Naka Siwiyi/ Oqim/ Wocawson (Koluskap and His Relatives/ Loon/ Wind) 27 pp.

Wabanaki Life 400 Years Ago

All of the resources listed above under **Mi'kmaq** can also be used for this section.

Also recommended is Berry Ripe Moon, by Michael E. Day and Carol Whitmore, an account of a Penobscot boy and his family summering on the coast of Maine. 54 pp. The book was published by Tide Grass Press (Peaks Island, ME) in 1977. It is good for elementary school children, and was published with a wall chart for use in classroom instruction. Currently out of print.

Wabanaki and European Interaction in Colonial Times

Tokec, Katop Qenoq Sipkiw / For Now, but Not For Long, is a book written at the junior high level about Passamaquoddies in the Revolutionary War (48 pp) with an accompanying teachers' guide (85 pp.) Both were published by the Wabnaki Bilingual Program, Indian Township School, Indian Township, ME 04668, in 1974.

Chipmunk: A Passamaquoddy Boy in the Revolution, written at the upper elementary level, is available from the Pleasant Point Bilingual Program, P.O. Box 295, Perry, ME 04667.

An Invisible People

Maliyan, by Mary Ellen Socobasin, was published in 1979 by the Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program, Indian Township School, Indian Township, ME 04668. We include excerpts from this book of historical fiction in the resource book. The entire book is 48 pages long.

Contemporary Life

Penobscot Children and Their World was written by children at the Indian Island School and published by the Indian Island School Committee.

Baskets of the Dawnland People, a book written by Project Indian PRIDE, under the direction of Joseph A. Nicholas, describes making baskets. It can be obtained from the Pleasant Point Bilingual Program, P.O. Box 295, Perry, ME, 04667.

We're Still Here: Art of Indian New England/ The Children's Museum Collection, by Joan A. Lester, was published in 1987 by the Children's Museum of Boston.

Indian Giver: A Legacy of North American Peoples, by Warren Lowes and published in 1986 by Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with Native People, describes the "Contributions which these People have made to the well-being of the larger human family".

Native Harvests, by Barrie Kavasch, published by Vintage Books in 1979, is a book of Native recipes and information about Native foods.

Abnaki: The Native People of Maine, a 30-minute film by Jay Kent, gives a picture of Wabanaki communities at the time of the land claims case. Is is available on video to Maine teachers from Educational Video Services, Maine State Library, LMA Building, State House Station 64, Augusta, ME, 04333. It is available to others through Centre Productions in Boulder, Colorado.

Our Lives in Our Hands, a 49-minute film produced in 1985 by Harald Prins and Karen Carter and sponsored by the Aroostook Micmac Council, is distributed through Documentary Educational Resources, 101 Morse St., Watertown, MA, 02172 (617-926-0491). The film is an examination of basket making as a means of economic and cultural survival for Micmac Indians of Maine.

Periodicals

Many Wabanaki reservations, reserves, and Native organizations have their own newsletters or newspapers with information of particular interest to their members. Some reach out to a wider audience. A few of these are included in the following list, along with several national or international publications.

Akwesasne Notes, A Journal for Native and Natural Peoples, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, NY 13683.

Daybreak, published monthly by the Eagle Eye Communications Group. Write Daybreak, P.O. Box 98, Highland, MD 20777.

The Digest, published by Central Maine Indian Association, P.O. Box 2280, Bangor, ME 04401.

Maine Indian Newsletter, published from 1966 to 1972 on Indian Island. Paper copies are available at the Maine State Library.

Micmac News, published by the Native Communications Society of Nova Scotia, P.O. Box 344, Sydney, NS B1P 6H2.

Wabanaki Alliance, published from 1973 to 1982 by the Division of Indian Services, an agency of Diocesan Human Relations Services, Inc. of Maine. Copies are available on microfiche at Fogler Library at the University of Maine at Orono.

Washington Newsletter, Annual Indian Report, a publication of Friends Committee on National Legislation, 245 Second St., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

Native Governments, Organizations and Institutions for Use as Resources

The following governments, organizations, and institutions may be useful in obtaining answers to specific questions or in locating resources, including the names of Wabanaki resource people.

Museums

There are three very good museums owned and operated by Wabanaki communities that provide school tours as well as having regular hours for the general public. These include:

Penobscot Museum, Center Street, Penobscot Nation, ME 04668 (207-827-6545). The museum is open to the public from 1 to 4 p.m. Tours for school groups are conducted in the morning by appointment only, for $15.

Musée des Abenakis, 58 Wabanaki, Odanak, P.Q., J0G 1H0 (514-568-2600). The museum is open daily from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Teachers who wish to have a class tour (in English or French) should call the museum.

Wapanahki Museum and Resource Center, c/o Joseph Nicholas, director of the bilingual program, Pleasant Point, Perry, ME 04667 (207-853-4045). Open daily from 8:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. Tours conducted between 1:30 and 3:30 by appointment only.

Some other places with exhibits on Wabanaki people include:
The Maine State Museum, Augusta, Maine
The Robert Abbe Museum, Bar Harbor, Maine
The Olef Nylander Museum, Caribou, Maine
The New Brunswick Museum, St. John, New Brunswick
The Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, Nova Scotia
The Children's Museum, Boston, Massachusetts
The Hudson Museum, University of Maine at Orono
The Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts

Reservation and Reserve (Status) Communities

Maine

Houlton Band of Maliseets, P.O. Box 576, Houlton, ME 04730 (207-532-7339)
Indian Township Tribal Government, Passamaquoddy Tribe, Box 301, Princeton, ME 04468 (207-796-2301)
Penobscot Nation, Community Building, 6 River Road, Indian Island, ME (207-827-7776)
Pleasant Point Tribal Government, Pleasant Point, ME 04667 (207-853-2551)

Quebec

Conseil de Bande Bécancour, 4680 Boulevard Danube, Bécancour, PQ J0X 1B0 (514-294-6696)
Conseil de Bande Odanak, 58 Wabanaki, Odanak, PQ J0G 1H0 (514-568-2819)
Maria Band of Indians, Maria, PQ GOC-140 (418-759-3441)
Restigouche Band of Nations, Restigouche, PQ GOC-2RO (418-788-2136)

New Brunswick

Union of New Brunswick Indians, 35 Dedham Street, Fredericton, NB E3A 2V2 (506-458-9444)
Big Cove Band of Indians, R.R. #1, Site 11, Big Cove, NB EOA 2LO (506-523-6384/6055)
Buctouche Band of Indians, Buctouche, NB EOA 1GO (506-743-6493)
Burnt Church Band of Indians, R.R. #2, Lagaceville, NB EOC 1KO (506-776-8897/8612)
Edmundston Band of Indians, St. Basile Reserve, R.R. #2, Edmundston, NB E3V 3K4 (506-735-6172)
Eel Ground Band of Indians, P.O. Box 9, Site 3, R.R. #1, Newcastle, NB E1V 3L8 (506-622-2181/2188/1315)
Eel River Band of Indians, P.O. Box 1444, Dalhousie, NB EOK 1BO (506-684-2366)
Fort Folly Band of Indians, P.O. Box 21, Dorchester, NB EOA 1MO (506-379-6641)
Indian Island Band of Indians, R.R. #2, Rexton, NB EOA 2LO (506-523-9833)
Kingsclear Band of Indians, R.R. #6, Box 19, Fredericton, NB E3B 4X7 (506-363-3028/3029)
Oromocto Band of Indians, P.O. Box 417, Oromocto, NB E2V 2V2 (506-357-2083/5849)
Pabineau Band of Indians, R.R. #5, Comp. #385, Bathurst, NB E2A 4Y8 (506-548-9211/4008)
Red Bank Band of Indians, P.O. Box 120, Red Bank, NB EOC 1WO (506-836-2366)
St. Mary's Band of Indians, 25 Dedham Street, Fredericton, NB E3A 2V2 (506-472-5503/8083/8085/8088)
Tobique Band of Indians, R.R. #3, Perth-Andover, NB EOJ 1VO (506-273-2282/2283)
Woodstock Band of Indians, P.O. Box 71, Woodstock, NB EOL 2BO (506-328-3303/3304)

Nova Scotia

Confederacy of Mainland Micmacs, P.O. Box 1590, Truro, NS B2N 5V3 (902-895-6385)
Union of Nova Scotia Indians, P.O. Box 961, Sydney, NS B1P 6J4 (902-539-4107/2808)
Acadia Band of Indians, Wildcat Reserve, R.R. #1, S. Brookfield, NS BOT 1XO (902-242-2150)
Afton Band of Indians, Bayfield Road, Afton, NS BOH 1GO (902-386-2781/2881)
Annapolis Valley Band of Indians, Cambridge Reserve, Cambridge Station, NS BOP 1GO (902-538-7149)
Bear River Band of Indians, P.O. Box 210, Bear River, NS BOS 1BO (902-467-5152/3451)
Chapel Island Band of Indians, Chapel Island Reserve, R.R. #1, St. Peter's, NS BOE 3BO (902-535-3317)
Eskasoni Band of Indians, Eskasoni Post Office, Cape Breton, NS BOA 1JO (902-379-2800/2801)
Horton Band of Indians, R.R. #1, Bishopville Road, Hantsport, NS BOP 1PO (902-684-9236) (Chief)
Membertou Band of Indians, 111 Membertou Street, Sydney, NS B1S 2M9 (902-539-6688/9859/9850)
Millbrook Band of Indians, P.O. Box 634, Truro, NS B2N 5E5 (902-895-4365/3391/3315/5763)

Shubenacadie Band of Indians, P.O. Box 350, Shubenacadie, NS BON 2HO (902-758-2049)

Pictou Landing Band of Indians, R.R. #2, Box 31, Trenton, NS BOK 1XO (902-752-4912)

Wagmatcook Band of Indians, P.O. Box 237, Baddeck, NS BOE 1BO (902-295-2598/3222)

Whycocomagh Band of Indians, P.O. Box 149, Whycocomagh, NS BOM 3MO (902-756-2337/2440)

Prince Edward Island

Abegweit Band of Indians, P.O. Box 220, Cornwall, P.E.I. COA 1HO (902-675-3842)

Lennox Island Band of Indians, Lennox Island, P.E.I. COB 1PO (902-831-2779)

Newfoundland

Miawpukek (Conne River) Band of Indians, Bay D'Espoir, Conne River, Newfoundland AOH 1JO (709-882-2877/2818/2878)

Reservation and Off-Reserve Communities and Organizations (selected)

Maine

Aroostook Band of Micmacs, P.O. Box 930, Presque Isle, ME 04769 (207-764-1972)

Central Maine Indian Association, P.O. Box 2280, Bangor, ME 04401 (207-942-2926) (serves off-reservation Indian people in all Maine counties)

Massachusetts

Boston Indian Council, 105 S. Huntington Ave., Jamaica Plain, Boston, MA 02136 (617-232-0343)

Vermont

Saint Francis/Sokoki Band of Abenakis, P.O. Box 276, Swanton, VT 95488

New Brunswick

New Brunswick Aboriginal People's Council, 320 St. Mary's Street, Fredericton E3A 2S4 (506-458-8422)

Quebec

Native Alliance of Quebec, 21 Brodeur Street, Hull, P.Q. J84 2P6 (819-770-7763)

Prince Edward Island

Native Council of Prince Edward Island, 33 Allen Street, Charlottetown, P.E.I. CIA 3B9 (902-892-5314)

Native Associations/Organizations (selected)

Maine

Tribal Governors, Inc., 93 Main Street, Orono, ME 04473 (207-947-0526)

New Brunswick

Fredericton Native Friendship Centre, 577 King Street, Fredericton, NB E3B 1E8 (506-459-5283)

New Brunswick Aboriginal Peoples Council, 320 St. Mary's Street, Fredericton, NB E3B 1G5 (506-458-8422)

New Brunswick Indian Arts and Crafts Association, 212 Queen Street, Fredericton, NB E3B 1E8 (506-459-7312)

New Brunswick Native Indian Women's Council, 65 Brunswick Street, Fredericton, NB E3B 1G5 (506-458-1114)

Nova Scotia

Micmac Association of Cultural Studies, P.O. Box 961, Sydney, NS BIP 6J4 (902-539-8037)

Micmac Native Friendship Centre, 2158 Gottingen St. Halifax, NS B3K 3B4 (902-423-8247)

Native Council of Nova Scotia, P.O. Box 1320, Abenaki Rd., Truro, NS B2N 5N2 (902-895-1523)

Nova Scotia Micmac Arts and Crafts Society, P.O. Box 978, Truro, NS B2N 5G7 (902-893-7128/7129)

Nova Scotia Native Women's Association, Box 805, Truro, NS B2N 5E8 (902-893-7402)

Prince Edward Island

Aboriginal Women's Association of P.E.I., Box 22, Site 1, R.R. #1, Mount Stewart, P.E.I. COA 1TO (902-676-2782)

Minegoo Arts and Crafts Society, R.R. #5, Johnston River, Charlottetown, P.E.I. CIA 7J8 (902-892-5445/569-2216)

Prince Edward Island Native Women's Association, 129 Kent Street, Charlottetown, P.E.I. C1A 1N4 (902-892-5314)

Newfoundland

Mi-kmaw Arts and Crafts Society, Newfoundland Corporation, Conne River, Newfoundland AOH IJO (709-882-2584/2278)

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